



Twenty-First-Century Global Challenges, 2001–the Present

Before You Read This Chapter

GLOBAL STORYLINE

THE IMPACT OF MODERN GLOBALIZATION TODAY

- The global “war on terror” achieves successes and failures in its fight against fundamentalist terrorists.
- The benefits of a globally integrated economy are unequally distributed, creating substantial tensions within and across societies.
- Mounting geopolitical and economic uncertainties lead to a rise in populist politics and economic nationalism, polarizing many countries politically. Heightened political polarization helped bring expanding state violence, racial justice demonstrations, and LGBTQ rights into focus.
- Twenty-first-century globalization contributes to an increasing incidence and prevalence of pandemics.
- Economic development and human consumption cause climate change, with substantial negative effects on biodiversity, water quality, and food production.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

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FOCUS QUESTIONS

- What is modern globalization? How is it different from earlier forms of global integration?
- What are some of the global challenges we face in the twenty-first century?
- In what ways has climate change affected the world, and what can be done to lessen or reverse the impact of climate change?
- Who are the beneficiaries of modern globalization? Who has not benefited? Why is this?
- How has globalization contributed to a resurgence in political populism and economic nationalism?

The new millennium closed the chapter on the bloody wars and ideological rivalries of the twentieth century. Although the Cold War was over and global integration seemed greater than ever before in human history, the twenty-first century brought new explosive hostilities and fresh economic and political conflicts over the makeup of the world order. No sooner had many observers celebrated the age of globalization as a resolution to old fractional disputes than new ones came to the fore.

On September 11, 2001, less than two years into the century, nineteen hijackers commandeered four commercial airplanes. The hijackers slammed two of the planes into the World Trade Center in New York City and a third into the Pentagon, home of the U.S. Department of Defense, in Washington, D.C. The fourth plane was deterred from its intended target—the White House or the Capitol—by the courageous actions of its passengers and crashed in a field in southwestern Pennsylvania. Television captured the event live for global viewers, recording the horrifying images of the Trade Center’s twin towers engulfed in flames, then crumbling in a heap of ash and twisted metal. A still rather unknown Muslim militant organization,

al-Qaeda, headed by an equally little-known Saudi, Osama bin Laden, claimed responsibility for the attacks that took the lives of more than 3,000 Americans. What followed was a predictable and determined American military response—the invasions of Iraq, incorrectly blamed for engineering the attacks, and Afghanistan, where a fundamentalist Islamic government provided a haven for bin Laden and his al-Qaeda affiliates.

Economic turmoil added to the turbulence of terrorism and wars. The global economy and technologies had brought the world together as never before, but the benefits of integration were unequally distributed. Consequently, when an economic crisis broke out, as it did in 2008, its effects were felt globally but experienced unequally, causing despair and discontent. As people across the world came to grips with the shadow of mounting geopolitical and economic uncertainties, a populist politics of “us versus them” swept many parts of the world. The wake of the economic meltdown of 2008 also saw the rise of right-wing populist politicians, led by Donald J. Trump, elected as president of the United States in 2016. In the United States, Brazil, India, Turkey, Britain, and parts of eastern Europe, ethnic and religious nationalists emerged, claiming to represent the “real” and virtuous people in a face-off against out-of-touch liberal elites. Many were lashing out against the “globalists”—a term used to decry the champions of international cooperation—for betraying their nations economically and admitting too many foreigners.

Twenty-first-century globalization also promoted the rise of pandemics. The outbreaks of SARS and Ebola foreshadowed

the COVID-19 outbreak of 2020, which brought the world to a halt. An outbreak of this scale had not been seen since the Spanish flu pandemic of 1918, a century previously, which had killed millions worldwide.

Even as the world became more fractured and nations grew farther apart, a global awareness of our common challenges intensified. Populists were gaining the upper hand in many countries, but many citizens worried about the future of the planet as climate change, looming economic and military tensions, and pandemics seemed to promise ever more hazards that required global cooperation.

GLOBAL CHALLENGES

War on Terror

The terrorist attack of 9/11 created revulsion across the world. Anger focused on Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, the loosely organized militant networks of Islamist groups that had organized the attack. The militants claimed that it was a response to America’s imperialist policies in the Middle East and retribution for American troops’ presence in Saudi Arabia (during the first Iraq War). In the months and years that followed, countries grappled with a “war on terror,” conflicts with militant Islamic groups, and a global economic crisis. George W. Bush, who had become



9/11. Left: With the North Tower already aflame, this photograph captures a second hijacked jet an instant before it crashed into the South Tower of New York’s World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Right: A firefighter calls for ten more rescue workers to help search for survivors in the smoldering ruins.



Iraqi Elections. Iraqis voted on December 15, 2005, while the country was under American and allied military occupation. Voters’ fingers were stained after voting so that they could not vote twice; many walked away from the polling booth showing their stained finger with pride.

president after a close and disputed election the year before, gained broad public support for his tough talk about bringing terrorists to justice and for his insistence that the events of September 11 had introduced a divide between the “pre-9/11 world” and the “post-9/11” one. Domestically, Bush pushed for security measures to curb future terrorist violence, protect freedom, and secure the American homeland.

Internationally, President Bush declared a “global war on terror.” With the backing of the majority of the American people, as well as strong support from many nations, Bush sent American forces to Afghanistan in October 2001 to hunt down bin Laden, destroy al-Qaeda training camps, and topple the Taliban government that had provided a haven for the terrorists. Expanding the battlefield of the war on terror, the Bush administration ordered an invasion of Iraq in 2003, falsely charging its brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein, with abetting the terrorist assault of 9/11 and wielding weapons of mass destruction. As in Afghanistan, the initial offensive went well, but defeating the Iraqi army and finding Hussein proved easier than restoring order to the country, improving living standards, and persuading the population to rally around the American vision of a democratic polity.

Moreover, the failure to find weapons of mass destruction or to uncover indisputable links between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda, together with mounting American losses from an ongoing insurgency, left many U.S. citizens questioning the wisdom of this war. Although Bush won reelection in 2004, the national and global unity so evident right after September 11 seemed increasingly distant—as was the sense that the new century would be one of peace and prosperity under an American-led world order.

In Afghanistan, the situation shifted noticeably. U.S.-led coalition forces started to find themselves in a quagmire like the one that the Soviets had fallen into two decades earlier (see Chapter 21). Coalition forces had some early success in maintaining stability. But they were more successful at toppling the old regime than building a new one. Their task became more difficult when local warlords, using personal power to achieve their own goals, challenged the

corrupt and inept government in Kabul—the warlords then filled the political vacuum. Matters worsened when the Taliban regrouped in neighboring Pakistan. Kabul became an island in a sea of discord.

While the campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan faltered, the United States accelerated its campaign to hunt down terrorist leaders, and on May 2, 2011, under President Barack Obama, a daring operation in Pakistan ended with the death of Osama bin Laden. Even so, the American image suffered internationally due to exposures of programs of extensive surveillance (including that of U.S. citizens), the use of coercive interrogation techniques, “rendition” of suspected militants to sites where they could be tortured to extract information, the inhumane treatment of Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison, and the harsh and indefinite detention of suspected terrorists at Guantanamo. The domestic support for the Bush administration also eroded.

Helped by a growing chorus of disapproval of the Iraq War, Barack Obama secured the American presidency in 2008. Following his campaign promise, President Obama announced plans to end the Iraq War and refocus attention on Afghanistan. The Democratic president ended the Iraq occupation in 2011, and after promoting a surge of forces in Afghanistan, he reduced the number of American troops there.

Crisis and Inequality in the Global Economy

Beginning in 2007, the world economy entered its worst crisis since the 1930s. The problem began in the financial sector, the most globally interlinked of all. Seeking new sources of profits, investors from around the world poured their money into an ever-expanding housing market, employing riskier and riskier investments—many of which were so complex that not even the regulators in charge of monitoring the financial sector could understand them.

The signals of an approaching financial disaster were apparent to many, but were ignored in part because Alan Greenspan, the guru of monetary policy at the Federal Reserve, America’s central bank, was an ardent economic libertarian and free marketer. He believed that the marketplace would bring about necessary corrections. In reality, risk and indebtedness were at record levels. Commercial and investments banks and insurance companies had tripled their indebtedness over the three decades leading up to 2008. Even when the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), based in London since 1991 and the seventh-largest bank in the world in terms of assets, reported massive losses in its subprime housing loans and Countrywide Financial Corporation filed for bankruptcy, President George W. Bush and Congress did not react. Only when a leading financial investment firm, Bear Stearns, collapsed in March 2008 because of its heavy exposure to subprime mortgage loans did the Treasury Department intervene,

providing a loan of nearly \$30 billion to JPMorgan Chase to buy out Bear Stearns. But no support was forthcoming on September 18, 2008, when Lehman Brothers, a firm that had been in existence since 1850 and had survived the Civil War, World Wars I and II, and the Great Depression, filed for bankruptcy. Had the Treasury provided anywhere from \$12 billion to \$60 billion, the roiling financial crisis might have been averted. But it did not, and what had already been a dramatic economic and financial meltdown in the United States spread quickly to the United Kingdom, Ireland, Spain, and Iceland. As the shockwaves reverberated throughout Europe, Asia, Latin America, and parts of Africa, millions lost their livelihoods and houses, corporations failed, and trillions of dollars in financial wealth vaporized. In the words of one close observer, “The once mighty US economy [was brought] to its knees, [leaving] all levels of government gasping for tax revenue” (Blinder, p. 4).

The **Great Recession** of 2008, as it soon came to be called, did not last as long as the Great Depression of 1929. The unemployment rate in the United States cratered at 10 percent, not 25 percent, and hundreds of banks, not thousands, failed. The fact that the financial downturn of 2008 was not as sharp or persistent as the 1929 depression was largely due to the innovative policies championed by Ben Bernanke at the Federal Reserve and officials at the U.S. Treasury. It was perhaps fortuitous that Bernanke was at the Fed and Christina Romer was a high-ranking economic adviser in the Obama administration. Both had studied the Great Depression during their academic careers and were committed to monetary and fiscal policies that they believed would have pulled the United States out of the 1929 depression. Specifically, they thought it essential to shore up the U.S. financial system because it integrated so much of the world economy. This meant protecting the big banks, stimulating the economy with easy credit to keep consumers buying commodities, resisting protectionism, and promoting international cooperation. In keeping with these policies, the Treasury bailed out fourteen financial firms, including such heavy hitters as Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, Merrill Lynch, Bank of America, Citigroup, and JPMorgan Chase, as well as two automobile manufacturers, General Motors and Chrysler. Big companies pressured a bewildered Congress into setting aside the stupendous sum of \$700 billion in a program labeled TARP (Troubled Asset Relief Program). Although the majority of Americans thought the program was wrongheaded, rewarding banks that had brought on the financial disaster, TARP was, according to one top adviser, “among the most successful—but least understood—economic policy innovations in our nation’s history” (Blinder, p. 178). In fact, the Treasury disbursed only \$430 billion of the allocated \$700 billion and eventually turned a profit of \$25 billion when the businesses repaid their debts. Still, the bailout of Wall Street while Main Street suffered was a lasting source of grievance and contributed to the sense that political brokers were in the pockets of the rich—who would soon be called “the 1 percent.”



Global Financial Crisis. When the major investment firm Lehman Brothers declared bankruptcy in September 2008, the world’s increasingly integrated financial system teetered on the brink of collapse. Although massive government interventions kept the system afloat, they did not prevent a severe downturn and a sharply rising unemployment rate.

While the crisis started in the United States, it threatened the world economy. American authorities had less success getting European authorities to follow suit. Monetary authorities there were leery about bailing out troubled countries and were determined to keep the euro currency stable. But this meant that the European economy entered a prolonged slump and recovered very slowly. Among the debtor countries in southern Europe, like Greece and Italy, and eastern Europe, notably Ukraine and Hungary, there was no help. Grievances soon piled up amid rising unemployment, especially for young people. Meanwhile, the Chinese government gave the green light to state firms to continue spending, and these firms embarked on a borrowing spree that was more monumental and more lasting than the American corporate bailouts. Together, U.S. and Chinese spending and lending were enough to keep the financial crisis of 2008 from turning into a full-blown economic depression.

Why was it that without the innovative policies of the Federal Reserve, the American Treasury, and the Bush and Obama administrations, a deep recession might have become a full-scale depression and brought catastrophic financial consequences to the global economy? A major reason for the shock to the global economy was a belief in a **free market** ideology and the rise of economists possessing such ideas to high government positions. But although prominent economists play a substantial role today in both public- and private-sector policy decisions, this was not always the case. At the close of World War II, economists were not held in such high esteem. They were thought to be too impractical to be policymakers. Right after the war, members of the Federal Reserve Board included bankers, lawyers, and an Iowa pig farmer but not a single economist. The Fed’s chairman, William McChesney Martin, a stockbroker, confined economists at the Fed to the basement. While he admitted that they asked good questions, he

complained, “They don’t know their own limitations, and they have a far greater sense of confidence in their abilities than I have found to be warranted.”

Moreover, the economic policy tensions on display during the Great Recession concerning how much governments should intervene in national and global economies and in what ways was not new. Free market economists like Friedrich Hayek (1889–1992) and Milton Friedman (1912–2006) believed that government intervention should be minimal and should involve monetary policy only. John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), the economist whose thinking heavily influenced President Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression and World II, believed that governments needed to intervene during crises using all the tools available, both monetary and fiscal. Ultimately, massive government expenditures during the Great Depression to provide jobs and relief for millions, in combination with the retooling of American manufacturing to support the effort during World War II, led America out of its darkest economic period.

These debates on economic policy played out many times after World War II in the United States and around the world, with economists having stronger voices over time as postwar national economies boomed and became part of the increasingly complex global economy. The election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States (1981–1989) and his appointment of the aforementioned Alan Greenspan as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board (1987–2006) brought the free market ideologies to the government’s highest economic policy position.

Many benefits resulted from the return to free market policies. Free global trade pulled millions of Chinese, Indians, and other

economically developing peoples out of poverty. It made products available to consumers around the world at affordable prices. Deregulation of businesses took place, and the worldwide privatization of state-run businesses promoted high economic growth rates, especially, but not only, in China, India, South Korea, Indonesia, and Brazil. But there was a price to be paid. Huge disparities in wealth occurred globally. Third World countries like China and India saw a rising middle class, but this was not the case in the United States, where the middle class shrank and a small number of individuals held the lion’s share of the wealth. This situation was due in large part to the exportation of American manufacturing jobs to cheaper locations around the world and the decline in the power of labor unions, which had been critical in dramatically expanding the middle class in America after World War II.

Another important feature of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few in the United States and other industrialized economies was the enormous power that big corporations exercised over the political system. Vital to the political power of corporate America were a number of crucial Supreme Court decisions, the most important of which was the 2010 *Citizens United* ruling. In a 5–4 vote, the court ruled that in campaign financing the free speech of the First Amendment of the Constitution prohibited restricting the financial contributions of businesses as well as nonprofit corporations, trade unions, and other associations.

Even as economies emerged from the Great Recession, **economic inequality** among individuals and between regions led to new challenges. This sparked protests, none more powerful and dramatic than those conducted by Occupy Wall Street (OWS), a movement



Occupy Wall Street. Inspired by other stirrings around the world, this largely national movement was fueled by methods as novel as social media and as traditional as a sit-in. Here an Occupy Wall Street rally joins a labor union demonstration outside the New York County Courthouse in 2011.

that started in September 2011 in New York and was organized by a Canadian environmental activist group called Adbusters. A charismatic Canadian writer, Naomi Klein, also emerged as a prominent voice in denouncing the model of globalization dominated by corporate interests. Her voice, among others, and the movement known as “Occupy” were themselves global. These activists drew inspiration from the upheavals and demonstrations in the Middle East, notably the Iranian Green Movement and the Spanish Indignados. Occupations spread to Madrid and Buenos Aires, Beirut and Istanbul, highlighting growing social and economic inequality and challenging the power of banks and corporations.

OWS was one among a wide range of emergent political upheavals around the world. Each one had a character specific to the region. Yet together they represented a new phenomenon. Almost all of them took shape outside conventional politics and ideological agendas. Expressing antiestablishment ideals and using social media to mobilize, the young took the lead in these new popular upsurges and became a permanent fixture on the political landscape worldwide. But instead of rallying to traditional parties, they preferred to take their activism to the streets and public squares.



Hurricane Katrina. As the hurricane dissipated in the tail end of August 2005, the U.S. Coast Guard surveyed the affected areas by aircraft and conducted damage assessment of what would be the costliest natural disaster in American history. This Coast Guard photograph captures New Orleans immediately after the passing of Katrina.

Climate Change

Climate change has emerged as one of the most pressing issues for the new millennium. Scientists and activists had been ringing the alarm bells about rising atmospheric temperatures since the 1980s. By 2019, the evidence of systemic changes to the biosphere was undeniable. The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) published a definitive report in May 2019 concluding that climate change was responsible for significant and irreversible reductions in global biodiversity. A few months later, in August, the United Nations reported that climate change was responsible for vast reductions in water supplies, especially in the tropics, and threatened food supplies, especially for large, precarious population belts. The threat of climate change mobilized global cooperation. The IPBES report, compiled by 145 environmental experts from 50 countries with inputs from another 310 contributors, and based on a review of 15,000 scientific and governmental sources, warned that 1 million of the 8 million plant and animal species in existence today would become extinct within the next two decades if the present trends in climate warming continue. This would be a rate of extinction hundreds of times higher than the averages of the last 10 million years. Moreover, innumerable climate reports made clear that humans were utterly responsible for an impending disaster that threatens all regions of the world. More than a third of the world's land surface is now devoted to crop or livestock production. Tropical rain forests, essential for planetary control of global warming, have decreased by 50 percent since 1950 to make way for agriculture and livestock grazing. The oceans and rivers have been overfished. Since 1980 greenhouse gas emissions have doubled, raising global temperatures by at least 0.7°C. The reports called for transformative change in humanity's approach to the earth, stating



Destruction by Hurricane Sandy on Ortleigh Beach, New Jersey. Hurricane Sandy, moving ashore in New Jersey on October 29, 2012, was the second-costliest hurricane in U.S. history. Its high winds struck twenty-four states, including the entire eastern seaboard from Florida to Maine.

that the various plans thus far accepted by the world's countries were inadequate. Much more needed to be done, and much more quickly, to make the planet carbon free and to reverse the decline of forests, the deterioration of the oceans and rivers, and the steady increase of lands devoted to agriculture and livestock.

