

COSUMNES RIVER COLLEGE

# GLOBUS MUNDI

DEPARTMENT OF  
**POLITICAL SCIENCE &  
GLOBAL STUDIES**  
JOURNAL



COSUMNES  
RIVER COLLEGE





# DEDICATION

This journal is dedicated to the memory of my mentor and friend,  
Professor Dwight James Simpson, Professor of International Relations  
at San Francisco State University. He continues to inspire.

MARTIN F. MORALES

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Globus Mundi* is a testament to the commitment and dedication of its student authors. These young scholars are all students of international relations and are pursuing degrees in the discipline or related fields. I am privileged to have them as students and mentees.

**Debbie Travis**, CRC President, graciously sponsors *Globus Mundi*. Her willingness to continue to fund student projects and reach out to the community in these tight budgetary times is a testament to her vision and leadership. Thank you, Debbie!

**Holly Sanderson** is Editor of *Globus Mundi*. Words cannot do justice to the commitment, time, vision and passion Holly brought to this publication. Without Holly, there would be no *Globus Mundi*.



COVER IMAGE

**Kelli Trapani's** work, "A Girl From Kabul," was inspired by a New York Times story describing the sudden death of an entire family in a suicide bombing at a Kabul marketplace (January 30, 2011). Kelli is a Sacramento native and former CRC student who has previously contributed cover art to CRC's Literary Journal.

**Josh Shahryar** and **Kevin Woldhagen**, both CRC alumni, have graciously written pieces for inclusion in the inaugural edition of *Globus Mundi*. It's nice to see students remember CRC!

**Amber Foreman** is a Graphic Designer at CRC. Amber's patience, guidance and talent have served to make this project a success.

**Julie Elliot** and **Craig Severs**, Printing Services Operators, presented viable options for maximum print runs and distribution of this journal. We are grateful to them both for their contributions.

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## WELCOME TO THE INAUGURAL ISSUE OF “GLOBUS MUNDI,” THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GLOBAL STUDIES AT COSUMNES RIVER COLLEGE.



*Globus Mundi* seeks to provide students with the opportunity to expand their academic and intellectual pursuits in the fields of international relations and political science beyond the confines of the classroom. It seeks to foster intellectual discourse on a wide range of issues and also to reflect the diversity of student academic interests. *Globus Mundi* is distributed to the students and faculty of the Los Rios Community College District as well as to universities worldwide via on-line publication through the department’s website.

The world is experiencing a wave of revolution and change as witnessed by events in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria. This issue, without intent, also focuses on these revolutions and the changes that follow. Giovanni Martinez’s article, “The Principles of Revolution” comparatively analyzes multiple revolutions and their outcomes and in so doing lays a foundation for interpreting events in the “Arab Spring.” Alumni Kevin Woldhagen asks

the question “Will the United States remain in Libya?” and opens the door to a discussion on the merits of supporting revolutions whose conclusions may not reflect desired policy outcomes. Josh Shahryar, also an alumnus currently studying in Washington, D.C. and writing for the Huffington Post, in his article, “Iran Will Not Be a Quick Revolution”, addresses the future of Iran in light of the Arab Spring. Editor Holly Sanderson’s piece, “The Democracy Jihad: How the Arab Spring Has Changed the Face of Global Jihad,” focuses on how the revolutions of the Arab Spring have changed the very nature of regional movement for change from extremist controlled revolution to democratic revolution and ponders future revolutions in authoritarian states.

Not all revolutions and leaders keep their promises, however, and Rick Westberry’s “History of Human Rights Violations in China,” showcases how once in power the CCP has gone back on its initial promises to the citizens of China. There is also the potential for

the old to become new and keep in place structures most familiar to the people who rose up against them in the first place. From a first-person perspective, Marius Iordache discusses the failure of Romania and other former East European countries to successfully integrate into the EU in “Eastern Block Integration into the EU.” Ryan Neach discusses the need to review social structures and economics as potential contributors to change in India in “Untouchable Prosperity” while Logan Rincon focuses attention on confusion in politics and the risks associated with apathy in his piece “Citizen Confusion and the Role of the News Media.” Last, Matt McAuley talks about change and its consequences when imposed by mother nature. “Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station and the Future of Nuclear Energy” focuses on the aftermath of the March 11, 2011 earthquake.