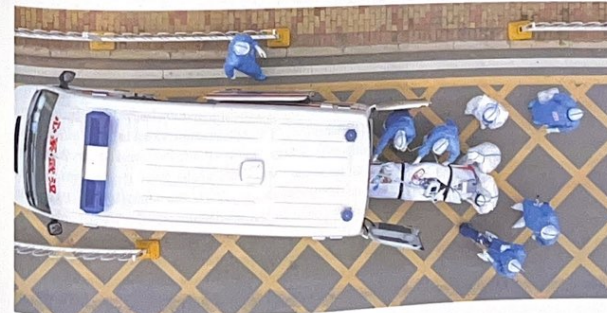
Climate change demands shared solutions by the world's national governments. Yet there is no international agency with teeth to enforce a global accord. The result has been a series of often frustrating global summits, usually ending with countries deeply divided over solutions. With few exceptions, however, no country denies the causes: the reliance on fossil fuels for energy sources. But China objected that it would have to curb fossil fuel dependence when it has a much lower per capita income than, for instance, Germany. And the United States balked at the idea that it had to finance “poor countries” adjustment to carbon reduction on the grounds that some of them, like China, were direct economic competitors. A major breakthrough occurred in Paris in 2015 when, under the sponsorship of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, most of the nations of the world gathered to hammer out an agreement that would limit the emission of greenhouse gases and hold the increase in global temperature to less than 2°C. (See Global Themes and Sources: Primary Source 22.1.) The accord, scheduled to go into effect in 2020, has set a higher standard, aiming to achieve a less than 1.5°C increase in global temperature. No fewer than 194 countries signed the accord on December 12, 2015, and by the end of that year 132 countries had ratified the agreement. The two heaviest polluters, China and the United States, are crucial signatories. Yet the implementation of the agreement is reserved to the nations, each of which has to file reports with the United Nations.

The new American president, Donald Trump, decided to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement, claiming that climate change was a hoax, invented by the Chinese to slow down American economic growth. (See Global Themes and



The Amazon Ablaze. Fire is a common method for clearing the Amazon forest. After Jair Bolsonaro was elected president of Brazil in 2018, loggers and land speculators began to torch thousands of acres of woodland. Satellites caught images of the alarming spread. This photo, taken in August 2019, is just one snapshot of the more than 900,000 hectares that were destroyed that year.

Sources: Primary Source 22.2.) In reality, America was part of a wave of defections and noncompliance, though few nations had the temerity to leave the pact formally. Most, like Australia, Japan, and Canada, just ignored its provisions. Some, like Russia, Turkey, and Iran, never signed it. The new Brazilian president, Jair Bolsonaro, approved loggers' demands to clear the Amazon forest, the world's biggest carbon sink (a large and dense concentration of flora capable of transforming carbon dioxide into oxygen). But China and India, two countries that rely heavily on coal, have made strides in meeting their carbon reduction targets. Tiny emitters, like Morocco and Gambia, have been standout examples in switching to renewable energy sources. (See Global Themes and Sources: Primary Sources 22.3 and 22.4.)



Wuhan Battles COVID-19. In late 2019, news reports began to circulate from China's Hubei Province of a new viral threat. Within months, the capital city of Wuhan was the epicenter of a pandemic. With the city shut down, Chinese doctors and hospital workers frantically sought to save lives while state officials struggled to contain the spread, often using strict, but effective, means.

Pandemics

In late 2019, news started to leak out of the province of Hubei, China, of a new virus. As it ripped through the capital of Wuhan, Chinese authorities struggled to make sense of the threat—and to control the public relations fallout. At first, it looked like other deadly viruses before it. But it soon became clear that this virus possessed a cunning ability to spread undetected. Southern China was especially vulnerable to the transmission of viruses from other species. The numerous wet markets, where live animals were sold in unsanitary conditions, were one source. More dangerous were the massive chicken and pork farms in Hubei Province. As China lifted itself out of poverty and its cities boomed, these farms expanded—and they soon became disease incubators. Crowded, in close proximity to dense cities, and neglected by inspectors, the meat production industry in China created the conditions for a perfect epidemic storm.

On December 31, 2019, China officially informed the World Health Organization (WHO) of the “unknown disease,” and on January 9, 2020, Chinese researchers released the map of the virus’s genetic makeup. When the first case appeared in Bangkok a few days later, the viral implications were clear. By then, reporters from around the world were swarming into Wuhan as the virus was flowing out. Faced with mounting evidence, the WHO announced on March 10 that this mysterious disease was now pandemic, which meant that it no longer had one point of origin—it was thoroughly global.

This was not the first pandemic in history. But its global shock was unprecedented. While the Black Death of the 1340s ravaged an interconnected world in the fourteenth century, eruptive fevers devastated the native populations of the Americas after 1492, and the influenza of 1918–1919 killed millions of war-fatigued people, none of these slammed the breaks so violently on an interdependent world as did COVID-19. Country after country went into lockdown. Those that dithered after the first infections, like Italy, Great Britain, the United States, and Brazil, paid a heavy human toll. Those that acted quickly and deployed testing systems, like South Korea and Taiwan, were less scathed. One source of their relative success was that they had learned from earlier pandemics and were more prepared. Societies with weak health care systems saw hospitals overwhelmed.

What started as a public health crisis exploded into an economic and social calamity. Airports worldwide emptied out. Borders between trading nations were sealed. As interdependent economies seized up, the ranks of unemployed soared—within weeks the U.S. jobless rate hit 15 percent. Middle-class people lined up at food banks. In the first two months of France’s lockdown, its economy shrunk by 20 percent. The most hard-hit economies were those most dependent on foreign trade. Oil exporters reeled as prices plunged; on April 20, 2020, the U.S. benchmark for crude oil dropped as low as minus \$40 a barrel. Oil producers were paying people to buy their fuel. Across the board, global trade dropped



Lockdown in India. The worldwide spread of COVID-19 forced countries to lock down their economies. In India, this meant clearing the streets of vendors and paralyzing an important part of the national economy, the informal sector. This photo of the city of Kolkata in March 2020 shows a practically deserted streetscape, with empty stalls lining the sidewalks.

in just a few weeks by more than it had dropped in the three years after the stock market crash of 1929. The World Trade Organization predicted that global trade would shrink by one third by the end of 2020. The collapse in world trade in turn crippled heavily indebted countries in the Global South. Argentina defaulted on a major interest payment to lenders and threatened to set off a cascade of defaults across Latin America and Africa.

The economic crisis sparked a social one. Despite the rhetoric about how viruses do not respect status or citizenship, this was a disease that afflicted the have-nots especially hard. No social group was more punished than migrants and the households that depended on them. For millions of poor migrant workers, their remittances to families back home dried up. And as cities and countries went into lockdowns, many migrant workers faced an agonizing predicament: How could they get home if the transportation systems were paralyzed? Kenyan workers were forced to leave the Gulf States and returned empty-handed to a draconian curfew. In India, when Prime Minister Narendra Modi closed the economy down overnight, millions of migrant workers began to walk home, often hundreds of miles, with no wages for their families. Salvadoran migrants to the United States also stopped sending money home, thereby choking a fifth of El Salvador’s GDP. Sub-Saharan Africa is full of millions of Somali migrant workers, and this diaspora normally sends modest sums back to poverty-stricken Somalia every day, accounting for almost one-third of the country’s GDP. But when COVID-19 struck, these workers were unable to send remittances back to their families. Furthermore, women’s savings clubs (known as *hagbad* in Somali), which are vital to family survival, had to close down for lack of funds.

Such peacetime suffering had few modern parallels. But it also spawned remarkable displays of solidarity. In northern Italy, people

went out on their balconies in the evenings as hospital workers changed shifts to applaud their selflessness. China dispatched personal protective equipment to Europe and Africa. In Berlin, when Muslims entered their fasting month of Ramadan, one pastor, Monika Matthias, invited Muslims to hold their Friday prayers in her church—provided they observe social distancing norms. She said, “During prayer, I could only say yes, yes, yes, because we have the same concerns and we want to learn from you. And it is beautiful to feel that way about each other.”

THE UNITED STATES, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND JAPAN

Although the global challenges of the twenty-first century touched virtually every corner of the world, countries and regions experienced specific local changes often related to globalizing forces.

The United States

In the United States, the Obama administration sought to cope with the economic crisis while introducing health care reform; it encountered a conservative backlash in 2009 in the shape of the Tea Party movement, which espoused the ideals of small government and market freedom and contributed to a stunning defeat of the Democrats in the 2010 congressional elections. From the opposite side of the ideological spectrum arose the aforementioned Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011. Claiming to speak on behalf of the 99 percent against the wealthy 1 percent, the Occupy activists, consisting largely of young people, railed against the banks and financial institutions that the federal government had rescued from bankruptcy by providing immense loans. Although the movement ran out of steam by the end of the year, it succeeded in inserting the growing inequality into political discussions. Partially helped by the focus on inequality brought about by the Occupy movement, Obama won reelection and his Democratic party fared better in the 2012 elections. But the political pendulum swung back toward the Republicans in the 2014 midterm elections.

The most stunning event in the second decade of the twenty-first century was the election of Donald Trump to the presidency. Above all, he repudiated globalization and championed what he called “America First” values. He also threatened the multilateral fabric of the post-1945 order. Trump, who had never held political office, appealed to voters by inveighing against “inner-city” crime, immigrants, international trade, and America’s traditional allies and foreign alliances. Although few pundits believed Trump had much of a chance against a field of well-established and well-financed Republican opponents, his populist and nationalist platform resonated with primary voters and gained him the party’s

nomination. Facing Hillary Clinton in the general election, Trump once more defied pollsters by winning a majority in the Electoral College (though losing the popular vote by nearly 3 million). His coalition relied on swing votes in some key upper-midwestern states as well as traditional conservatives motivated by economic and religious concerns. More modest and poor rural voters who had been left feeling hopeless also rallied to his angered rhetoric. This latter group was responding to a severe economic decline and an opioid drug crisis, which were ravaging their communities as America continued to move away from manufacturing- and natural-resource-based industries and toward a globally integrated service- and information-based economy.

A Changing Western Europe

The American invasion of Iraq fractured the alliance between the United States and western Europe. Far more serious divisions, however, emerged over the fate of NATO and of the coherence of the European Union, whose membership peaked at twenty-eight countries, including ten that formerly had been part of the Soviet bloc. The sprawling EU incorporated debtor and creditor countries, low-productivity and high-productivity workers, frontline immigration societies and those that kept migrants out. After the shocks of the 2008 economic slump, the divisions came to the fore. Early warning signs included votes in France and the Netherlands rejecting the EU constitution. Then came the 2016 referendum on EU membership in Britain in which “Leave,” known as Brexit, secured a majority. The Brexit vote brought down two British prime ministers: David Cameron, who had called for the vote, expecting a “Remain” vote, and Theresa May, his successor, whose efforts to negotiate the terms of Britain’s departure from the EU failed to win a parliamentary majority. Britain’s new prime minister, Boris Johnson, who entered office in 2019, is determined to leave the EU at any cost. Moreover, while the adoption of a single currency, the euro, by seventeen EU members had indeed facilitated commerce, it had also caused economic damage. Monetary integration, in the absence of corresponding fiscal integration, meant that countries with different economies could no longer adjust for imbalances and competitiveness by currency devaluations. Unemployment rose dramatically and remained high in Europe’s southern tier, even as the northern tier did better. The calamity was most visible in Greece, where northern country debtors were protected at the expense of Greek jobs and the Greek standard of living, all in the name of preserving Greece’s EU membership. The euro, which had promised prosperity, became a symbol of immiseration.

The divisions also spilled into the open over how to respond to waves of migrants from Africa and the Middle East. In the summer of 2015, columns of refugees crossed into Europe through the Balkans. Many came by boat, setting sail from Turkey and Libya—and their crowded, rickety dinghies and rafts were sometimes no match



British Voters Protest the Referendum to Leave the European Union. In a hotly contested referendum in which 72 percent of registered voters cast ballots, 52 percent of the electorate chose to withdraw from the European Union.

for the waves. Thousands died, creating a massive humanitarian outcry. By year's end, Germany admitted an astonishing 1 million refugees. Many Europeans, especially in eastern Europe and in Italy, however, were less than welcoming.

The combination of fears over unfettered immigration, crystallized by the war in Syria and the resulting flow of desperate refugees into Europe, and the elites' mismanagement of the euro and the economy created fertile ground for self-styled populist politics. The EU's signature identity, democratic institutions, experienced significant erosion, beginning in Hungary and then Poland before spreading to much of the rest of the continent. Europe's malaise put the long-term future of integration to the test.

Demographic Issues in Western Countries

Two threats to future peace and prosperity in Europe—and the United States and Japan as well—are the interlocking issues of aging and immigration. Women in the European Union would have to bear 2.1 children on average to maintain its population of 500 million, but women in the EU now average only 1.5 offspring. Adding to the demographic and labor pressures is the aging of the European population. With the percentage of elderly Europeans rising rapidly, sustaining the present workers-to-retirees ratio and paying for the region's burgeoning number of pensioners will require the European Union to attract around 15 million immigrants annually.

That number has not been reached. European populations have been boosted by millions of immigrants, many of them Muslims,

but sustainable economic growth has proven elusive. Islam has become the fastest-growing religion in Europe. In France, the Muslim population exceeds 11 percent of the total. These immigrants often live in isolated and impoverished circumstances, and in many countries their status as guest workers (see Chapter 21) denies them the full benefits of citizenship. Their presence in Europe's larger cities threatens those who still equate Europe with Christendom and challenges those who believe that European integration requires complete assimilation of all inhabitants.

Europe is not alone in confronting the problems of an aging population and the integration of immigrants. (See Analyzing Global Developments: The Sharp Decline in Global Fertility Rates: Causes and Implications.) As its baby boom generation ages, the United States faces a similar imbalance between retirees and workers that endangers its Social Security system. Likewise, the flood of immigrants, particularly from Asia and Latin America, continues to shift the nation's ethnic composition. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2010 people of Latin American descent in the United States numbered nearly 48 million (about 15.5 percent of the population). The presence of so many Spanish-speaking residents appears to threaten those who think the United States should remain an English-only country, and the degree to which immigrants should be required to assimilate remains a contentious issue. More heated still are debates about illegal immigration, which Donald Trump, pledging to "build a wall" across the U.S.-Mexico border, made central to his campaign for the presidency in 2016. Once in office, his efforts to "build a wall" became so divisive that they led to the longest shutdown of the federal government in

American history. For over a month in late 2018 and early 2019, lawmakers argued over how much funding the Trump administration would receive to extend the existing sections of border fencing. (For a global look at population growth and life expectancies, see Maps 22.1 and 22.2.)

In many respects, the dilemma of aging presses hardest today on Japan. Like Europeans and North Americans, the Japanese are marrying later and having fewer children. Japan's female population now averages barely 1.37 children, compared with nearly 3.7 in 1950. At the same time, Japanese life expectancy has reached eighty-five, the highest in the world, which further tilts the nation's age pyramid. In 1970, the elderly (those over age sixty-five) represented around 7 percent of the population, in 2005, they reached 20 percent and are expected to hit 40 percent by 2050. Analysts surmise that Japan's population peaked at around 128 million and might decline to perhaps 120 million by 2050, with a substantial number of those over the working age. Such a downturn bodes ill for Japan's dynamic economy, which is currently the world's third largest in terms of total GDP, China having moved into second place in 2012.

Like Europe and North America, Japan relies on immigrants to fill out its labor force. In the 1960s, the nation's booming economy experienced labor shortages, but neither the government nor major corporations chose to invite in foreign laborers. They preferred automation or recruitment of workers of Japanese descent from abroad. By the 1980s, however, deepening labor shortages and the yen's rising value led to an expanded dependence on immigrant workers. Recent estimates put the number of foreign nationals in Japan at nearly 2 million, or around 1.5 percent of the total population. Most of them hail from the Korean Peninsula, the Philippines, Indochina, Brazil, and Iran, countries with a surplus of skilled workers.



Muslim Bans. Left: During French president Sarkozy's state visit to India in 2010, Indian Sikh students held a demonstration in New Delhi calling for the lifting of the French ban on wearing the turban, a religious practice that dates back to the eighteenth century. Right: Protesters against the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to uphold President Donald Trump's ban on travel from several mostly Muslim countries expressed their indignation on June 26, 2018, in New York.

Anti-immigrant Sentiments in Western Countries

In Europe, where unemployment rates remain higher than in Japan or North America, the political reaction against immigration has been sharpest. Far-right groups have demanded that immigration be halted or "foreigners" expelled, a stance now adopted by politicians across the far-right spectrum. Support levels vary in each country, but across Europe the far right's electoral base appears to be around 15 percent, in some countries it is above 25 percent. The Freedom Party in Austria and the Northern League and National Alliance in Italy regularly place cabinet representatives in coalition governments. Ultra-right forces such as France's National Front (renamed National Rally in 2018), Denmark's People's Party, and the League of Polish Families sometimes pressure governing coalitions to slow EU integration and immigration, especially from Muslim countries. The issue of accepting Muslim refugees from war-torn Syria has galvanized supporters and opponents in the EU's most powerful country, Germany.

The issue of immigration has become intertwined with terrorism and the assimilation of Muslims in European societies. In Holland, the precipitant was the grisly murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh by Mohammed Bouyeri in 2004. Bouyeri claimed he was fulfilling his duty as a Muslim by killing van Gogh, who had made a film about the abuse of Muslim women. Following the assassination, many in Holland questioned the nation's traditional tolerance of diversity and expressed concern that Muslims were too alien in their values to ever fit in Dutch society. Several terrorist attacks further inflamed the debate. In 2004, a series of bombings of commuter trains in Madrid killed 191 people and wounded more than 2,000; in 2005, terrorists struck London's subways, leaving 52 dead and 700 injured. In both cases, authorities pinned responsibility on



ANALYZING GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Sharp Decline in Global Fertility Rates: Causes and Implications



Migrants from less developed—and politically challenged—societies to the developed world have occurred on a massive scale during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The inhabitants of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, fleeing poverty and criminal gangs, have sought better lives for themselves in the United States. During his campaign for the presidency, Donald Trump said that he would build a wall along the border between Mexico and the United States in order to prevent immigrants from entering the country. In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel's willingness to take up to 1 million immigrants fleeing the Middle East and Africa for better lives has led to the emergence of a right-wing, neo-Nazi party, the Alternative für Deutschland Party (AfD), opposed to Merkel's immigration policies. Many states in the European Union have emulated Donald Trump's plans to erect fences and walls along their borders to keep families fleeing African and Middle Eastern violence and economic deprivation from entering their countries. Even Great Britain's forthcoming exit from the European Union has been an effort to return Britain to a solidly Anglo-Saxon country. The sharp decline in global fertility rates will only intensify the problems leading to the flight of people from less developed societies to the more developed parts of the world.

Global fertility rates, calculated as the average number of children born to a cisgender woman over her reproductive lifetime, are on the decline. Although fertility rates have been decreasing worldwide, in many parts of the world—especially in highly developed countries—these declines have resulted in what demographers call *below replacement rates*. For a country to maintain its population (other than through immigration), it needs a fertility rate of 2.1; in other words, the average woman must bear 2.1 children. Thus, a country's rate is below replacement if it falls below 2.1.

In 1950, only 6 countries—the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, and Ukraine, representing only 5 percent of the world's population—had fertility rates slightly below replacement levels. The global fertility rate at that time was 4.7 children per woman. By 2010, below replacement rates had occurred in 83 countries, holding nearly half the world's population. The world rate was halved to 2.4 per woman between 1950 and 2016. By 2050, if present patterns continue, more than 130 countries, or about two-thirds of the world's population, are projected to have fertility rates below 2.1 per woman.

These facts are stunning, as are their implications. People are having fewer children, which means that as these children grow up, countries will have smaller working-age populations, who must then support an ever-increasing elderly population. The problem is most severe among the more economically developed

countries, including most of Europe, the United States, South Korea, Japan, China, and Australia. It is important to note that the overall number of people living in these countries is not on a similar decline; one must also factor in declining death rates as well as immigration.

A number of causes contribute to the problem of declining fertility rates worldwide. Late marriage ages, delayed childbearing, lower marriage rates, the increasing availability of contraceptives, and women's and families' decisions to have fewer children—or no children—are all factors. So are women's empowerment, ambitions, and accomplishments in the work force, undoubtedly brought about through improvements in the global education of women and girls, and aspirations for higher standards of living. The proportion of U.S. women between the ages of 40 and 44 who chose not to have children doubled between 1976 and 2006, encompassing one-fifth of women. Such was also the case in Austria, Germany, Japan, Spain, and the United Kingdom in 2010.

Some governments presiding over populations with low fertility rates have enacted policies of selective immigration to maintain their workforces and slow the pace of population aging. Others have attempted to increase childbearing by enacting policies that make marriage (or other child-rearing arrangements) attractive. These states have paid mothers to have babies, provided maternal and paternal leaves, and encouraged flexible work schedules. Denmark, France, Sweden, and Great Britain have each committed 4 percent of their GDP to family benefits in order to address low fertility. In contrast, the United States offers only 1 percent of its GDP. So far, these policies have produced only modest results.

The problem of low fertility rates is particularly severe in China, which enacted a one-child policy in 1979, modified it in the 1980s to allow rural parents to have a second child if the first was a daughter, and finally eliminated it in 2015. By this time, China's fertility rate had fallen to 1.6. The one-child policy and a cultural preference for boy children over girl children led to a disproportionate number of male births caused by abortions and even infanticide. The problem has become so severe in China that President Xi Jinping, speaking to the nineteenth National Congress of the Communist Party, guaranteed that China's childbirth policy would henceforth be closely coordinated with effective social and economic policies.

Yet in spite of sharply declining global fertility rates, the world population continues to grow. As of March 2020, it is estimated at 7.8 billion. The global population is projected to reach 8.5 billion people in 2030, 9.7 billion in 2050, and 10.9 billion by 2100, largely because of high fertility rates in sub-Saharan Africa.

Current Fertility Statistics Throughout the World

Ten Most Populous Countries in the World and Total Fertility Rates in 2018

Country	Population (in Millions)	Total Fertility Rate
China	1,394	1.8
India	1,371	2.3
United States	328	1.8
Indonesia	265	2.4
Brazil	209	1.7
Pakistan	201	3.1
Nigeria	196	5.5
Bangladesh	166	2.1
Russia	147	1.6
Mexico	131	2.2

Ten Most Populous Countries in 2050 If Present Trends Continue

Country	Population (in Millions)
India	1,680
China	1,344
Nigeria	411
United States	390
Indonesia	320
Pakistan	307
Brazil	231
Dem. Rep. Congo	216
Bangladesh	201
Ethiopia	191

In addition to these figures, the world population is growing older. The percentage of people over 65 years of age in 1960 was 5 percent. It had grown to 9 percent by 2018, and if present trends continue, it will reach 16 percent of the world's population in 2050. By that year, those under the age of 24 will have declined from 54 percent of the world's population in 1960 to 14 percent, leaving only 49 percent of those between 25 and 64 to support those 65 and over.

Sources: Christopher Murray et al., "Population and Fertility by Age and Sex for 195 Countries and Territories, 1950-2017: A Systemic Analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study, 2017," *Lancet* 392, no. 10159 (November 10-16, 2018); 1995-2051, Population Reference Bureau, 2018 World Population Data Sheet, 2018, https://www.prb.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/2018_WPDS.pdf, and 2019 World Population Data Sheet, 2019, <https://www.prb.org/2019-world-population-data-sheet/>

Ten Countries with the Highest Total Fertility Rates in 2018

Country	Total Fertility Rate
Niger	7.2
Chad	6.4
Dem. Rep. Congo	6.3
Somalia	6.3
Angola	6.2
Mali	6.0
Burkina Faso	5.5
Nigeria	5.5
Burundi	5.5
Gambia	5.4

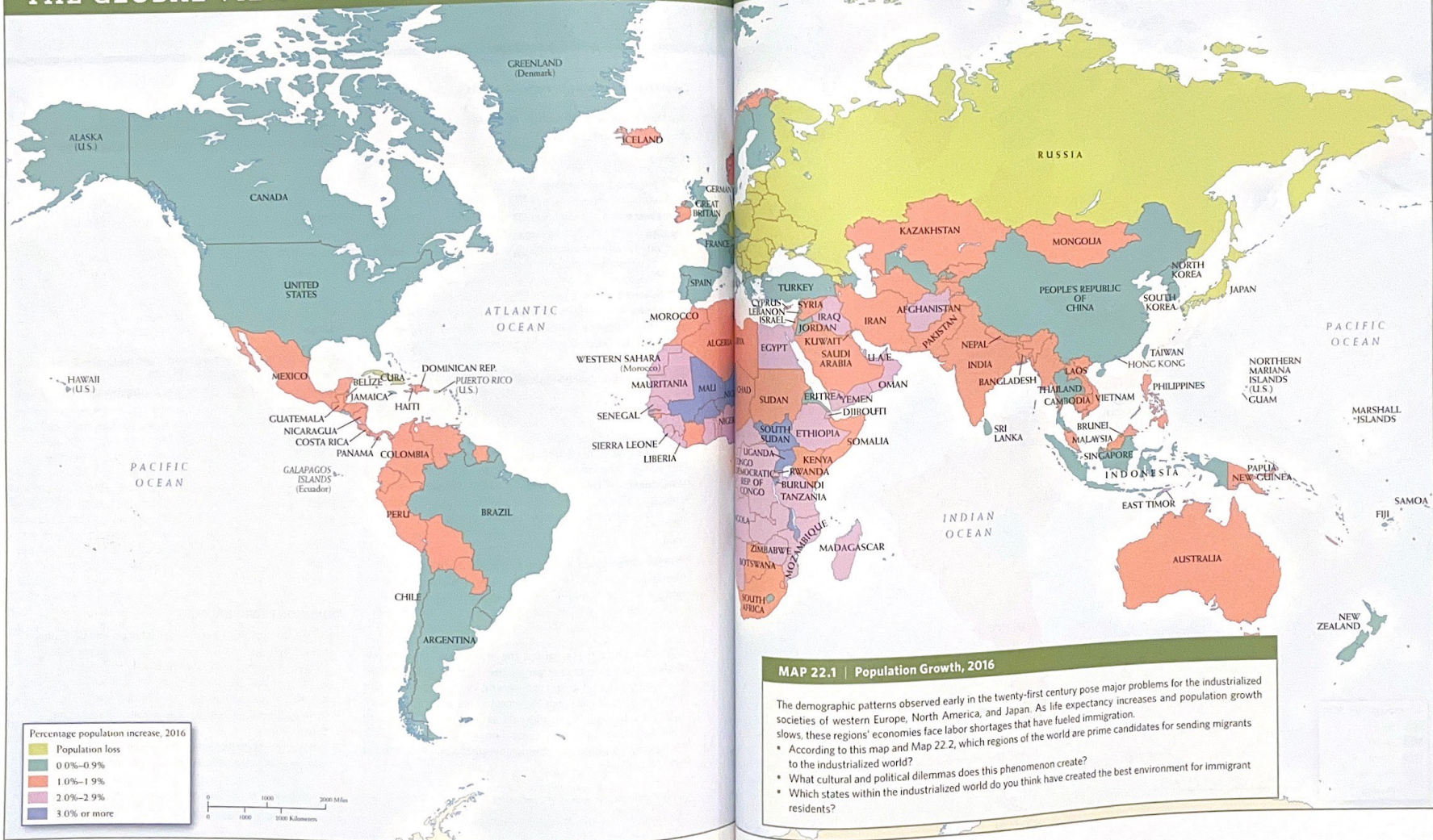
Total Fertility Rates of the Ten Countries with the Largest Gross National Product (GNP) per Capita in 2018

Country	Total Fertility Rate
United States	1.8
Japan	1.4
Germany	1.6
Britain	1.8
France	1.9
China	1.8
Italy	1.3
Canada	1.5
Brazil	1.7
Spain	1.3

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- Why do the countries with the highest per capita GNP rates have reproduction rates of less than 2.1 children per woman? What are countries with such low fertility rates doing, if anything, to deal with their population issues? In your opinion, how should states address their low fertility rates?
- Why are the highest fertility rates all concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa?
- What accounts for the fact that the countries with low fertility rates have been the most vigorous in keeping immigrants out?

THE GLOBAL VIEW



THE GLOBAL VIEW



MAP 22.2 | Life Expectancies in Global Perspective, 2018

Increased attention to public health, medicine, nutrition, and education since the early nineteenth century has contributed to prolonging life expectancy around the world, as have the many scientific breakthroughs and technological advancements of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

- According to Map 22.1 and this map, which regions experienced population increases but low life expectancies? Population decreases and high life expectancies? Explain.
- Which countries do not match the life expectancy trends of their geographic regions? Why or why not?
- Do you note any correlations between a region's life expectancy and its physical environment? Why or why not?



Families at the Border. In November 2016, prior to the Trump administration's escalation of family separation, U.S. Border Patrol agents stood at an open gate on the fence along the U.S.-Mexico border to allow relatives on opposite sides to hug one another during Universal Children's Day.

al-Qaeda. But investigators also alleged that the operations were the work of Muslim residents of Spain or Britain.

France confronted a similar debate after rioting rocked a series of poor neighborhoods, notably in Paris, in 2005, protesting police brutality and the country's failure to offer equal opportunity to all. These riots caused a nativist backlash that often blamed Muslims in general for the country's problems. Nicolas Sarkozy, who was interior minister at the time, ordered the deportation of immigrants convicted of rioting, while Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the far-right National Front, demanded that even naturalized rioters be stripped of their citizenship. The French satirical weekly magazine *Charlie Hebdo* became the target of two terrorist attacks after publishing deliberately irreverent depictions of Muhammad. The cartoonists aggressively defended their right to lampoon any figure in the way they saw fit. The first assault, a firebombing of the offices in 2011, followed an issue equating Islam and Muhammad with oppression of women under *sharia* law; in the second assault, which occurred in 2015 after the magazine printed caricatures of the Prophet, two gunmen shouting "God is great" and the "Prophet is avenged" murdered twelve staff members, including the publisher and prominent cartoonists.

Although the Europeans stepped up their security procedures and intensified intelligence gathering, further violence occurred. On November 13, 2015, terrorists claiming allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) carried out a series of coordinated attacks; while one group struck outside a Paris stadium where France was playing Germany in a football (soccer) match, others attacked restaurants and cafes. In all, 130 were killed and many more were injured. Just a few months later, a Tunisian, Anis

Amri, also asserting allegiance to the Islamic State, struck in a market in Berlin, killing twelve. In the United States, meanwhile, anti-immigrant sentiments also gathered popular support, fueled by candidate, and later president, Donald Trump's nativist attacks on immigrants and restrictions on immigration from Muslim countries (the so-called Muslim ban). His administration separated children from parents who crossed the U.S.-Mexico border without documentation and sought to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy of his predecessor, Barack Obama. In the summer of 2020, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the Trump administration's efforts to strip DACA students of their rights to remain and have access to education.

In just a few years, the mood of the world's most advanced industrial societies has shifted decisively. The triumphant atmosphere that ushered in the new millennium has given way to a pessimistic outlook. In the year 2000, talk of the blessings of global integration dominated the political and economic scene; now prognosticators warn about the dangers emanating from disaffected members of their societies and from radicals, especially Islamic radicals, willing and able to unleash terror anywhere in the world.

RUSSIA, CHINA, AND INDIA

Fueling anti-immigrant fires in Europe, Japan, and North America is the increasing number of jobs being "outsourced" to China, India, and other countries. In the past, businesses had turned to immigrants to fill low-wage positions (and to keep all wages

down). But at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, it became more economical to relocate manufacturing to places where cheap labor was already available.

Economic Globalization and Political Effects

In the twenty-first century, business mobility is not limited to low-skilled and low-wage jobs. Technological advances—particularly in computers and communication—have enabled all sorts of enterprises to operate from almost any point on the globe. No longer do educated workers have to leave India and China for employment in Europe or North America, because it is increasingly cost-effective for corporations to shift certain operations to those countries. The playing field has been leveled in the globalized market economy, although countries with vast labor reserves such as China, India, and Russia still have a long way to go to achieve the per capita income levels enjoyed in the older capitalist societies like the United States, Europe, and Japan. Nonetheless, China, India, and Russia have had healthy economic growth in the first years of the new century. As the gap closed, China in particular has moved from being a trading partner to a trade competitor. It once sent cheap commodities to Europe and North America in return for capital goods and advanced technology; now, it is selling 5G wireless technology and cornering the market on strategic technologies like solar panels.

Russia: Economic Expansion and Aggressive Nationalism

With the price of oil regularly topping \$60 per barrel and spiking at \$140 per barrel in 2008, Russia enjoyed windfall energy revenues that boosted budget and trade surpluses and expanded personal incomes. Between 1999 and 2008, Russia's gross domestic product climbed at an average rate of more than 7 percent per year—an impressive achievement after the steep economic decline that followed the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991.

At the same time that Russia's economy was opening to the world, its political system seemed to be closing in on itself, with far-reaching economic consequences. In addressing the anarchy of the Yeltsin era (see Chapter 21), President Putin presided over a rebuilding of the central Russian state, which was widely welcomed in Russia. But the means Putin used to reassert central state power led, once again, to personal rule. The president forcibly repossessed the two principal television stations from billionaires and reassigned other valuable private properties, especially oil and gas companies, to the state, to be run by his former colleagues from the Soviet-era KGB. He also eliminated elections for regional executives and prohibited nongovernmental organizations from

receiving foreign financing. The result has been an authoritarian political system dominated by the executive; higher levels of corruption among runaway officials who are unchecked by the judiciary or press; economic stagnation; and a public sphere suffused with propaganda and outright lies.

The Gorbachev-Yeltsin era's promise of a real legislature, an independent judiciary, and an end to arbitrary rule gave way, in the yearning for order and stability, to aggressive nationalism and mass emigration. President Putin, after his reelection to a third (nonconsecutive) term in 2012, seized the Crimean Peninsula in a short war in 2014, much to the delight of large numbers of Russians. The annexation of Crimea came after a brief war with Georgia in 2008 that resulted in Russian recognition of two breakaway enclaves, Abkhazia and North Ossetia, and it was followed by Russian promotion of a separatist war in the eastern Ukrainian territories bordering Russia. In addition, Russian-state-sponsored violence against Crimea's LGBTQ community was part of a wider campaign to rub out LGBTQ activism across the country. President Putin justified his actions by citing the expansion of NATO to Russia's borders and NATO's announcement that it was considering membership for Georgia and Ukraine. Russia also cited western involvement in the popular overthrow of the elected president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, who fled into exile in Russia.

Although Donald Trump and right-wing leaders in Europe have expressed admiration for Vladimir Putin and claimed to take Putin at his word that the Russian government did not interfere in the 2016 American elections and subsequent votes in Europe, the American policies toward the Russians have been as hostile as they were during the Obama administration. Sanctions have been intensified, and the American military commitments to the eastern and central European member states of NATO have been strengthened.

China: Market Reforms and Shifting Foreign Policy

The Chinese have followed a path similar to that of the Russians, encouraging market economic reforms while quashing the possibilities for political liberalization. Their economic strategies seem to be successful. Over the last three decades, China's economy has maintained an average growth rate of over 9 percent annually, although it has shown signs of slowing down recently, with the rate dropping to under 7 percent in the years from 2015 to 2018. Some analysts have suggested that the Chinese government is reluctant to reveal the "real" rate, which might be even lower. Still, it remains true that consumer goods made in China dominate so many markets that it is virtually impossible, as several newspaper reporters have found, to supply an American family's needs on "China-free" products. Indeed, the Chinese economy has been the second largest in the world since late 2010, and some projections

CURRENT TRENDS IN WORLD HISTORY

Has *Homo sapiens* Entered a New Epoch—the Anthropocene?

The earth came into being more than 4 billion years ago, and the first life-forms appeared around 2 billion years ago. From the nineteenth century onward, geologists, earth scientists, evolutionary biologists, and others have been fine-tuning a timescale of earth history, which they divide into eons, four of which have thus far existed and each of which spans hundreds and thousands of millions of years. The eons themselves are subdivided into eras, periods, epochs, and ages. Earth scientists base their geological divisions of the earth's history on the major changes that have taken place in the environment and climate of our planet and its life-forms. Using these categories, they have created a geological time scale (GTS). Today, we live in the Cenozoic Era and the Holocene Epoch. The Cenozoic Era, which began roughly 65 million years ago with the extinction of the dinosaurs, has been called the Age of Mammals because the largest land animals of the era have been mammals. The Holocene Epoch, which began about 12,000 years ago, after the last major ice age, has had a stable climate and has been increasingly dominated by *Homo sapiens*. The term *Holocene* itself, meaning whole and recent, was first proposed by the British scientist Charles Lyall in 1833 and was adopted by the International Geological Congress in 1885 as the title for our epoch.