*Globus Mundi* Editor Holly Sanderson, whose dedication made this journal possible, along with Messrs. Neach, Westberry and Iordache continue their studies at CRC while Mr. Rincon starts upper division political science work at Sacramento State University; Giovanni Martinez is leaving CRC for UC Santa Cruz where he will focus on film and international relations. Matt McAuley follows his family’s tradition of service as he departs CRC for the US Air Force.

Future editions of *Globus Mundi* will follow, yearly. Alumni, students and faculty will be asked to submit papers and book reviews for consideration on topics

from international relations, economics, history and theoretical issues as they concern global affairs.

Inquiries regarding *Globus Mundi* should be directed to Professor Martin Morales, Chair of the Department of Political Science & Global Studies, at (916) 691-7114 or, via email, at [moralem@crc.losrios.edu](mailto:moralem@crc.losrios.edu)

We look forward to your readership.

# THE DEMOCRACY JIHAD: HOW THE ARAB SPRING HAS CHANGED THE FACE OF GLOBAL JIHAD

HOLLY SANDERSON

The string of demonstrations to put an end to oppressive authoritarian regimes in exchange for democratic governments which spread across North Africa to the Middle East has caused more than simply an old man to give up his power. These revolutions, known as the Arab Spring, have shed light on a shift in both prior political and religious ideologies. Former methods of violence, such as the terrorist acts conducted by Al-Qaeda, have been discarded in light of the successful and peaceful protests of the Arab Spring. Internationally, Islamist extremist groups are unraveling and the commitment to a global *jihād* has weakened.

The Arab Spring consisted of a string of revolutions across countries in the Maghreb. Some struggles have ended in success, such as the Tunisian and Egyptian protests. Others, however, still have yet to end, such as the ongoing protests for more equal and fair governments in Libya, Bahrain, and Yemen. Witnessing these movements has been nothing short of astounding. Within a mere 18 days, former President Hosni Mubarak stepped down from his position and power was rightfully returned to the people. The success of the Egyptian revolution has become symbolic of the progress towards democracy in the Middle East. Although time will decide the establishment of a true democratic government in

Egypt, the country is determined to continue on the path to human rights and democratic freedoms. Concerns have been made about the future of this country; political and societal shifts are never easy, and like an infant, democratic growth must be nurtured properly.

Observing the changes over the previous months, it is evident more than just a shift in regime has occurred. Religion and ideological approaches have differed, as well as the reaction to repression. These protests occurred because of the economical and political suppression that has been recycled decade after decade<sup>1</sup>. It is not the first time the community has made a stand against the regime. Repression from authoritarian regimes birthed the world-famous terrorist force, Al-Qaeda. Al Qaeda has been the most powerful and influential force in Middle Eastern politics recently with their successful utilization of terrorist tactics as a means of accomplishing their goals. Surprisingly, however, Al Qaeda was nearly non-existent during the protests of the Arab Spring. While the peaceful protests pushed the terrorist group out of the limelight, their leader and symbol was killed. Osama bin Laden, the terrorist-mastermind and symbol of Islamist extremism, was killed by a team of Navy Seals on May 2, 2011.<sup>1</sup> With their leader gone and their influence weakened, the world waits not only to see



the future of these post-Arab Spring nations but of the future of the global *jihad* and terrorism as well.

Global *jihad* was Osama bin Laden's tool for the unification of Islamist extremists in the struggle to enforce extreme Islamist purification through violent means.<sup>2</sup> Under repression of autocratic governments, bin Laden's vision appealed to multitudes of desperate and subjugated Muslims internationally.<sup>3</sup> His violent attacks terrorized the world, drawing worldwide attention and a response through a bloody and ongoing war against his terrorism. These violent tactics proved successful in drawing attention to his cause, thus gaining support from a majority of Muslims from the Middle East to South Asia. Like any religious extremism, bin Laden's call to *jihad* consisted of a warped interpretation of Islam and imprinted Islam with a new, negative global identity.<sup>4</sup> The word *jihad* even consists of differing interpretations. Literally translating to "struggle", the word refers to the promotion of faith, either evangelistically or internally.<sup>5</sup> The evangelistic interpretation is used to justify terrorist acts, as it was used during the Crusades.<sup>6</sup> Bin Laden's twisted elucidation of the word promoted the stereotypical view the West now has of the religion, causing the West to condemn and not understand Islam.<sup>7</sup>

To predict the future of the global *jihad* that Al Qaeda enforced, Al Qaeda's ideology of *jihad* and *jihad* itself must be understood. Concurrently, the influence religion has upon the history and political establishments in the Middle East must be acknowledged. Islam has been a prominent part of Arab culture; it does indeed, play a large role in practically every aspect of Arab life. Therefore, to discuss the future of Al Qaeda and its global *jihad* is to discuss the future and influence of Islam in the political aspect of Arab nations in the aftermath of the recent protests. Observing the evolution of global *jihad*--the main goal of Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden--within terrorist groups tied to the ideology, it is clear the accomplishments of the Arab Spring have weakened the threat of global *jihad*. The religion of Islam's prominence and influence within politics remains, yet the days of Islamist extremism are diminishing as well.

Throughout history, Islam has been stereotyped as a violent religion; it is these stereotypes which bin Laden built his campaign for *jihad* on, painting the Western nations as imperialistic and condescending to Arab culture.<sup>8</sup> These stereotypes, however, are nothing new to history. The conflict between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam has remained relatively constant since their birth. It is interesting then how bin Laden gained such worldwide celebrity and support. The first "multinational terrorist organization", as dubbed by author Rohan Gunaratna of Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror, succeeded in uniting groups of suppressed Muslims.<sup>9</sup> This success was gained through an ideology of Islam as a

"borderless" nation; a land of people connected by their religion regardless of ethnicity.<sup>10</sup> Ironically, bin Laden's global *jihad*--a call to enforce Islam and reclaim "God's land"--promoted ancient imperialistic ideologies the West also used in the Crusades.<sup>11</sup>

Global *jihad* was also able to gain an abundance of supporters mainly because of the current suppression of Islam at the time. Politically, Islam threatened the authoritarian regimes with its democratic values. Because of Islam's integration within the history of Arab nations, the religion contains values that are both democratic and antidemocratic.<sup>12</sup> Much of society was built surrounding the religion, making it necessary to be paired with political decisions. The faith promotes democratic ideas of equality and does not appoint a single person with power but rather necessitates group consultation, mostly amongst scholars.<sup>13</sup> However, the religion's concepts of democracy differ from Western democratic concepts considering its emphasis on the reasoning of man, whereas Islam ordains all power to God which man must obey; "Being relative rather than absolute, human law can keep pace with changing circumstances and lends itself to the art of compromise so critical to democratic practice".<sup>14</sup> Although faith and democratic ideals can exist and succeed in creating an open and free society, they do not exist without complications.<sup>15</sup>

Egypt, for example, has been struggling towards building the foundation of a true democratic government. The National Democratic Party in Egypt under Mubarak's rule created the appearance of a democratic society by allowing an abundance of differing political parties to participate which were previously restricted or outlawed, including Islamist fundamentalist parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>16</sup> Yet the NDP as a democratic party was just a façade; the influence and activity of opposing parties were suppressed<sup>17</sup>, and the elections during Mubarak's reign were reported unfair, with the votes of the people ignored.<sup>18</sup> If the public wanted Islamic law more heavily integrated into their political structure, it would not have made a difference under the NDP's power. And in the midst of a poor economy and authoritarian government, it is not surprising the public already held a desire for change. With a budding desire for democratic values of human rights and power within their government, bin Laden's ideas quenched that thirst.