However, two scientists, Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, believe that we have entered a new geological epoch, dominated by the impact of humankind on the earth's environment, particularly its stratosphere. They first proposed the term

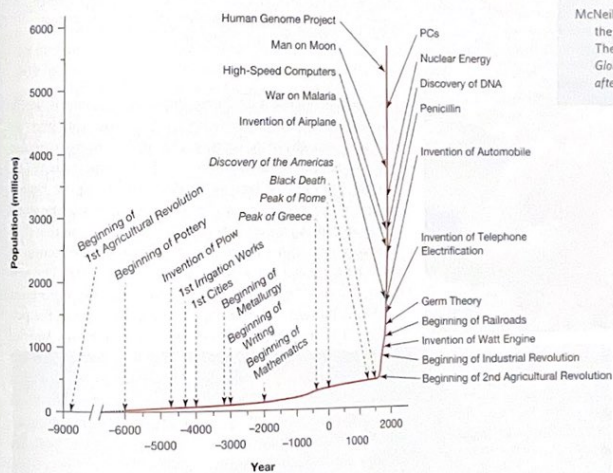
Anthropocene to represent humankind's dominance in this new epoch. Their proposal appeared in an article published in May 2000 in the newsletter of the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP). Although their statement was only a short one, these authors dealt with virtually all the factors that led them and their followers to assert that the environmental and geological impact of *Homo sapiens* has been so decisive that the world has indeed entered a new geological age. They stressed human population growth, the extinction of other species, the increase in atmospheric greenhouse gases, notably carbon dioxide and methane, and the destruction of rain forests. They concluded their essay by observing that "it seems to us more than appropriate to emphasize the central role of mankind in geology and ecology by proposing the term 'anthropocene' for the current geological epoch." Evidence from glacial ice cores showing a dramatic rise in greenhouse gas concentrations since the latter part of the eighteenth century caused them to argue that the Anthropocene began at the time of the industrial revolution.

Thus far, it has been mainly environmental historians who have taken up the challenge of studying the impact of humankind on the environment, though only a few have used the term *Anthropocene* proposed by Crutzen and Stoermer. They have, however, elaborated on the factors that Crutzen and Stoermer first laid out. Two environmental historians, J. R. McNeill and Peter Engelke, in their essay "Into the Anthropocene: People and Their Planet," contend

that "a new history of the earth has begun, that the Holocene is over, and something new has begun: the Anthropocene." They prefer the twentieth century rather than Crutzen and Stoermer's claim for the later eighteenth century as the starting point of this epoch and conclude "that humankind emerged as the most powerful influence upon the global ecology." They cite the enormous expansion of the human population: a tenfold increase over three centuries, producing the present world population of 7.6 billion. The growth of the human population was exceedingly slow up to the beginning of the nineteenth century—only about 0.05 percent per year—but reached a full 2 percent per year in 1970. In their view, "no primate, perhaps no mammal, has ever engaged in such a frenzy of reproduction." As for the loading of the atmosphere with carbon dioxide, three-quarters of this loading took place during the most recent six and a half decades (between 1945 and 2011). The number of vehicles increased from 40 million to 800 million during the same period. Moreover, the number of residents of cities expanded from about 200 million to 3.5 billion. Until it became possible to use fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and natural gas for energy, human beings relied on their own muscles to do most work. Fossil fuels have led to rapid economic progress throughout the world, but have also created problems of smog, general pollution, and the thinning of the ozone layer in the atmosphere that shields the earth from harmful radiation, as well as the critical problem of global warming.

Crutzen and Stoermer were optimistic in 2000 that world leaders would pay attention to the evidence, revealed by earth scientists, that human beings were upsetting the ecology and environment of the earth. Short of "an enormous volcanic eruption, an unexpected epidemic, a large scale nuclear war, an asteroid impact, a

new ice age, or continued plundering of Earth's resources, [they expected] . . . mankind [to] remain a major geological force for many millennia, maybe millions of years to come." Yet, are earth scientists and well-informed political leaders and ruling elites nearly so sanguine these days?



Population and Technology. This graph tracks the world's increasing population over time alongside major technological developments. Where one skyrockets, so does the other, suggesting a starting point for the Anthropocene.

Source: Figure 1 from "Catching up with the Economy," *American Economic Review* 89(1), 1-12. Copyright American Economic Association, reproduced with permission of the American Economic Review.

Explore Further

Crutzen, Paul J., and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The 'Anthropocene.'" *IGBP Newsletter*, no. 41 (May 2000): 17-18.

McNeill, J. R., *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century* (2000).

McNeill, J. R., and Peter Engelke, "Into the Anthropocene: People and Their Planet," in Akira Iriye (ed.), *Global Interdependence: The World after 1945* (2014), pp. 365-533.

suggest that China might have the world's largest economy by midcentury, even though its per capita income will still lag behind that of the United States.

In many ways, China's fortunes illustrate both the promises and the pitfalls of the economic reforms undertaken by many developing countries in the era of globalization. On the one hand, despite the continued monopoly of political power by

the Chinese Communist Party at home, China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 signified its full integration into the global capitalist economy. On the other hand, the reforms have caused political, social, and environmental problems that defy easy solutions. The disparity between the relatively prosperous coastal areas and the poor interior of the country—a problem that the communist government pledged to

redress after it came to power in 1949—has once again become a glaring challenge.

While the Chinese government insists that the gap between the rich and the poor has been closing, albeit at a modest rate, a 2016 report from Peking University, a leading Chinese academic institution, found that 1 percent of Chinese households controlled a third of the country's assets, with the poorest 25 percent of

households owning just 1 percent of the country's wealth. A 2015 survey found that there were more billionaires (in terms of U.S. dollars) in China (596) than in the United States (537). There are concerns, to be sure, both in China and worldwide, about the environmental impact of China's economic development. China's homes and factories, for instance, use 40 percent more coal than those in the United States, and Chinese city dwellers



An Economic Boom in China. The opening of the Chinese economy in the 1980s made the country an export powerhouse. Today, computers, office machine parts, and electronics dominate China's export list. But at the outset, it was mainly textiles and low-tech assembly that powered the industrial boom. This photo was taken in 2007. Now female-dominated textile manufacturing has moved away from China to lower-wage producers, like Bangladesh.

suffer from some of the world's worst smog and air quality. But as China's energy consumption and economy have soared, so has its global standing.

CHINA'S TRADE WAR WITH AMERICA The rise of China coincided with—and fueled—a disenchantment with globalization. Trade relations soon became the source of friction between partners. In the United States, traditionally the herald of multilateral free trade, the mood shifted dramatically. In his 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump excoriated American trade policies, claiming that they robbed Americans of jobs, created large trade deficits, and brought about large transfers of wealth to China and other countries. Upon coming to office, he immediately



Chinese Environmental Concerns. Despite its prosperity, Hong Kong, like other major Chinese cities, suffers from severe air pollution, which threatens its future as a hub of international commerce. This picture shows part of the city's waterfront shrouded in smog.

repudiated the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement, which had been signed on February 4, 2016, by countries with ports on the Pacific, though not the Chinese. During the campaign he also criticized the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), brought into effect on January 1, 1994, involving the United States, Canada, and Mexico. According to Trump, it was the worst American trade agreement ever negotiated, and he said that if he were elected president, he would either renounce it or renegotiate it. He did in fact renegotiate it in September 2018. The new treaty, known as the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA), provides for some improvements like raising the percentage of automobile parts that must be made in North America and requiring that at least 40 percent of the parts in an automobile must be made by workers making at least \$16 an hour (3 times the wage that current auto parts workers in Mexico make). While providing some beneficial updates to the now-twenty-five-year-old NAFTA treaty, these improvements did not fundamentally change the original agreement.

In reality, Trump's chief economic target was China and the massive trade imbalance with the Chinese, brought about because of the American appetite for Chinese goods and the unwillingness or inability of the Chinese to purchase American exports. The American trade deficit with China had ballooned from \$10 billion dollars in 1990 to \$419 billion in 2018, by which time it constituted more than half the American trade deficit of \$621 billion. Trump believed that the trade deficit with China was caused by China's manipulation of its currency in order to make Chinese exports cheap. He also accused the Chinese of carrying out industrial espionage, stealing business and professional secrets.

Claiming that trade wars were easily won, Trump began his tariff war with China on March 22, 2018, by applying steep tariffs on \$50 to \$60 billion worth of Chinese goods. China retaliated by placing tariffs on 128 U.S. imports to China, notably aluminum,

airplanes, cars, and soybeans. The Americans and the Chinese, almost always with the Americans in the lead, continued to increase the rates and the products involved until July 2019, when Trump announced that the United States would impose a 10 percent tariff on an additional \$300 billion worth of Chinese exports. He claimed that he was doing so because the Chinese had not lived up to their agreement to buy agricultural products in larger quantities than before. The new tariff would be imposed on top of the 25 percent tariff already levied on \$250 billion worth of Chinese imports, which would result in a tax on virtually all Chinese products entering the United States. The spat remained unresolved as negotiators wrangled.

Larry Kudlow, Trump's chief adviser, stated that the tariffs on Chinese imports would have little effect on the pocketbooks of American consumers. Most economists have disagreed, for that is not how tariffs usually work. Sure, the government will collect the tariff and increase its revenue, and to a very limited extent the exporters may reduce the cost of their products. But the main groups to be hurt will be American businesses and consumers, who will have to pay more for valuable Chinese imports or go without them. Independent financial surveys estimated that the new tariffs will cost American households an average of \$200 a year on top of the \$831 imposed by the already existing tariffs. In addition, these tariffs will affect low-income families more directly than the earlier tariffs, which were mainly imposed on industrial products. The new tariffs target shoes, clothing, toys, and cell phones, and the increased costs to consumers will wipe out the gains middle-class households made from Trump's tax cut of 2017. While the tariffs were due to come into effect on September 1, 2019, President



The Umbrella Movement. Hong Kong became a hotbed of pro-democracy demonstrations in 2014 as protesters registered their anger at tightened control from Beijing. As officials toed the Chinese government line, the streets became the scenes for mass mobilization of what became called the Umbrella Movement. Umbrellas, especially yellow ones, became its symbol, as they were used to deflect the police's pepper spray and tear gas canisters.

Trump postponed their implementation until December 15, citing pressure from business and consumer groups. He also removed a number of items from the list, notably those that consumers would likely purchase at Christmastime, such as shoes and electronic equipment. As the two trade partners squared off, the COVID-19 pandemic devastated global trade and put a hold on talks. The two sides continued to exchange symbolic volleys and threats.

HONG KONG PROTESTS On July 1, 1997, the British ceded Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories to the People's Republic of China, effectively bringing an end to the British Empire. Hong Kong had been part of the British Empire for 156 years and had achieved a level of prosperity and personal freedom unknown on mainland China. The agreement between the British and Chinese governments, known as the "one country, two systems" accord, stipulated that the socialist system of the People's Republic would not be practiced in Hong Kong, where a capitalist way of life would be maintained for fifty years. Further, the agreement stated that the chief executive of Hong Kong as well as the legislature would be selected by a committee composed of professional and business leaders until 2017, at which time both the chief executive and members of the legislature would be chosen by all of Hong Kong's citizens. Alas, the People's Republic of China has chipped away at these arrangements, and ultimately Hong Kong's chief executive, Carrie Lam, elected in 2017, brought before the Hong Kong legislature an extradition law that would allow the government of Hong Kong to extradite Hong Kong citizens for trial on the mainland. Thousands of Hong Kongers, perhaps as many as 1 million out of a total of a little

more than 6 million, turned out in protest on the grounds that the law violated the spirit of the original accord. Although the chief executive has withdrawn the law from the legislature, she has not repudiated the law, leading to further protests and clashes with the police. However, as the COVID-19 pandemic spread, forcing Hong Kong dissidents off the streets, Beijing seized the opportunity to extend new national security laws to the city, curbing its autonomy and slashing its cherished civil liberties. The effect only inflamed relations. As one eighteen-year-old leader of the youth democracy movement proclaimed, “I am 100 percent Hong Kong, 0 percent China.”

India: Economic Liberalization and Its Effects

India has registered impressive economic growth in the new millennium. Building on economic reforms initiated in 1991, the Indian economy became increasingly open to the global economy in the twenty-first century. Under Congress Party rule, the growth rate topped 9 percent annually between 2004 and 2009, declining to only 7 percent during the next five years when it was affected by the global economic downturn. As the state control over the economy loosened, over \$20 billion in foreign investments poured in annually. The nation's information technology sector boomed, and India became a favorite destination for global corporations, attracted by its sizable English-speaking population. The state increased investments in infrastructure development, promoting public-private partnerships, to facilitate business development. Imports and exports grew, and agriculture registered an annual growth rate of over 2 percent each year. In some respects, India became a model of market-driven growth, an alternative to the state-dominated Chinese model. Its middle classes were booming and the wealthy lived more opulently than ever. But it was also unfair and fragile. When the COVID-19 pandemic hit, India's economy was sent reeling, many migrant workers and members of the middle class suddenly saw their precarious gains vanish.

India also experienced some social gains alongside economic ones. In 2005 Prince Manvendra Singh Gohil became the world's first openly gay royal, and in 2006 Nobel laureate Amartya Sen and other public figures urged the repeal of section 377 of the Indian penal code, due to its British-era provision that criminalized homosexuality. Another milestone arrived in 2008, when five Indian cities held LGBTQ pride parades for the first time. A decade later, in 2018, after many legal battles, India's Supreme Court decriminalized homosexuality in a victory for equality. Nonetheless, these gains need to be viewed side by side with rampant and violent homophobia, including numerous vigilante murders of gay, lesbian, and transgender people.

Unfortunately, the benefits of economic liberalization were experienced unequally. High inflation hit the income of the salaried

class hard. The government initiated several welfare schemes of rural employment to cushion economic distress, but problems of inequality and poverty remained acute. In an effort to boost a capitalist economy, the government also declared an open season on land acquisition for real estate development, industrial parks, and mining, leading to the eviction of farmers and forest dwellers. The displaced people responded with armed insurgencies. Discontent mounted. High growth also created rising expectations and a drive for personal empowerment, and that stood at odds with the language of state patronage and welfare. Compounding the problem for the Congress government was that it became ensnared in a number of corruption scandals after 2012. A booming economy and new wealth had created opportunities for corrupt practices for which the government had failed to establish institutional controls. Riding on the widespread revulsion against corruption, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), under Narendra Modi, swept the national elections and came to power in 2014, and again in 2019 with an even larger majority in parliament.

Internal Divisions, External Rivalries

Internal divisions and external rivalries have threatened to undo many benefits of economic globalization in India, China, and Russia. In India, for example, the BJP, while advocating the free market, also aggressively championed *Hindutva* (“Hinduness”) as the bedrock of Indian identity. Nowhere were the effects of this twin strategy of economic liberalism and Hindu nationalism more visible than in the western state of Gujarat. Home to merchant communities for centuries, Gujarat has been in the forefront of capitalist manufactures and commerce. While aggressively participating in the global economy, the state has also been a fertile ground for Hindu nationalism.

Violence erupted in February 2002 after sixty Hindus perished in a fire that consumed a train compartment. Although the circumstances of the fire remain disputed, a rumor immediately spread, authenticated by the BJP government in Gujarat, then under Narendra Modi, that Muslims and a “foreign hand” were responsible. For the next few months, Hindu mobs went on a rampage, burning Muslim homes and hacking the residents to death. Newspapers reported that government leaders and the police force assisted in this carnage or looked the other way as over 2,000 Muslims lost their lives. In the provincial elections of December 2002, the BJP aggressively projected itself as a Hindu nationalist and pro-business party. This strategy paid rich dividends, and the BJP was reelected to power with a commanding majority. It repeated its impressive electoral feat once again in the 2012 elections and finally triumphed in the national elections two years later.

Hindu nationalists also took aim at Muslim-majority regions. Bolstered by his impressive win in the 2019 elections, Prime Minister Modi announced on August 8, 2019, that the part of Kashmir that



Right-Wing Hindu Nationalism. Not long after Indian independence in 1947, Hindu nationalists began to organize against the idea of a secular, multicultural state. They recruited young men and women and trained them in the arts of street and paramilitary violence. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a coalition of right-wing Hindu nationalists, has been in power since 2014. Street violence and persecution of minorities and pro-democracy activists have been on the rise ever since. Left: In 2002, Gujarat was consumed by sectarian riots, set off by a train fire in which sixty Hindu pilgrims died. Although an Indian government investigation concluded that the fire was accidental, the incident sparked an orgy of violence by Hindu mobs against Muslims. Shown here is an angry right-wing Hindu Party activist. Right: Members of the women's wing of a Hindu nationalist group perform a self-defense exercise.

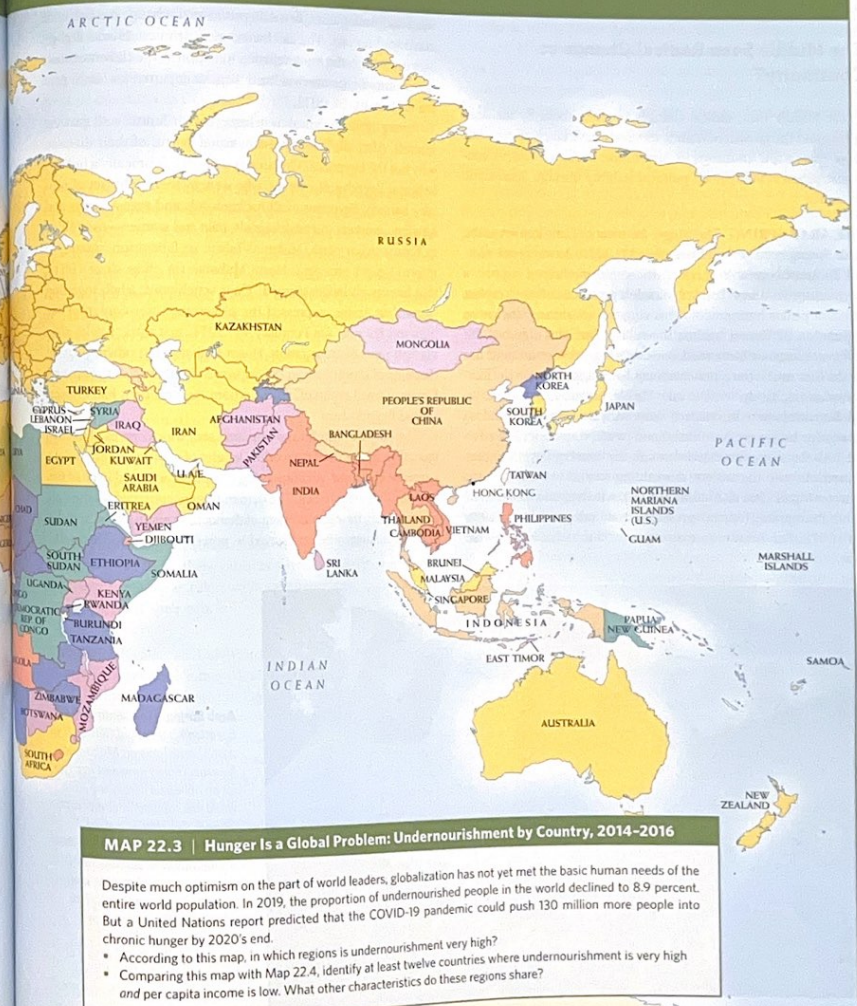
was under Indian administration was being stripped of its autonomy. He claimed that his action would improve the lot of the poor and minorities and enhance the political and economic development of the region. But the action deprived 8 million Kashmiris of local self-rule, their own prime minister, and protections against non-Kashmiri Indians seeking to move to the province. Many of these limits on the authority of the Kashmiri administration had been lost over time. But making this situation formal was an affront to Muslims in India and India's Muslim neighbors. Modi's actions infuriated Pakistan and heightened tensions with Bangladesh, which was itself reeling from an influx of Muslim refugees coming from Myanmar, many of them spilling into India.