The reasons many were attracted to global *jihad* were also similar to the reasons many began the non-violent demonstrations of the Arab Spring. Bin Laden's terrorist acts seemed to be successful because they brought recognition to their cause, however the violence did not bring about a long-term change. The increase of violence against all peoples, including Muslims, began to decrease Al Qaeda's popularity among Muslims.<sup>19</sup> The Arab Spring caused an even larger decrease in Al Qaeda's

popularity when the non-violent protests were successful in not only gaining recognition for their cause in a respected manner, but also succeeded in bringing long-term change in response to their suppression. The recent killing of bin Laden has also affected the survival of Al Qaeda's organization. Even more recognizable of global *jihād*'s diminishing influence are the actions and focus of terrorist or Islamist extremist groups across the globe.<sup>20</sup>

The Moro-Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) of the Philippines used to hold training camps for Al Qaeda and support their efforts for a global *jihād*.<sup>21</sup> Despite their ties to Al Qaeda, the MILF detached from Al Qaeda terrorist tactics and replaced them with more diplomatic efforts. The MILF differs in focus as well, although they supported the global *jihād*. Ninety percent of the Philippines' population is comprised of Roman-Catholics, leaving at 5 percent Muslims whom mostly reside in the Southern Islands of Mindanao.<sup>22</sup> Although the government fosters a tolerance for practices of all religions, therefore not restricting the practice of Islam, socio-economic indicators report a different picture: "unequal" by (Muslim) officials.<sup>23</sup> The conditions of Mindanao are very poor and few Muslims are given an opportunity to be involved in the government. With these conditions the MILF rose against the government, waging war for equal recognition and economic distribution. In alliance with Al Qaeda, the MILF utilized many terrorist tactics in their battle against the government. However, over time, the MILF began to support more diplomatic approaches. Although the MILF continues to struggle against the Filipino government, their goals are focused solely on the home front; global *jihād* is no longer necessarily important to them.

Reports have also shown that other terrorist groups organized with Al Qaeda have also drifted from bin Laden's traditional ideology for *jihād* in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, replacing their focus on gaining democratic values through less violent means, unless necessary. The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group changed its name to the Libyan Islamic Movement, and supports the West's involvement in their effort to aid the Libyans in ousting Colonel Qaddafi.<sup>24</sup> They also were reported to support the successes of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt. This support for the democratic appeal of the Arab Spring demonstrations goes against the complete ideology of bin Laden's *jihād*, therefore indicating the digression of the once powerful movement.<sup>25</sup>

However, while the fervor for global *jihād* is fading in popularity, Islam remains prominent in the political shifts from the Arab Spring. This is because Islamist extremism is dissipating, and Islam will continue to be integrated within political societies of Arab nations. In a poll conducted by the Pew Research Centre on Muslim views of Islamist extremism, the study revealed the

popularity and support of *jihād*ist organizations has severely declined since 2002.<sup>26</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood has gained the most popularity and success as a political group in the outcome of the Egyptian uprising; although they are conservatively Muslim, they appear to be steadfast in their support for a democratic reformation within Egyptian politics. They also have claimed to support women's rights, a multiparty legislature, and freedom of religion.<sup>27</sup> It is a clear the people's opinion and desires are geared towards democratic processes with a support for Islamic law as opposed to Islamist extremism. In light of bin Laden's recent death, Imad Eddin Hussein wrote in an article published in an Egyptian independent newspaper that "for us [Muslims] to confront the West, we need to be strong. But we will only become strong when we become free, well-educated citizens of democratic nations."<sup>28</sup>

It is clear that an Islamic presence will be a part of any democratic changes these nations make, yet it will not be one of Islamist extremism. The West should not focus their concerns on the religion immersed in their politics, but instead focus on nurturing these growing nations with advice, guidance, and a positive acknowledgment of their differing democratic reforms. The differences between Western democracy and Islamic democracy must be recognized; a democracy partnered with and supported by Islam is not a bad thing. Egypt's people cast the majority of their votes in support of the Muslim Brotherhood, exemplifying the results of their decisions and what they want. It is necessary and vital that the West support the desires of the people since it was, after all, their choice to take back power from their dictator. And, more importantly, the West should support their decision to establish a democratic government, whether it resembles their ideal of a democracy or not.