The spiking tension with neighboring Pakistan was especially alarming due to the long conflictual history of the two countries. Flexing its nationalist muscle, the Indian government exploded a nuclear device in 1998. Pakistan responded by exploding its

own bombs, casting an ominous shadow over the two nations' unresolved conflict over Kashmir. In that contested province, terrorist violence repeatedly disturbed the peace and brought the nuclear-armed neighbors close to a potentially devastating war. The tension between the two countries escalated in 2008 when a small band of terrorists from Pakistan carried out raids in Mumbai, slaughtering many civilians and security personnel before being subdued.

Projecting recent trends into the future, many observers forecast a rearrangement of the world's economic order, with China and India especially moving to the fore during the twenty-first century. Yet China, India, and Russia, like other parts of the world, have not escaped from the past. These societies, too, struggle with widening internal divisions and potentially devastating external rivalries. (For a global look at hunger and disparities in income, see Maps 22.3 and 22.4.)

THE GLOBAL VIEW



THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA

The Middle East: Radical Change or Continuity?

In the Middle East, radical changes brought about by the Arab Spring and the growth of Islamic militancy have taken place, while more than a few countries in Africa have begun to achieve economic progress and gained political stability through democratic elections.

THE ARAB SPRING The trigger for what became known as the Arab Spring occurred on December 17, 2010. A twenty-six-year-old Tunisian vegetable vendor, whose income helped support a large family, set himself on fire outside a provincial office to protest constant police harassment. This singular act aroused the entire population of Tunisia against the ruling elite. Not only had the police confiscated Mohamed Bouazizi's vegetable stand (and not for the first time), but a policewoman had slapped him in the face. In explaining his decision to take his life, his sister exclaimed, "In Sidi Bouzidi [where he resided] those with no connections and no money for bribes are humiliated and insulted and not allowed to live." As the story circulated through the country, large numbers poured out into the streets, demanding an end to the long-term dictatorship of Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, who had taken over from Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's president from independence in 1956 until 1978. Ben Ali was an easy target for reproach. Not only had

he ruled with an iron fist, but his second wife, Leila Trabelsi, was a notoriously corrupt person, a former hairdresser who lived in splendor and spent lavishly on herself and her prominent European and Arab guests. Ben Ali's promises to change his behavior convinced no one. The catchword of the protesters was *dégage*, "get out." With the army refusing to suppress the dissenters and the security police overwhelmed, Ben Ali departed for Saudi Arabia on January 14, 2011.

Young Egyptian radicals watched events in Tunisia with growing interest. After all, if the Tunisians could get rid of their dictator, why not the Egyptians? On January 25, 2011 (ironically a holiday to honor Egypt's police forces, who were by then an object of people's hatred), Egyptians of all backgrounds and ages—Copts and Muslims, workers and professionals, men and women—assembled in Cairo's major plaza, Midan al-Tahrir, or Liberation Square, to inform Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak (in office since 1981), that he was no longer wanted. Their watchword, *irhal*, meaning "scram" in Arabic, expressed the protesters' utter contempt for him and his rule. On February 11, 2011, just three weeks after the first mass demonstration, Hosni Mubarak left office, turning the reins of power over to the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, a small group of officers whom the president had chosen to lead Egypt's army.

The ouster of Ben Ali and Mubarak sent shock waves of excitement throughout the Arab world. Decades of pent-up rage could no longer be contained. An outpouring of protests occurred in all of the Arab world's major cities. The demands were consistent—the end of repression, the establishment of democratic institutions, and the ouster of rulers who had stayed in power too long and who did

not represent the will of the people. The results were astonishing. Monarchs in Jordan and Morocco promised new constitutions; they said that going forward they would rule, not reign. Bahraini Shiites exacted a new constitution from their Sunni king, and Ali Abdullah Saleh, ruler of Yemen since 1978, fled the country. Even Muammar al-Qaddafi, the Libyan strongman, in power since ousting King Idris in 1969, felt the sting of protest, though his ouster and eventual execution on October 20, 2011, in the city of Sirte, owed as much to a United Nations–approved use of NATO air power as it did to the rebel army that rose up to unseat him.

Contributing Factors Although much of the world had misunderstood the causes of these uprisings, they were not hard to discern after the fact. In the first place, Arab populations, 60 percent of whom were under thirty years of age and had known no other rulers, resented the fact that the wave of democratic reforms that had swept through Russia, much of eastern and central Europe, and large parts of sub-Saharan Africa had passed them by. They saw no reason why they, too, should not have leaders who represented their wishes rather than rigged elections and fraudulent referendums that supported the wishes of the ruling elites. The young came to be known as the generation in waiting—waiting for jobs that never seemed to appear, waiting to have enough money to move out of their parents' homes; and waiting to get married and start families. The fact that Hafez al-Assad of Syria had passed power to his son, Bashar al-Assad, and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was grooming his son, Gamal, heightened the rage. Although the uprisings often took names that suggested peaceful protest—the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia followed by the White Revolution in Egypt—in reality these outbursts reflected deep-seated and long-standing fury at rulers who were repressive, corrupt, and unresponsive to their people.

Arab Spring Becomes an Arab Winter The early results led euphoric protesters to believe that they could create new and more open societies. Dictators were ousted in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen; free elections were held; and new constitutions were promised. But the progress was hard to sustain. In Bahrain, where the king promised a more democratic constitution and appeared willing to make concessions to his Shiite subjects, violence in the capital persuaded the Saudi army to intervene and suppress the protest movement. Tunisia has accomplished more than the other states so far, owing to a strong civilian bureaucracy, high levels of education, and the strongest and most independent labor movement in the Arab world. It is, however, not out of the woods.

Egypt, too, held elections that were won by the Muslim Brotherhood party, Justice and Development, but nullified by the courts. It also elected a Muslim Brotherhood president, Mohamed Morsi. In an effort to be seen as a ruler of all the people, Morsi resigned from the Brotherhood. Yet he issued a decree granting himself powers beyond the reach of the Egyptian judiciary and failed

to establish an inclusive government. He was ousted and put in prison by Egypt's military leader, General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who was commander in chief of the armed forces and minister of defense in the Morsi government. Once in power, Sisi dealt with the Muslim Brotherhood in a savage way, imprisoning at least 30,000, perhaps even 60,000, and massacring at least 1,000 Muslim Brother protesters in Cairo on August 14, 2013. In early 2014, Sisi resigned from the military and ran for the presidency against a single opponent. While he won 96 percent of the vote, many eligible voters boycotted the election as a protest against the new government. On June 4, 2014, Sisi was sworn in as Egypt's sixth president. On April 23, 2019, he carried out a referendum that would allow him to remain as president until 2030, by which time he would be 75 years old.

By far, the most lethal outcome of the Arab Spring has occurred in Syria. Beginning on March 15, 2011, protesters demanded the ouster of President Bashar al-Assad, formed the Free Syrian Army, gained international recognition for their movement from the United States and European states, and led protests that resulted in violent confrontation with Assad's forces. Yet little has gone well for the opposition forces. Even while the Americans and many others considered Assad's days to be numbered, the Syrian president defied the protesters and western critics by gaining financial aid from Iran and crucial—indeed, regime-saving—military support from Hezbollah (a Shiite party established in Lebanon) and Russia. Assad's retaking of the rebel stronghold of Aleppo in January 2017 marked a significant military triumph for the Syrian president, driving the Free Syrian Army and its supporters into the governorates of Idlib and Hama in northwest Syria, near the border with Turkey, and calling into question whether the different groups battling the Assad regime could topple his government.

The turmoil of the Syrian civil war has produced catastrophic suffering. Eight years of war cost 500,000 lives, left over 1 million



Arab Spring. The deaths of Egyptian Khaled Said (left on the poster) and Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi (right) provided martyrs for an upheaval across the Arab world and toppled undemocratic regimes, like that of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt in 2011. In this photograph, one demonstrator holds the martyrs' images aloft to denounce the authoritarian rule around the region. Day and night, Cairo's Tahrir Square was thronged with Egyptians of all ages to protest the ongoing military rule after the ouster of Mubarak.



Syrian Chemical Weapons Use. A child received treatment after an alleged gas attack on the Sokba and Hammuriya areas in Eastern Ghouta, Syria, on March 7, 2018.

THE GLOBAL VIEW



injured, displaced half the population, and reduced the economy to one-third the size it was at the outset of the conflict. In 2018, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees estimated that Syria had the largest number of the 70,800,000 worldwide refugees, returnees, internally displaced persons, and stateless persons. Indeed, more than half of the people in the refugee category came from Syria (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million), and South Sudan (2.3 million). Of the Syrian refugees, 600,000 found refuge in Germany. Assad won the war, but his country is in misery.

Nor have events gone as the protesters wanted in Yemen and in other countries like Libya. The ousting of President Ali Abdullah Saleh created a political and leadership vacuum, which a marginalized Shiite Houthi community in north Yemen attempted to fill. Houthi forces invaded the southwest and established a new government, but the Saudi regime intervened militarily against the Houthis. The civil war in that country rages on and has pushed 10 million people to the brink of famine and nearly a quarter million to catastrophic levels of food security in a population of 29 million.

The Arab Spring began with such excitement and optimism, but nearly everywhere it has failed to deliver on its promises. The reasons for failure vary from country to country. In general, however, in Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab countries, like Morocco and Jordan, that retained their ruling elites, the regular militaries stayed in power and asserted their authority after the early protests. Nor did the original liberal leaders, almost all young people, create strong political parties or emerge as charismatic leaders. Sectarianism was also a factor, although it should not be overstated. In recent days, mainly young, liberal protesters in Iraq and Lebanon have demanded that the primarily

Shiite government in Iraq and the multireligious elites step aside and allow less religious, more nationalist political elites to assume power.

ISLAMIC MILITANCY As the old tyrants shook and states grew weak, one of the beneficiaries was Islamic movements. The militant movement was dominated by al-Qaeda in the 1990s, but changed significantly with the emergence of ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) in the early 2000s. As the Americans clipped the power of al-Qaeda, killing many of its important leaders, including Osama bin Laden, ISIS rose to take its place, becoming an even more formidable opponent of the United States and western influence in the Middle East. Islamic militancy has deep historical roots: its advocates look back with favor on early Muslim warriors who carried out their conquests inspired by the doctrine of jihad. In the twentieth century, some Muslim intellectuals urged Muslims to embrace this earlier form of jihad, promoting the use of violence to challenge the west and to create a powerful Islamic state. One of the most influential of these individuals was Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian Muslim Brother who argued that the Quran sanctioned the use of force against corrupt and repressive Muslim rulers. In his influential book *Milestones*—written while Qutb was in prison, smuggled out, published in 1964, and circulated widely in Muslim societies—he argued that “the West has lost its vitality and Marxism has failed. At this crucial and bewildering juncture, the time of Islam and the Muslim community has arrived.”

Al-Qaeda’s agenda of challenging the west was based on the belief that the west, and especially the Americans, was the main force standing in the way of Islam’s rise. Thus, the first order of

business was to challenge American power: hence the attack on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. The leaders of al-Qaeda (notably the Saudi Osama bin Laden and the Egyptian Ayman al-Zawahiri) came from elite families and believed that an Islamic state could emerge only after American power had been eroded. They were also extremely uncomfortable with the kinds of violence that more radical Islamists, like the founders of ISIS, urged upon their followers, such as beheadings and burning opponents of their state in prison cells. Their movement was explicitly transnational, always seeking to create branches in other Islamic countries. Nonetheless, al-Qaeda, lacking a state structure, required the protection of the Taliban in Afghanistan to form a base from which to organize its attacks on the west. Once al-Qaeda lost this protection, as it did when the Americans invaded Afghanistan in 2001, its leaders had to take refuge wherever they could. U.S. Navy SEALs killed Osama bin Laden in 2011 when he was hiding out, though really in plain sight, in Abbottabad, Pakistan, but the United States has yet to find Zawahiri despite its offer of \$25 million for information concerning his whereabouts.

Despite the apparent strength and sprawl of radical Islamic movements, it is worth noting that they have been deeply effective overall. The founder of the other major Islamic movement, ISIS, was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an unlikely leader. A heavy drinker, a brawler, and a high school dropout, little more than a thug, he found religion, in his case militant Islam, as his salvation and the purpose of his life. After being released from a Jordanian prison in 1992, al-Zarqawi made his way to Afghanistan to meet Osama bin Laden, whom he idolized. Although the leaders of al-Qaeda considered him too violent and hotheaded, nonetheless some high-ranking members of al-Qaeda accepted him into their ranks. The Americans chased al-Zarqawi out of Afghanistan, but eventually he made his way to Iraq, anticipating that the Americans would invade and that he could put his form of radical and militant Islam into action there.

What bolstered ISIS was the ham-fisted work of its enemy and the weakness of Middle Eastern states. The American invasion of Iraq, the failure of the Arab Spring in most Arab countries, the dismantling of the Iraqi army and civil bureaucracy, and the rise of Shiite dominance in Iraq catapulted al-Zarqawi’s vision of a violent, jihadi world to prominence in Iraq. Here, his willingness to employ violence of a particularly repulsive nature earned him the nickname “the Sheikh of the Slaughterers.” Although his hatred of the Americans was boundless, his rage against Iraqi Shiites was even more intense. In a country where the Sunni minority had exercised power for centuries, the dominance of Shiites in the new government of Nuri al-Maliki, a determined Shiite who refused to share power with any other group, enraged al-Zarqawi and his Sunni followers.

Al-Zarqawi’s rise to prominence proved short-lived, however. American troops tracked him to a safe house just outside Baghdad and killed him on June 7, 2006. With his death, al-Qaeda in Iraq

went into steep decline. The next two leaders were incompetent individuals, prompting Michael Hayden, director of the CIA, to consider al-Qaeda in Iraq to be moribund. President Obama went even further, claiming that al-Qaeda in Iraq was “amateurish” and likening it to “a junior varsity team that puts on Lakers uniforms,” but adding “that doesn’t make them Kobe Bryant” (Gerges, p. 2).

The American president and the director of the CIA underestimated the capabilities of al-Qaeda in Iraq to resurrect itself. Al-Qaeda had splintered into several new groups, and the most prominent was ISIS. The new leader of ISIS, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, was as unlikely a man to rally the organization as al-Zarqawi was to be its founder. Baghdadi had neither military nor bureaucratic experience when he assumed leadership of ISIS in May 2010. He was an Islamic scholar who had trained in some of the minor Iraqi Muslim schools and had eventually gained his doctorate by writing an exegesis of the Quran. Like so many of the members of ISIS, he had been imprisoned by the American military in Camp Bucca in Iraq, which was called “the Qaeda School” because strong anti-American and anti-Shiite discussions took place among the inmates. But he had something that the parent organization, al-Qaeda, lacked: a territorial state, based originally in northern and central Iraq, that became even more formidable following the departure of American forces from the country. Drawing on Iraqi Baathist bureaucrats dismissed by the Americans and discharged Iraqi army officers, his state surrounded itself with experienced military officers and bureaucrats. After moving into war-torn Syria and conquering Mosul in northern Iraq in 2014, ISIS also took the name the Islamic Caliphate, and Baghdadi announced to the world that he was the new Islamic State’s first caliph.



ISIS Fighters. ISIS assembled a powerful group of soldiers, many from foreign countries (including the United States and European nations), and created a territorial state in western Syria and northern Iraq.

TABLE 22.1 | Population of Shiite Muslims, 2009

	ESTIMATED 2009 SHIITE POPULATION	APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION THAT IS SHIITE
Iran	66-70 million	90-95
Iraq	19-22 million	65-70
Yemen	8-10 million	35-40
Azerbaijan	5-7 million	65-75
Syria	3-4 million	15-20
Lebanon	1-2 million	45-55
Kuwait	500,000-700,000	20-25
Bahrain	400,000-500,000	65-75
World total	154-200 million	10-13

Source: “Mapping the Global Muslim Population,” Pew Research Center, October 7, 2009.

The conquest of Mosul meant that ISIS controlled territories in central Syria and northern Iraq as large as those constituting the United Kingdom. It also had a population of between 6 and 9 million; an army of 30,000; a capital city, Raqqa, in Syria; and large financial resources, amassed through oil revenues, looting, and taxes. (For a look at the territory held by the Islamic State and the population of Shiite Muslims in the Middle East, see Map 22.5 and Table 22.1.) In addition, ISIS benefited from intellectuals who promoted Baghdadi's vision of a territorial state that they believed would capture the imagination of Muslims around the world. One of the most widely read individuals of this group was Abu Bakr Naji, whose manifesto, *The Management of Savagery*, appeared on the Internet in 2004. In it, Naji contended that "it is naught but violence, crudeness, terrorism, frightening others, and massacres" that will strike fear in enemies and rally supporters and near-supporters to ISIS's causes.

By 2017, ISIS was losing its strongholds in Iraq and Syria. First to fall was the city of Mosul, the biggest and largest ISIS city in its caliphate. Compelled to retreat to its Syrian capital, Raqqa, it was finally dislodged there in 2019, overrun by anti-ISIS forces led by a well-disciplined and well-armed Kurdish force. On October 26–27, 2019, Baghdadi killed himself by detonating a suicide vest as he was about to be seized by an American military unit. Nonetheless, although ISIS is no longer a state, its appeal, like that of al-Qaeda, remains potent. Not only does it have deep roots in the writings of many earlier, and now modern, Muslim theoreticians, but it continues to appeal to marginalized Muslim groups around the world. It will be a force to be reckoned with for years.