The struggle is nearing its end. Power and respect has been rightfully returned to the people, yet the journey to a stable democratic government is just beginning.

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# IRAN WILL NOT BE A QUICK REVOLUTION

JOSH SHAHRYAR

**W**ith the fall of two long-standing authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and turmoil in at least three others, many in the West seem optimistic that Iran's regime will be next. Iranians too since June 2009 have shown that they are extremely dissatisfied with their regime and are looking for meaningful and peaceful change. However, unlike Egypt and Tunisia, Iran's dissenters—the Green Movement in particular—have a long ways to go before they can bring about regime change owing to the many challenges they face.

## PROLOGUE I: IRAN'S GOVERNMENT

Iran is the world's only purely theocratic Islamic state that claims partial to be a democracy. Although it has a presidential system with a legislative assembly – Majlis in Persian -, the most important matters of state are either directly handled or indirectly dictated by the Supreme Leader Sayyed Ali Khamenei. The Supreme Leader is elected for life.<sup>1</sup>

Although it claims to be a democracy, the president's powers are restricted. The constitution allows for strict Sharia law to be enforced and basic human rights are not respected. Women are treated harshly under this law. Furthermore, the government's isolationist policies and its animosity towards the West have resulted in slower growth rates and high unemployment and inflation because of very low levels of foreign investment in Iran.<sup>2</sup>

## PROLOGUE II: WHAT IS THE GREEN MOVEMENT?

The Green Movement is the name assigned to the opposition movement in Iran that took to the streets to protest what it deemed fraudulent presidential elections on June 12, 2009. The movement initially started out with street protests in the immediate aftermath of the election with the slogan "Where is my vote?!" to indicate that President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who results showed had secure almost two-thirds of the vote, had stolen votes from other candidates in order to attain victory.<sup>3</sup>

Since then, it has regularly come out to protest both the rule of Ahmadinejad and the government crackdown on the protesters which included killings, detentions, torture<sup>4</sup> and rape<sup>5</sup> of those who participated in the movement. In addition to that, dozens of lawyers, human rights activists, civic activists, political operatives

and journalists sympathetic to the movement have been detained since the movement started - many of them on suspicion of being members of it.<sup>6</sup>

Countless publications that did choose to criticize the Iranian government have since been banned.<sup>7</sup> Internet is severely regulated.<sup>8</sup> Cell phone users face the same kind of censorship.<sup>9</sup> In the face of such tough government measures, the movement is still alive and protests were held as recently as last month to decry the house arrest of the movement's leaders.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the Green Movement is facing an enemy that has adapted itself quickly and efficiently to cope with any peaceful revolutions. A product of a mass revolution itself, the current Iranian regime is facing its reformist enemies in a battle that it has once itself waged and won and the lessons it learned from toppling Iran's monarchy in 1979 are proving valuable in limiting the opposition's struggle.<sup>11</sup>

## MULTIPLE ADVERSARIES

Unlike Egypt and Tunisia or even Yemen and Libya, Iran's opposition does not have a single enemy. While in Egypt protesters occupied Tahrir Square in Cairo and demanded the immediate resignation of President Hosni Mubarak, protesters in Tehran are confused by the many faces of Iran's theocracy.<sup>12</sup>

The public face of the government is President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Though, he is only a puppet of Supreme Leader Sayyed Ali Khamenei, who in his capacity as the Supreme Leader of the Iranian state holds vastly more powers than Ahmadinejad. These two, are just two of the leaders.<sup>13</sup> The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, which is entrusted with preserving the Islamic Revolution itself, is another powerful institution.<sup>14</sup>

Ex-President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and many others hold a myriad of different positions within the regime's various elected and non-elected bodies. There is the Expediency Discernment Council, which is the unelected body that resolves differences between the parliament and the Guardians Council. It also holds some legislative powers.<sup>15</sup>

The Guardians Council holds a share of the power in Iran as well and functions similar to the Supreme Court of other nations in many matters. It is the body that holds the power to interpret the Iranian constitution. It also has the responsibility of holding

elections and certifying the results. In effect, it is the final body with sufficient powers to challenge any laws created by the other bodies.<sup>16</sup> Above it is the post of Supreme Leader, whose election is the task of the Assembly of Experts, a partially-elected body, mostly filled with jurists and Islamic scholars.<sup>17</sup>

These bodies which were created after the establishment of the Islamic Republic are supposed to form checks and balances within the government. Their true nature, though, has become to confuse the Islamic Republic's enemies and strengthen the confusion that prevails regarding exactly who is in charge of what.