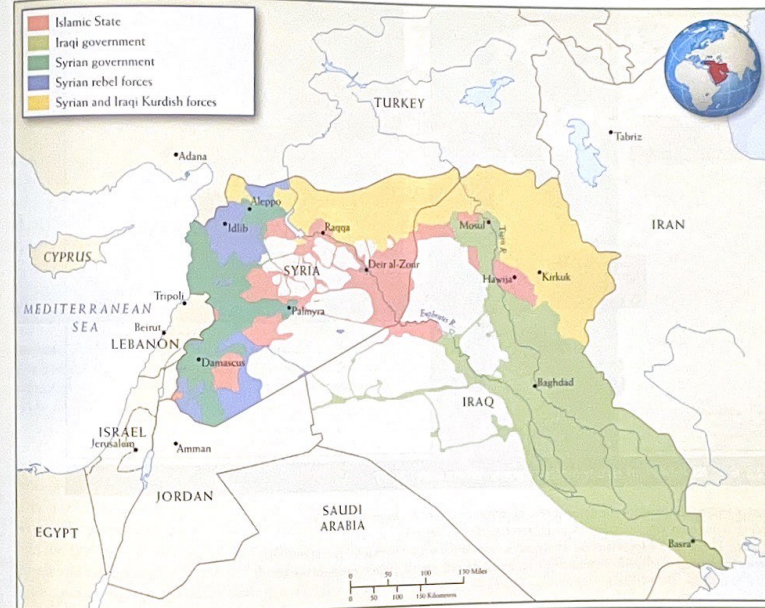


Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Caliph of the Islamic State. Baghdadi assumed control of ISIS in 2010 and was proclaimed caliph of the state in 2014. He committed suicide on October 26–27, 2019, rather than allowing himself to be taken by American troops.

THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR DEAL In mid-June 2015, Iran and the United States, Russia, China, Britain, France, Germany, and the European Union reached an agreement on an issue that had troubled Iran's relations with the outside world for more than a decade and that had resulted in the imposition of severe economic sanctions on Iran. The agreement dealt with Iran's nuclear program, which the Iranians claimed was entirely for civil use, but the United States and many other countries believed was to create nuclear weapon capability. The 2013 elections in Iran placed the government in the hands of moderate politicians, many of whom, like President Hassan Rouhani, believed that the sanctions placed on Iran by the west were undermining the country's standard of living and turning the state into an international pariah. The U.S. government, led by Secretary of State John Kerry, took full advantage of the situation and, along with five other states, negotiated a nuclear agreement that was to run for ten years and would allow inspections of the Iranian nuclear facilities while permitting the Iranians to enrich uranium for civil but not military uses. The negotiating foreign powers agreed to lift the financial and economic sanctions, thus permitting Iran to engage in trade with the rest of the world and to gain access to its substantial financial resources, which were tied up in western banks.

In keeping with his aversion to treaties and constraints, on May 6, 2018, President Donald Trump pulled out of the Iranian nuclear deal, calling it the worst agreement ever signed and claiming that it would not lead to peace in the region. While many countries in the Middle East endorsed Trump's action, including Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates, the other signatories of the Iranian nuclear deal did not. European governments struggled to shore it up. Moreover, the Americans sought maximum sanction pressure against Iran, including sanctions on even the Iranian foreign minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, who had been instrumental in negotiating the Iranian nuclear deal. In response, Iran breached significant parts of the agreement, exceeding a critical limit on how much fuel it could possess and enriching uranium beyond the purity it had agreed to. Iranian-American tensions reached a boiling point, coming close to outright war, in July 2019 when the Iranians shot down an American drone over the Persian Gulf. Only minutes after accepting the advice of Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and National Security Adviser John Bolton to send missiles against a series of Iranian missile sites, Trump changed his mind, believing that the loss of Iranian lives would not be proportionate to the downing of the American drone.

THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL As in much of the rest of the world, where politicians favored national sovereignty over global laws and norms, a hard-line government took hold in Israel. Though it represented an unstable coalition of extremist and nationalist parties, its cunning leader and the country's longest-serving prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has managed to survive and tilt the political spectrum ever further to anti-Palestinian positions.



MAP 22.5 | Warring Factions in Iraq and Syria, March 27, 2017

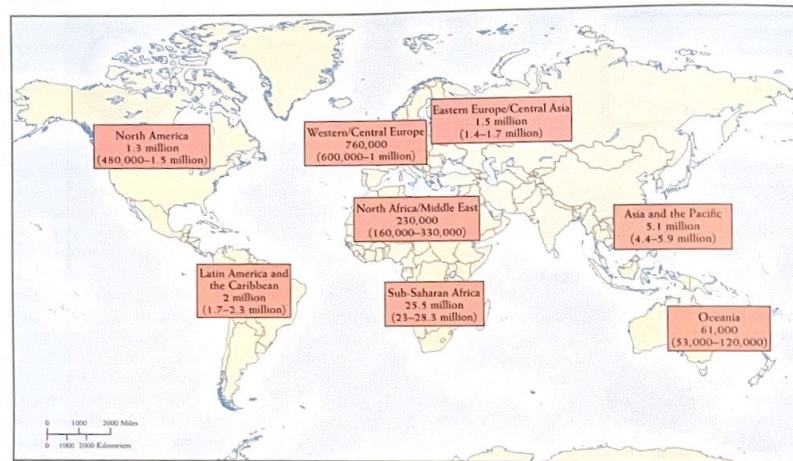
- This map shows the territories held by Kurdish fighters, ISIS, rebel Syrian fighters, and the Iraqi and Syrian governments.
- Compare the territories held by ISIS with the map of the boundaries set by the Sykes-Picot agreement (see Map 19.4). How similar are the territories that ISIS held in March 2017 to those that Sykes-Picot reserved for an Arab confederation?
 - ISIS contends that the British-French agreements for the division of the Arab world after World War I need to be abolished. Why does ISIS hold these views?
 - Why would the Turkish, Iraqi, and Syrian governments be dismayed that the Kurds have become the strongest militia fighting against ISIS?

Despite corruption scandals, he has managed to win elections and cling to power—now through an unstable emergency alliance with his rivals.

Africa: Poverty, Disease, Genocide, and Progress

Globalization lifted many out of poverty, especially in China and elsewhere in East and Southeast Asia. But it also spread the benefits unfairly. So, while poverty decreased on the whole, inequality

increased—and became more concentrated in specific regions. The result: in much of the developing world, poverty, disease, and violence persist. The new millennium did not begin auspiciously for the peoples of Africa. The region remained the poorest in the world and suffered the uncontrolled and uncontrollable spread of HIV/AIDS. Of the thirty-eight sub-Saharan African countries surveyed in the *World Bank Development Report* for 2009, all but seven were low-income countries. The poorest of the poor (Burundi, the Republic of the Congo, and Liberia) reported per capita incomes of \$150 or less. Botswana, which enjoyed the second-highest per capita income level at \$6,120 (behind only mineral-rich Gabon), was

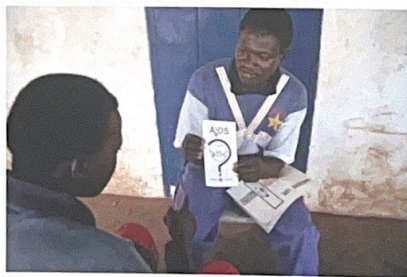


MAP 22.6 | Numbers of HIV-Positive People Worldwide, 2016

The spread of HIV/AIDS threatens the development of human capital in the twenty-first century.

- According to this map, which region has the highest rate of HIV infection?
- Using Maps 22.3 and 22.4 for reference, what connections do you see between poverty and HIV/AIDS prevalence?
- How does the spread of HIV/AIDS compromise economic development in poorer regions of the world?

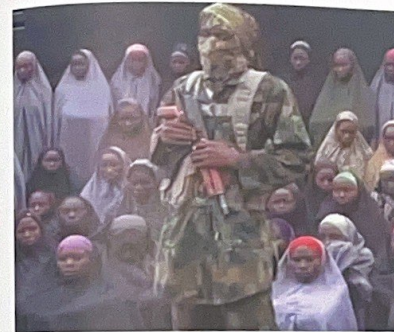
so devastated by HIV/AIDS that life expectancy, once the highest in Africa at close to seventy years, had tumbled to fifty-one years in 2007 and was one of the lowest in the world. (For a global look at HIV/AIDS incidence, see Map 22.6.)



HIV/AIDS Awareness. Left: A Gambian health worker offers HIV/AIDS awareness literature. Right: Due, in part, to the high cost of medicines, HIV/AIDS has taken a deadly toll on Africans, prompting this memorial in the Netherlands on December 1 (which has been designated World AIDS Day), 2009. The crosses represented the millions of Africans unable to gain access to HIV/AIDS medications.



There are nonetheless promising signs of political and economic progress. Ghana embraced parliamentary and presidential elections. Civil strife ended in Mozambique and Angola. South Africa convened a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to



Secondary School Girls Kidnapped by Boko Haram. On the night of April 14, 2014, Boko Haram descended on a secondary school in northeastern Nigeria and kidnapped 276 girls, only a few of whom have thus far escaped or been rescued.

put the trauma of apartheid behind it and to stay on the course of parliamentary democracy while addressing the gross disparities of income between Whites and Blacks that were legacies of the twentieth century. Rwanda has made a spectacular comeback from the genocide of 2008 to achieve high levels of economic growth and educational achievement. In Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, and many other African countries, in spite of glaring income inequalities, an emerging middle class has taken shape. In late 2016, Gambian voters elected a new president, sending the man who had been the country's dictator for more than two decades into exile.

Elsewhere, however, political instability wrought misery and devastation. Many of West Africa's countries (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali, the Ivory Coast, and the Central African Republic) were torn asunder because of ethnic and personal rivalries and required foreign intervention. Nigeria finally rid itself of unwanted military dictatorial control and moved to a civil, parliamentary system. But Nigeria's democratically elected presidents have barely been able to hold the country together. The peoples of the Niger delta in the south continue to rebel and demand a larger share of the oil wealth that is produced in their region, while in the impoverished northeast a Muslim group calling itself Boko Haram (meaning "no western learning") has carried out shocking violence. The most notorious of Boko Haram's actions was the kidnapping of 276 female students from a secondary school in Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria.

In 2011, just when Africa's longest-running civil war, pitting the animist and Christian southern Sudanese against the northern Muslim peoples, had seemingly been resolved through the creation of a new state carved out of Sudan and known as South Sudan,



Liberia's President. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf after her inauguration at the Capital Building in Monrovia on January 16, 2006. Johnson Sirleaf was Africa's first elected woman president; she enjoyed strong U.S. support and worked to fight graft and rebuild her country after years of war.

an ongoing dispute in western Sudan kept the Sudanese government in civil strife. In the region of Darfur, the state allowed local horse-riding, nomadic tribesmen to carry out ethnic-cleansing campaigns against settled agriculturalists. This has led to one of Africa's worst cases of displaced peoples. Over 2 million refugees fled government terror and civil war to huddle in vast, miserable camps. As in Rwanda in the 1990s (see Chapter 21), genocide has once more visited Africa. But there is some hope. In the West African country of Liberia, after years of pitiless civil war, the belligerents agreed to put down their guns in 2004. In 2005, remarkable elections swept Ellen Johnson Sirleaf into office to become Africa's first woman president.

Latin America: Deepening Inequalities

Globalization has contributed to economic inequality in some of the poorest parts of the world. In some cases, it worsened domestic chasms. Compared with sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America's situation is not so bleak. But within the region and countries, the divide between haves and have-nots has widened what has historically been the world's most unequal region. The very rich in Buenos Aires live like the very rich in Paris; magnates of Mexico City drive the same cars, eat the same food, read the same books, and vacation in the same spots as their social cousins from New York. They send their children to private schools in the United States and the United Kingdom

to join a cosmopolitan elite. To Latin American elites, globalization has been a boon to their wealth and has facilitated integration into the international circulation of goods, ideas, and people. Many, in fact, identify less and less with a particular place in the world.

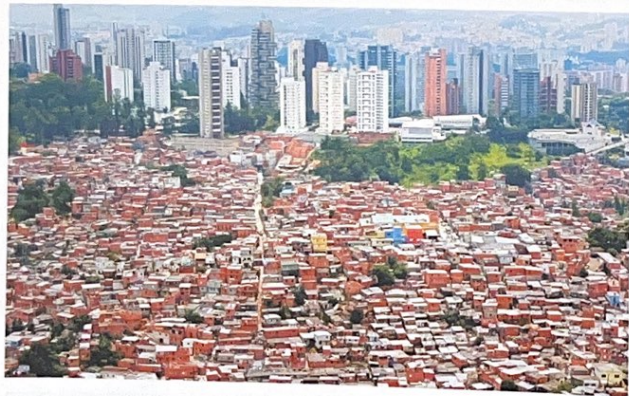
Some of the same features hold for the social bottom. Being disadvantaged and poor in southern Mexico looks a lot like being on the losing end in southern Africa: people cling to tiny parcels of land, migrate long distances for seasonal jobs, and fight against insensitive authorities for their basic needs. Globalization has offered few opportunities to make it at home. Old factories closed in Rosario, Argentina, when faced with competition from Japan, maize farmers in Mexico must contend with imports from Iowa. In many cases, thanks to globalization, the main solution to the problem has been to leave—to move to the city or across borders in search of opportunities elsewhere.

Latin Americans responded to these challenges in many ways. One sweeping trend was for voters to elect left-wing governments. Most of these are not like the rebel firebrands of the 1960s. Instead, in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, left-wing governments offered policies designed to soften the blows of globalization and meet basic needs for land, schools, and decent housing. Here, the same pressures of globalization that contributed to leftist electoral triumphs limit what these fledgling governments can do. In Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, a more nationalist and populist brand of politics has emerged, one that decries globalization altogether. Rather than softening its effects, the presidents of these countries promised to reverse them; they criticized imperialism and challenged

American influence. Their message was that Latin America is better off being a world apart; being together, especially if it means cozying up to the United States, implies a future of subservience and impoverishment. But while many of these leaders stifle criticism at home, being apart has not ensured empowerment and prosperity for all. Not all left-wing governments calling for greater inequality have been repressive or even anti-American. The progressive president of Mexico, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (known commonly as AMLO), has been a shrewd pragmatist, deftly avoiding inflammatory relations with his mercurial neighbor Donald Trump.

But the left-wing turn boomeranged. Parts of Latin America followed the Indian, Russian, and American tilt to nativist, right-wing politics. This was most dramatic in Brazil, where the Workers' Party lost elections in 2018, bringing Jair Bolsonaro to power on a wave of racism and sexist sloganeering. Like other populists, he stoked resentments against minorities and women and blamed outside forces for the country's woes. Other left-wing regimes hung on, often with calamitous results for the country. In Venezuela, a once-wealthy country that is now racked with a 44 percent unemployment rate, a "revolutionary" government has dragged the society into mass poverty and polarization. Up to 6 million people, 20 percent of the population, have fled, creating a refugee crisis in neighboring Colombia and Brazil. (See Interpreting Visual Evidence: Global Inequality and the Refugee Crisis.)

The appeal of anti-globalist politics is not limited to Latin America or even to the developing nations. In the most advanced industrial societies, as well as in rapidly rising nations like China



São Paulo, Brazil. An aerial view of one of São Paulo's biggest slums, Favela Morumbi, it borders one of the city's richest neighborhoods, which is also called Morumbi. Haves and have-nots live cheek by jowl, creating intimate frictions within cities and neighborhoods.



Anti-globalization. Anti-globalists target annual summits of the leaders of the eight most industrialized countries. This photo shows riot police driving back protesters during the June 2007 summit in Germany. Notice the New York Yankees baseball cap on one of the protesters.

and India, programs to check globalization or buffer people from its destabilizing effects have found receptive audiences. Still, opposition to deeper global integration continues to be greatest in the poorest parts of the world, where globalization's benefits are least apparent and its costs are often lethal.

A GLOBAL TREND TOWARD POPULIST POLITICS AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Populist politics emerged full-blown in the second decade of the twenty-first century. It owed much to the financial crisis of 2008, which marginalized large segments of the world's population and heightened awareness of gross wealth inequalities and political powerlessness. Many gravitated to leaders whose messages were directed to "the people" and against illegitimate "others"; elite populist politicians portrayed immigrants and ethnic and religious minorities as enemies of the people. Successful efforts to rescue the big banks and biggest investors of the global financial system, many of which had caused the crisis while ordinary people largely became its victims, led to widespread anger that was initially ignored—until political entrepreneurs perceived an opportunity.

Populism took many forms. In some countries, it was highly autocratic. In democracies like Britain, continental Europe, and the United States, it led to the rise of ethnic nationalists and the emergence of strong right-wing parties. In Britain, it fueled the winning vote to leave the European Union and ultimately led to the prime ministership of Boris Johnson, a hard-line Brexit advocate.



Prime Minister Modi, of India, Meeting with President Erdogan, of Turkey. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan (right), of Turkey, met with the Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, of India, on November 16, 2015. Both men have used religion to enhance their popularity and the parties that they head, Erdogan fostering Islamism, and Modi Hinduism.

National sentiment will always be majoritarian in any given country, but populism pits national sentiment against internationalism in a zero-sum fashion. Populism is also often a politics not of opportunity, economic or otherwise, but of resentment and grievance, division and polarization. However real the anger and the injustices, populism's ability to deliver for its angry constituents is never as strong as its ability to mobilize them.

A strong example of the growth of populism occurred in India, where Prime Minister Narendra Modi rose to become that nation's strongman, claiming to embody the interests of the nation. With opposition parties dispirited and weak, he skillfully used social media to portray himself as a leader working tirelessly to advance India's interests against its foreign and domestic enemies. Taking a cue from their leader's aggressive nationalism, BJP politicians and Hindu vigilante groups targeted minorities, particularly Muslims. Critics of the government's policies toward Muslims and Dalits were tarred as anti-national. In November 2016, Modi's government demonetized high-currency notes, claiming the policy to be a measure directed against unaccounted wealth, the underground economy, and counterfeit money. This move shocked the financial system and caused grave distress to the significant sector of the economy that is based on cash transactions. However, Modi successfully framed demonetization as a nationalist act; those opposed to it were labeled as anti-national and pro-"black money." Claiming to be the *chowkidar*, the watchman, for India, Modi won a stunning landslide victory for his BJP party in 2019 and gave Hindu nationalists their largest majority in modern India.

The pendulum, however, has shown signs of swinging back against the populist politicians. For example, Donald Trump's policies energized the Democrat Party, failed to benefit his nonprivileged supporters, and led to the loss of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives in the 2018 election. Trump faced a stiff challenge in his effort to secure reelection in 2020, as he trailed badly in the polls in the summer of 2020, he turned to increasingly authoritarian campaign tactics like sending federal officers to major metropolitan areas to quell unrest. And in Turkey, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's chosen candidate for mayor of Istanbul suffered a crushing defeat in the June 2019 election that revealed opposition not only to Erdogan's Justice and Development Party but also to Erdogan himself. Finally, Boris Johnson, in one of his first acts as prime minister of the United Kingdom, visited Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland and was roundly booed. Scottish nationalists, wishing to stay in the European Union, have wondered if they should secede from the United Kingdom, and many Northern Irishers have revived their long-standing desire to join the Republic of Ireland. Even the people of Wales, which had voted for Brexit, worried about a no-deal exit from the European Union and expressed their displeasure to Johnson.

STATE VIOLENCE AND THE STRUGGLES FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AND LGBTQ RIGHTS If the shocks to globalization revealed underlying injustices and the unequal effects of climate change and public health threats, the spotlight also turned to the ways in which states openly discriminated and harassed some of their own citizens, while drawing ever-harder lines in excluding noncitizens. Consider the role of police violence. In France, Britain, Turkey, and the United States—not to mention countries with even more repressive regimes, like Syria and Hong Kong—policing became synonymous with a defense of privileged sectors and racial hierarchies.

In the United States, the struggle over police violence and repression flared up in the wake of 2008. The struggle to reform policy became a social movement under the banner of **Black Lives Matter**. In 2013, a White “neighborhood watchman” named George Zimmerman was acquitted of killing Trayvon Martin, a Black teenager who had been on the way to his father's house in Florida. A rash of news reports about brutal killings and torture hit the headlines. The deaths from excessive use of force by police of Eric Garner in New York, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and others also prompted mass demonstrations. In 2015, twenty-eight-year-old Sandra Bland, who was arrested on a traffic stop and held for three days in a Texas jail, died in police custody. Black Lives Matter evolved quickly from a protest wave to a movement—one cofounded by three Black women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, two of whom identify with the LGBTQ community. They called for deep police and penal reform.

The drive to reform and restore some sense of equal citizenship gained momentum in late spring 2020 in the United States, which



Black Lives Matter in 2020. On May 25, 2020, a Black civilian named George Floyd was choked to death by a White police officer in front of onlookers who pleaded to let Floyd live. Videos of the murder went viral. Across American cities and around the world, people demonstrated. Floyd, painted here in a mural in Nairobi, Kenya, became an emblem of defiance against police violence.

had emerged as the symbolic epicenter of a global movement. On May 25, a White Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin, looked into cameras for 8 minutes and 47 seconds as his knee sank into the neck of a Black man named George Floyd. As onlookers called for help and warned Chauvin that George was choking, Floyd's eyes fluttered shut, he stopped breathing, and he died. The footage of the murder went viral. In the midst of a pandemic lockdown, the people of Minneapolis took to the streets to protest the long history of police abuse. Within days, small towns and cities across America became the stage for the largest single civilian mobilization since the protests against the Vietnam War in the 1960s. The protest also went global as citizens of other countries turned to their own police forces and called out local injustices. Thousands of protesters took to the streets in Japan, England, Denmark, Senegal, Spain, Turkey, Canada, Portugal, South Korea, Brazil, and France. This time, calls to defund or even abolish the police joined the calls for reform and the demands to hold individual officers accountable for their use of excessive force. Social media played a vital role as viral, smartphone-shot videos of police teargassing and shooting rubber bullets at unarmed protesters and members of the press—and of protesters wearing masks to reduce the risk of spreading COVID-19—lit up the Internet.

The call for equal protection and rights for citizens also spurred mobilization for the rights of people who resist heterosexual norms and the binary gender labels of man or woman. The past decade has seen many global triumphs, as well as heightened visibility in the media and the public sphere, for LGBTQ people. The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) passed its first resolution affirming LGBTQ rights in 2011; actress and advocate Laverne Cox



Transgender Activism. Laverne Cox, a prominent American actress and defender of the rights of LGBTQ people, became a standard-bearer for transgender activism. Here she serves as grand marshal of the New York City Pride March in 2014. Beside her is a framed picture of Islan Nettles, a young trans woman who was murdered in Harlem earlier that year, held by Nettles's mother. Since the election of Donald Trump, Cox has become increasingly active, working on lawsuits to defend against discrimination and appearing at rallies and demonstrations against police violence in the summer of 2020.

became the first transgender person on the cover of *Time* magazine in 2014; and *Moonlight* became the first LGBTQ-themed film to win the Best Picture award at the Oscars in 2017. In 2018, the Vatican used the acronym “LGBT” in an official document for the first time. And in 2019, Mattel released the world's first line of gender-neutral dolls, and Pete Buttigieg became the first openly gay Democratic presidential candidate in U.S. history—to name just a few milestones. As of August 2020, twenty-nine countries recognize marriage for same-sex couples, and only a single country, Iran, is still thought to enforce the death penalty for same-sex sexual intercourse. In an ever-swinging pendulum, even as some rights are gained, others are contested or taken away; in 2020, during a pandemic, the Trump administration rescinded Obama-era health care protections for transgender people.

The events of 2019 and 2020 have borne out the disproportionate impact of global challenges like climate change and pandemics on the members of marginalized groups. In Africa, at the border of Zimbabwe and Zambia, the Kariba Dam—which was installed by profiteering European colonial powers and the World Bank in the 1950s over the objections of local people—is on the brink of collapse due to climate change. A tsunami will rage through southern Africa when the dam falls. In the United States, enduring and systemic social inequities mean that Black people and indigenous people have a hospitalization rate from COVID-19 five times higher than that of (non-Hispanic) White people, and Hispanic or Latinx people are hospitalized at four times the rate of White people. Worldwide, in 2019, a total of 331 transgender and

gender-diverse people were reported murdered, down from 369 in 2018; the majority of the homicides were catalogued in Brazil, and the vast majority of the victims were transgender women of color.

CONCLUSION: GLOBALIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Globalization has had transforming effects, many of them decidedly good for large segments of the world's population, but some of them unsettling. Freer markets and international trade have created a global middle class, pulling nearly half a million Chinese out of poverty and equally huge proportions of the poor in India, Southeast Asia, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, and many other communities around the world. Members of the new international middle class communicate with one another, read the same newspapers and journals, see the same films, wear the same clothes, and eat the same foods. Nor is everything made in America, as the Nobel Prizes in Literature, the leading film actors in the world, and the major commentators on increasingly international television and radio networks demonstrate. The extremely high economic growth rates enjoyed by states once regarded as part of the developing world but now seen as economic powerhouses—countries like China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Kenya, South Africa, and Mozambique, among others—could not have been achieved without international trade networks and significant free trade agreements.

Nonetheless, the negative impacts of globalization have been much in evidence, especially since the financial crisis of 2008. While major banks and large multinational corporations were bailed out, the less well-off populace, the so-called residents of Main Street, suffered grievously. Homes were foreclosed, and workers lost good-paying jobs. In America, the hardest hit were White workers between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four who lack a high school education. Their death rates were alarmingly high, the result of suicide, drug addiction and overdosing, and alcoholism, bringing about for the first time an overall decline in the average life span of White males. The marginalized no longer remain silent, however. Around the world, they have entered the political arena with a vengeance. They voted for Brexit (Britain's departure from the European Union) and contributed to the rise of Islamic militancy, Hindu nationalism, Turkey's turn toward Islamism and authoritarianism, and the increasing popularity of right-wing, ethnic nationalist parties in Europe, many of which oppose immigrant communities and balk at allowing refugees into their countries. America's marginalized segment embraced candidate Trump's 2016 campaign promises to keep Muslims out of the country and expel illegal entrants from Mexico. In short, globalization has drawn the world more closely together, opening doors for migrants and enhancing the life prospects for many. But trade competition and new technologies have threatened groups who, through a lack in education and skills, are ill equipped to take advantage of globalism's opportunities.

After You Read This Chapter

TRACING THE GLOBAL STORYLINE

FOCUS ON: The Impact of Modern Globalization Today

The United States, the European Union, and Japan

- The Great Recession and battles over health care, immigration, and job exportation polarize the United States politically and reveal the growing tension over inequality within the country in the forms of expanded state violence, racial justice protests, and the struggle for LGBTQ rights.
- The European Union membership begins to fracture as the Great Recession exposes major ideological fault lines over issues like immigration, domestic terrorism, and support for debtor countries.
- A severely aging and declining population in Japan creates the need for substantial immigration to fill jobs and stabilize the economy.

Russia, China, and India

- A return to an authoritarian political system in Russia and the high price of oil lead to substantial rises in personal income, state surpluses, and aggressive nationalism.
- China emerges as one of the world's largest trader and creditor nations, leading to substantial trade imbalances and frictions with countries like the United States. Chinese economic growth exacerbates internal inequalities, and political authoritarianism increases, particularly toward Hong Kong, resulting in major protests.

- India experiences high rates of economic growth driven by foreign investment in the information technology sector. High inflation rates, political corruption, internal divisions (Hindu nationalism), and external divisions (conflicts in Kashmir and Pakistan) threaten to undermine the economic gains.

The Middle East, Africa, and Latin America

- The Arab Spring generates revolutionary fever over issues like inequality in many countries (like Tunisia and Egypt) without creating lasting change, while others are torn apart by civil war (Syria) or by internal warfare with militant Islamic groups like ISIS (Iraq). Israeli and Palestinian relations are locked in a downward spiral, while American and Iranian relations worsen.
- While Africa benefits from globalization, the rewards are unevenly spread, so many countries continue to struggle with violence and unrest, HIV/AIDS, and other diseases. Ghana, South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, and Nigeria achieve political and economic successes. West African countries suffer the most violence due to ethnic and personal rivalries.
- Globalization in Latin America deepens inequalities between haves and have-nots. Wealthy urbanites live like their counterparts in Paris, London, and New York, while factories close and farmers work small plots of land, causing many to migrate long distances for seasonal jobs or to leave their countries in search of work elsewhere.

KEY TERMS

- Black Lives Matter* p. 962
- economic inequality* p. 927
- free market* p. 926
- pandemic* p. 930
- global war on terror* p. 925
- Great Recession* p. 926
- LGBTQ* p. 962

THINKING ABOUT GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

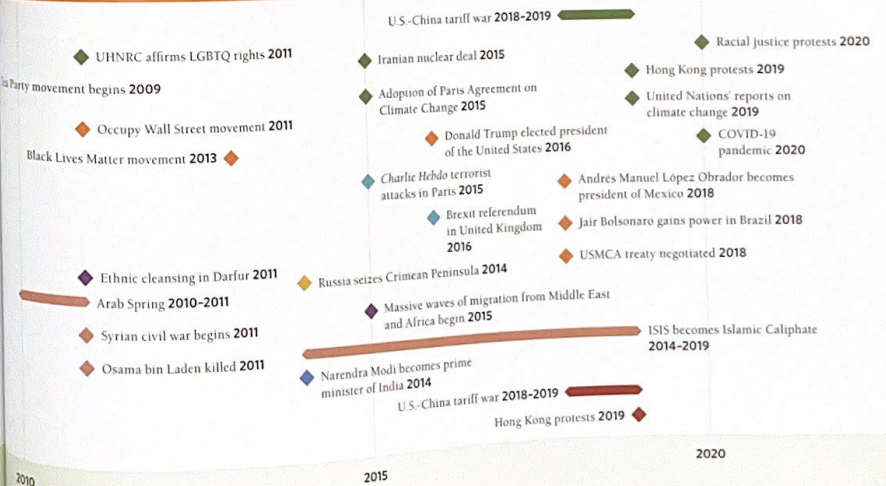
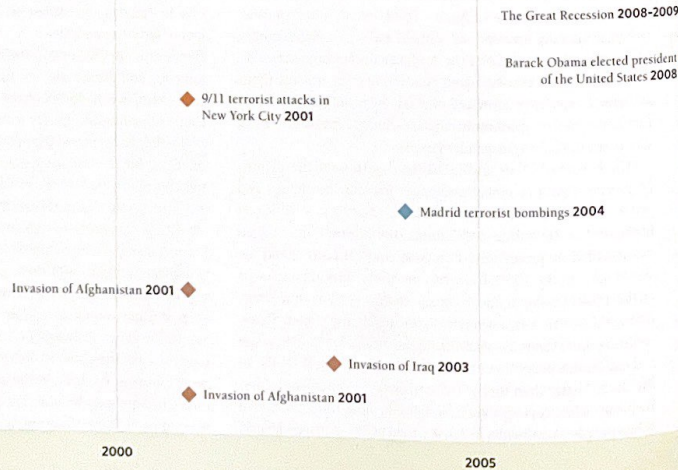
- Thinking about Worlds Together, Worlds Apart and Twenty-First-Century Challenges.** Identify the political, technological, and economic forces that brought core regions of Europe, Asia, and the Americas into ever-closer contact, coming to resemble one another as never before, and the forces that excluded developing nations, especially in Africa and Latin America, from those networks of wealth, power, and influence.
- Thinking about Changing Power Relationships and Cultural Change and Twenty-First-Century Challenges.** How has technological change, especially the emergence of computers and the internet, changed the transmission of culture worldwide? Where are the leading centers of the film and music industries located today?
- Thinking about Environmental Impacts and Twenty-First-Century Challenges.** Describe the key causal factors driving global climate change and pandemic disease. To what degree are they connected and to what degree are they distinct phenomena?



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CHRONOLOGY

- Worldwide
- The Americas
- Europe
- Russia
- Africa
- Middle East
- South Asia
- East Asia



GLOBAL THEMES AND SOURCES

Analyzing the Responses to Global Climate Change

Climate change, directly caused by human activity, threatens the planet. While greenhouse gases are necessary for life on earth, the quantities, especially of carbon dioxide, produced by modern industry, deforestation, and large-scale agriculture have increased to levels that threaten irreversible harm. From droughts that ruin harvests and exacerbate conflict, to extreme weather such as deadly hurricanes, to rising sea levels that threaten catastrophic flooding, the challenges posed by climate change are both global and unprecedented.

Taking notice of these facts, world leaders met in 2015 at the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris to discuss how to slow the impact of global warming. The agreement was signed by 195 nations. Yet some prominent world leaders continue to disregard the scientific consensus on climate change or have otherwise refused to comply with the efforts to curb carbon emissions.

The documents here reveal many responses to the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.¹ The first, produced by the nonprofit National Resources Defense Council (NRDC), summarizes the agreement, setting out the commitments of the participants—both developed and developing nations—to limit the emissions of greenhouse gases and the measures of accountability they all pledged to accept. The second is a speech by U.S. president Donald Trump, pulling the United States out of the agreement. The third is a speech by then-sixteen-year-old environmental activist Greta Thunberg, delivered at the United Nations Climate Action Summit, challenging global leaders to go beyond the targets established in Paris. The final document is the executive summary of a United Nations report on greenhouse gas emissions.

Analyzing Global Responses to the Paris Agreement on Climate Change

- Identify the core components of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change and the commitments of developed and developing nations.
- Compare and contrast Trump and Thunberg's speeches. What concerns each of them about the agreement? Do the speeches share any common ground?

¹ In these excerpts, the term GtCO₂e stands for gigatons of equivalent carbon dioxide and is a simplified way to express the amount of carbon dioxide escaping into the atmosphere. UNFCCC stands for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

- Evaluate the first document (the summary of the Paris Agreement) in light of the third (Thunberg's speech). What progress, if any, has been made? How should we evaluate the Paris Agreement?

PRIMARY SOURCE 22.1

NRDC Summary of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (2015)

The U.S. nonprofit advocacy group National Resources Defense Council (NRDC) was founded in 1970 by environmentalists after a successful legal challenge to Consolidated Edison's effort to build a power plant on Storm King Mountain in New York. The nonprofit worked with the United Nations to produce a summary of the landmark international Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

- Identify the nations and regions that produce the most greenhouse gases.
- Contrast the targets established by the U.S., China, India, and the European Union.
- What kind of enforcement mechanism did the agreement create?

The Paris Agreement requires all countries—developed and developing—to make significant commitments to address climate change. Countries responsible for 97 percent of global emissions have already pledged their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) for how they will address climate change. Countries will revisit their current pledges by 2020 and, ideally, strengthen their emissions reduction targets for 2030. The Paris Agreement includes a stronger transparency and accountability system for all countries—requiring reporting on greenhouse gas inventories and projections that are subject to a technical expert review and a multilateral examination. Countries will continue to provide climate finance to help the most vulnerable adapt to climate change and build low-carbon economies. While the Paris Agreement does not “solve” climate change, it allows us to start the next wave of global climate actions, creating a virtuous cycle for more aggressive action in the decades to come.

In Paris on December 12, 2015, countries adopted an international agreement to address climate change that requires

deeper emissions reduction commitments from all countries—developed and developing. Countries responsible for 97 percent of global emissions submitted their climate commitments prior to the conference. These commitments will now be enshrined in the coming months once countries formally join the agreement. The agreement contains provisions to hold countries accountable to their commitments and mobilize greater investments to assist developing countries in building low-carbon, climate-resilient economies.

Encouragingly, businesses, investors, states, provinces, cities, financial institutions, and others have also pledged actions to help governments implement the agreement and even exceed their commitments.

While the Paris Agreement does not “solve” climate change, it is a critical inflection point. It brings us much closer to a safer climate trajectory and creates an ambitious path forward for decades to come. Countries have put forth an agreement that helps strengthen national action by ensuring that the current commitments are the floor—not the ceiling—of ambition. The agreement will also help spur greater action by cities, states, provinces, companies, and financial institutions. The Paris Agreement has created a virtuous cycle of increased ambition over time.

What Are the Key Elements of the Paris Agreement?

The agreement in Paris was built on the foundations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Copenhagen and Cancun Agreements. This new agreement has set countries’ minimum obligations, implemented mechanisms to spur additional action in developing countries, supported the most vulnerable countries in addressing climate change, and established systems to hold countries to their commitments. The Paris Agreement will be strengthened over time using its solid framework.

What New Emissions Reduction Targets Have Countries Agreed to Implement?

Countries responsible for more than 80 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions made specific commitments to reduce their emissions by 2020 as a part of the Copenhagen and Cancun agreements. The Paris agreement includes commitments that go beyond 2020, reflecting a greater level of ambition than in the previous commitments. . . . The 187 countries responsible for more than 97 percent of the world’s climate pollution have announced specific reduction plans also known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). . . .

How Will the Agreement Track Country-Level Progress?

. . . Countries must report their greenhouse gas inventories and progress towards their emissions reduction targets every two years. . . .

What Are Countries’ Post-2020 Climate Targets?

Prior to the Paris climate conference, countries submitted their proposed climate commitments, including specific targets for emissions reductions. So far, 187 countries—accounting for 97 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions—have submitted their climate pledges. These commitments can now be formally submitted as part of the Paris agreement.

United States: cut economy-wide emissions of greenhouse gas emissions by 26 to 28 percent below its 2005 level by 2025 and make best efforts to reduce its emissions by 28 percent.

China: peak carbon emissions no later than 2030, increase non-fossil fuels to 20 percent of the energy mix, and reduce carbon emissions per unit of gross domestic product (GDP) by 60 to 65 percent from 2005 levels by 2030.

India: reduce emissions intensity by 33 to 35 percent from 2005 levels by 2030, increase cumulative electric power installed capacity from non-fossil fuel energy resources to 40 percent by 2030, and create additional carbon sequestration of 2.5 to 3 billion tons of carbon dioxide equivalent by 2030. . . .

European Union: reduce emissions to at least 40 percent below 1990 levels by 2030 through only domestic measures.

Source: <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>

PRIMARY SOURCE 22.2

Statement on the Paris Climate Accord (2017), Donald Trump

In June 2017, President Donald Trump announced that the United States would stop participating in the 2015 Paris Agreement on Climate Change. He promised to create more high-paying jobs for Americans by reducing environmental rules and regulations that he regarded as onerous for the fossil fuel industry. According to the agreement’s Article 28, however, signatories cannot announce withdrawal for three years after the country’s effective start date (November 2016 for the United States). The Trump administration announced plans to pull out again in 2019, with final withdrawal set for November 2020. The international community united in its criticism of the U.S. decision.

- **How does President Trump justify pulling the United States out of the Paris Agreement?**
- **Evaluate the moral claims made in Trump’s speech.**
- **Analyze Trump’s use of laughter. What role does it play in his argument?**

On these issues and so many more, we’re following through on our commitments. And I don’t want anything to get in our way. I am fighting every day for the great people of this country. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America

and its citizens, the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord—(applause)—thank you, thank you—but begin negotiations to reenter either the Paris Accord or a really entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers. So we’re getting out. But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that’s fair. And if we can, that’s great. And if we can’t, that’s fine. (Applause.)

As President, I can put no other consideration before the well-being of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers—who I love—and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production.

Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune.

Compliance with the terms of the Paris Accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025 according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs—not what we need—believe me, this is not what we need—including automobile jobs, and the further decimation of vital American industries on which countless communities rely. They rely for so much, and we would be giving them so little.

According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous administration would cut production for the following sectors: paper down 12 percent; cement down 23 percent; iron and steel down 38 percent; coal—and I happen to love the coal miners—down 86 percent; natural gas down 31 percent. The cost to the economy at this time would be close to \$3 trillion in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs, while households would have \$7,000 less income and, in many cases, much worse than that.

Not only does this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions, it fails to live up to our environmental ideals. As someone who cares deeply about the environment, which I do, I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States—which is what it does—the world’s leader in environmental protection, while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world’s leading polluters.

For example, under the agreement, China will be able to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years—13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years. Not us. India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars in foreign aid from developed

countries. There are many other examples. But the bottom line is that the Paris Accord is very unfair, at the highest level, to the United States. . . .

China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So we can’t build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020. Think of it: India can double their coal production. We’re supposed to get rid of ours. Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants.

In short, the agreement doesn’t eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States, and ships them to foreign countries. This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States. . . .

We have among the most abundant energy reserves on the planet, sufficient to lift millions of America’s poorest workers out of poverty. Yet, under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the great wealth of our nation. . . .

The agreement is a massive redistribution of United States wealth to other countries. At 1 percent growth, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our domestic demand, but at 3 or 4 percent growth, which I expect, we need all forms of available American energy, or our country—(applause)—will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts, our businesses will come to a halt in many cases, and the American family will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life.

Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree—think of that; this much—Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny, tiny amount. . . .

My job as President is to do everything within my power to give America a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make America the most prosperous and productive country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection. . . .

The Paris Agreement handicaps the United States economy in order to win praise from the very foreign capitals and global activists that have long sought to gain wealth at our country’s expense. They don’t put America first. I do, and I always will. (Applause.)

The same nations asking us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have collectively cost America trillions of dollars through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military alliance. You see what’s happening. It’s pretty obvious to those that want to keep an open mind.

At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us as a country? We want fair treatment

for its citizens, and we want fair treatment for our taxpayers. We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore. And they won't be. They won't be.

I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris. (Applause.) I promised I would exit or renegotiate any deal which fails to serve America's interests. Many trade deals will soon be under renegotiation. Very rarely do we have a deal that works for this country, but they'll soon be under renegotiation. The process has begun from day one. But now we're down to business. . . .

As President, I have one obligation, and that obligation is to the American people. The Paris Accord would undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risks, and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world. It is time to exit the Paris Accord—(applause)—and time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, our companies, our citizens, and our country.

It is time to put Youngstown, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—along with many, many other locations within our great country—before Paris, France. It is time to make America great again. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>

PRIMARY SOURCE 22.3

Speech to the U.N. Climate Action Summit (2019), Greta Thunberg

Greta Thunberg (b. 2003), a Swedish environmental activist and the *Time* magazine Person of the Year for 2019, was invited to address the United Nations on climate change. Her 2019 speech took world leaders to task for failing her generation.

- **What is Thunberg's position on the Paris Agreement?**
- **Evaluate the moral claims in her speech.**
- **How does she see the relationship between science, the environment, and economic prosperity?**

My message is that we'll be watching you.

This is all wrong. I shouldn't be up here. I should be back in school on the other side of the ocean. Yet you all come to us young people for hope. How dare you!

You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words. And yet I'm one of the lucky ones. People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!

For more than 30 years, the science has been crystal clear. How dare you continue to look away and come here saying that

you're doing enough, when the politics and solutions needed are still nowhere in sight.

You say you hear us and that you understand the urgency. But no matter how sad and angry I am, I do not want to believe that. Because if you really understood the situation and still kept on failing to act, then you would be evil. And that I refuse to believe.

The popular idea of cutting our emissions in half in 10 years only gives us a 50% chance of staying below 1.5 degrees [Celsius], and the risk of setting off irreversible chain reactions beyond human control.

Fifty percent may be acceptable to you. But those numbers do not include tipping points, most feedback loops, additional warming hidden by toxic air pollution or the aspects of equity and climate justice. They also rely on my generation sucking hundreds of billions of tons of your CO₂ out of the air with technologies that barely exist.

So a 50% risk is simply not acceptable to us—we who have to live with the consequences.

To have a 67% chance of staying below a 1.5 degrees global temperature rise—the best odds given by the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change]—the world had 420 gigatons of CO₂ left to emit back on Jan. 1st, 2018. Today that figure is already down to less than 350 gigatons.

How dare you pretend that this can be solved with just “business as usual” and some technical solutions? With today's emissions levels, that remaining CO₂ budget will be entirely gone within less than 8½ years.

There will not be any solutions or plans presented in line with these figures here today, because these numbers are too uncomfortable. And you are still not mature enough to tell it like it is.

You are failing us. But the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you. And if you choose to fail us, I say: We will never forgive you.

We will not let you get away with this. Right here, right now is where we draw the line. The world is waking up. And change is coming, whether you like it or not.

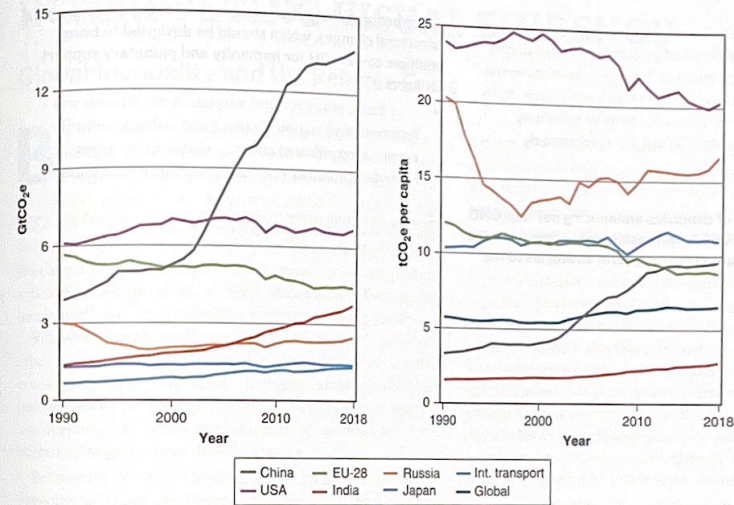
Thank you.

Source: Greta Thunberg, “The World is Waking Up,” from *No One Is Too Small to Make a Difference* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), pp. 96–99.

PRIMARY SOURCE 22.4

United Nations Environment Programme—Emissions Gap Report 2019: Executive Summary

This document, produced by the United Nations, provides an assessment of current and estimated greenhouse gas emissions and compares them to a least-cost pathway to achieve the goals set out in the Paris Agreement.



Top greenhouse gas emitters, excluding land-use change emissions due to lack of reliable country-level data, on an absolute basis (left) and per capita basis (right).

- **Define the “emissions gap” laid out in the report.**
- **Evaluate efforts to reduce emissions.**
- **Identify any encouraging signs highlighted in the report.**
- **How much will the world have to reduce greenhouse gas emissions each year by 2030 in order to limit global warming to below 2°C?**

Introduction

This is the tenth edition of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Emissions Gap Report. It provides the latest assessment of scientific studies on current and estimated future greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and compares these with the emission levels permissible for the world to progress on a least-cost pathway to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement. This difference between “where we are likely to be and where we need to be” has become known as the “emissions gap.” . . .

The summary findings are bleak. Countries collectively failed to stop the growth in global GHG emissions, meaning that deeper and faster cuts are now required. However, behind the grim headlines, a more differentiated message emerges from the ten-year summary. A number of encouraging developments have taken place and the political focus on the climate crisis is growing in several countries, with voters and protestors, particularly youth,

making it clear that it is their number one issue. In addition, the technologies for rapid and cost-effective emission reductions have improved significantly. . . .

As regards the scientific perspective, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) issued two special reports in 2019: the Climate Change and Land report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems, and the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate report. Both reports voice strong concerns about observed and predicted changes resulting from climate change and provide an even stronger scientific foundation that supports the importance of the temperature goals of the Paris Agreement and the need to ensure emissions are on track to achieve these goals. . . .

GHG emissions continue to rise, despite scientific warnings and political commitments.

- GHG emissions have risen at a rate of 1.5 per cent per year in the last decade, stabilizing only briefly between 2014 and 2016. Total GHG emissions, including from land-use change, reached a record high of 55.3 GtCO₂e in 2018.
- Fossil CO₂ emissions from energy use and industry, which dominate total GHG emissions, grew 2.0 per cent in 2018, reaching a record 37.5 GtCO₂e per year.

- There is no sign of GHG emissions peaking in the next few years, every year of postponed peaking means that deeper and faster cuts will be required. By 2030, emissions would need to be 25 per cent and 55 per cent lower than in 2018 to put the world on the least-cost pathway to limiting global warming to below 2°C and 1.5°C respectively.

Although the number of countries announcing net zero GHG emission targets for 2050 is increasing, only a few countries have so far formally submitted long-term strategies to the UNFCCC.

Decarbonizing the global economy will require fundamental structural changes, which should be designed to bring multiple co-benefits for humanity and planetary support systems.

- . . . Climate protection and adaptation investments will become a precondition for peace and stability, and will require unprecedented efforts to transform societies, economies, infrastructures and governance institutions.

Source: United Nations Environment Programme, *Emissions Gap Report 2019: Executive Summary* (Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme, 2019), pp. iv–vii, x.

INTERPRETING VISUAL EVIDENCE

Global Inequality and the Refugee Crisis

By 2020, the population of forcibly displaced people topped 70 million, the highest number since World War II. Three decades from now, according to the United Nations, up to 1 billion people might be displaced due to climate change and its political fallout. As climate change grows more acute and wipes out agrarian systems and floods cities, the population of people with no states will grow—and grow. The photographs in this sequence illustrate the personal dimensions of the massive, involuntary, human uprooting of recent and coming years.

Refugees are people who are driven from their states and into other states—which is what makes forced migration a global crisis. It is also a political one. Refugees cannot turn to their own governments for support: often, they are fleeing oppressive regimes, like Syria's or Myanmar's. Sometimes, they leave obscenely negligent ones, like Venezuela's.

Because they do not have states, refugees rely on private family networks, civic and religious organizations, and systems of global protection like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which administers sprawling camps in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Some camps, like the one in Bangladesh featured in the first image, are the size of cities. But more often, refugees hide in plain sight, living and working as individuals or families in host country neighborhoods. The photo of the German chancellor visiting a school in Rostock captures her unexpected

encounter with a Palestinian fourteen-year-old named Reem. Looking at the third image, you can see the way in which Venezuelan families have moved into barrios in Colombia or Ecuador and become hard to distinguish from their host country neighbors; the newcomers are notable mainly for their accents and sorrow.

In recent decades, the measure of global equality can be gauged by access to state resources and protection. In short: the poor are excluded from welfare, protection, or political rights altogether, while the wealthy can count on states to shelter their property and communities and in many places gain privileged access to political power. It is the degree of citizenship that determines the pattern of inequality within and across countries. Asylum seekers, like Reem, may grow up in host communities, but their rights to stay are precarious. Not surprisingly, those without states or living in neglectful or hostile states are often the most destitute.

The global refugee crisis also shook up politics within nation-states. The debate over whether to welcome or reject refugees coincided with a revolution in communications, specifically the turn to digital circulation of information and images. Images were central in swaying public opinion. As you look at these



Refugee Camp in Bangladesh. Since 2012, over a million Muslim Rohingya people have been driven from Myanmar. Almost all have fled to Bangladesh since 2017. There are two official camps. Most Rohingya have created impromptu settlements like this massive camp at Cox's Bazar, which now holds the largest concentration of refugees in the world, nearly 1 million people. On May 14, 2020, the first case of COVID-19 was detected there.



A Young Palestinian in Germany. On July 15, 2015, the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, met with a gymnasium full of teenagers to talk about "Good Life in Germany." In the conversation, one girl named Reem explained in fluent German that she was Palestinian and that as refugees she and her family were threatened with deportation. "I have goals like anyone else. I want to study like them," Reem explained. When Merkel countered that Germany could not take more refugees and that everyone had to comply with the screening process, Reem broke down in tears in front of her friends. Merkel was shocked and in front of the cameras struggled to console the weeping girl. The image brought home to millions of Germans not just that many refugees had grown up in their country but that deportation was ripping apart friends and families. Six weeks later, Reem's family received their residency permit.

photographs, think about how they influenced public debate, and consider that in some cases they were taken in order to affect the debate, because the scenes were so emotion laden.

Societies divided, sometimes bitterly, over whether to accept refugees. All of these images were powerful instruments for mobilizing a diverse array of emotions, from fear to sympathy, from hopelessness to guilt. The photo of the Syrian three-year-old boy, Aylan Kurdi, washed up on a Turkish beach sparked a massive debate worldwide. In Canada, there was outrage. The Canadian government had just rejected the Kurdi family's appeal for asylum, which was why Aylan's father decided to take his two young sons on an ill-fated crossing. In a national election later that autumn, voters trounced the government in Ottawa.

Elsewhere, especially in nations that neighbor refugees' home countries, there was more forbearance. In Bangladesh, swollen camps like Cox's Bazar conveyed an impression of a problem too vast for anyone to solve, which often led to resignation. Many Venezuelans were accepted in neighboring countries, with the notable exception of Brazil, whose government liked to blame outsiders for its problems.



Middle-Class Refugees in Latin America. Venezuela has been collapsing for almost a decade. After Syria, it accounts for the most refugees in the world. Over 5 million have fled, mostly to neighboring countries. Many are middle-class and took airplanes and buses to find safety and jobs elsewhere. The result is shattered and scattered families. This photograph, taken in September 2018 by Dolores Ochoa, portrays a young woman who is leaving her father behind in Ecuador while she travels back home to Venezuela. Very often, the refugee crisis crosses all social classes.

Often, many reacted to these images with fears of an invasion of needy strangers. Though the vast majority of refugees did not reach Europe or North America, it was there that the debate was most heated, with public displays of rejection and support, as the photos of Americans and Germans wielding signs illustrate. National elections and plebiscites (direct votes of all the members of an electorate) turned on the conflict about whether to admit or deport and restrict refugees.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The debate over refugees is an intensely emotional one. What range of emotions do these images evoke in you?
2. Compare the images of host country reactions in Germany and the United States. How might historical context inform their different reactions?
3. Observe the faces of the refugees in these photos. What emotional stories do they convey? How might someone on Facebook or Instagram react to these images?



The Plight of Syrian Refugees. On September 2, 2015, the Turkish photojournalist Nilüfer Demir found the body of a three-year-old Syrian boy named Aylan Kurdi washed up on the beach. He had drowned. The shocked Demir started to take photos and stayed until an emergency worker arrived. Later, a Turkish court sentenced two smugglers for the death of the boy. In the meantime, this image horrified the world and shifted public opinion to recognize the plight of Syrian refugees.



American Xenophobia. As the global migrant crisis intensified, it tilted the political balance in North America and Europe. Although most refugees stayed in the Global South and found sanctuary in neighboring countries, many Americans lashed out against the perceived threat of an invasion. The election of Donald Trump in November 2016 emboldened many to drive out refugees. Not long after his inauguration, President Trump ordered a travel ban on Muslims. His supporters, like these demonstrators outside Los Angeles International Airport, rushed to defend the ban even as the policy would go to the courts—and be struck down.



German Support for Refugees. Often, the images of the global refugee crisis emphasize the plight and exclusion of fugitives. But displacement is also about welcoming. Among affluent countries, Germany was remarkably open—and took almost 1 million refugees in one year. In this image, we see the fans of two soccer teams from Dortmund and Hanover set aside their fierce rivalry to demonstrate their support for helping refugees. The photo was taken at the onset of the wave of migrants. By the time 1 million had arrived and Germans faced the task of integrating refugees, images of welcome had started to become scarcer.