Suppose protesters demanded the resignation of President Ahmadinejad. His removal would only pave the way for another Khamenei-backed bureaucrat to take the helms of power. They cannot demand the ouster of Khamenei lightly as he is by law the representative of God on earth and any dissenters face not just harsh punishment for blasphemy, but also doom the fledging movement. The IRGC doesn't hold visible power. Rafsanjani has slowly fallen out of the government's favor since 2009.

This has created confusion as to what exactly the protesters want. Without their message being clear as to who they want to remove and what they want to replace it with, it has been difficult for them to find as many supporters as it takes to topple a regime.

The Green Movement's problems, however, only start there.

## INTERNAL CONFUSION

Not only is the movement unable to create clear enemies that it could attack, it has skeletons in its own closet. The movement's leaders, Mir Hossein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi, have both for decades worked for the Islamic Republic.

Mousavi is a former two-term prime minister, who served his terms from 1981 to 1989. Before that, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although he had been absent from the political scene for two decades when protests broke out on the streets of Tehran, many—at least in the Diaspora—still see him as part of the same apparatus that they are trying to take down. This is especially important because in the past, Mousavi was seen as a 'firm radical' and not the reformist that he's being touted as today.<sup>18</sup> Karroubi's hands aren't entirely clean either. He has served as parliament speaker and was one of the contestants in the disputed 2009 elections.<sup>19</sup>

For years, both Mousavi and Karroubi worked within the reformist movement in Iran that sought to create more civil liberties for Iranians. The two are undoubtedly not the regime's friends. Their past allegiances, though, create problems when it comes to their appeal to many who want nothing to do with people associated with the regime.

### SUPPORT FOR AHMADINEJAD

Even as the opposition seeks to delegitimize President Ahmadinejad, some question whether he is as alone as reformists wish him to be. There is at least one opinion poll a few months after the initial protests broke out that showed Ahmadinejad enjoying wide-spread support among Iranians. Even though the veracity of the poll and the methods used to obtain the results have been questioned, there are other signs that there exists a large portion of the Iranian population that is siding with the regime.<sup>20</sup>

On February 11, 2010, the anniversary of the success of the Islamic Revolution, the regime called for a mass gathering in Tehran's largest square, Azadi. By some estimates, the gathering which was later addressed by Ahmadinejad attracted tens of thousands of people. This is in contrast to anti-Ahmadinejad protests in June of 2009 that attracted millions.<sup>21</sup>

Gatherings like this one, however, are a stark reminder that the opposition movement must convert Ahmadinejad and Khamenei supporters whose support continues to give the Iranian regime some measure of hope in that it can overcome opposition protests.

### LACK OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT

While the people of Egypt battled for their rights, the world stood by them. That support not only came in the form of statements by President Barack Obama and other world leaders, but also through diplomatic and economic pressure for the leaders to leave power.<sup>22</sup> The United Nations too stepped in to call on the Egyptian government to act peacefully and meet the demands of the opposition.<sup>23</sup> In the case of Iran, however, that kind of support has not really come about.

Since the Iranian Revolution, the US and Iran do not have diplomatic ties. The ties were broken off when the US Embassy in Tehran was stormed by Iranian revolutionaries in 1979 and embassy staff and families were held hostage for 444 days.<sup>24</sup>

The Swiss Embassy in Tehran represents American interests in Iran.<sup>25</sup> This unfortunate absence has resulted in minimal US clout or influence to be present in the country which could be used to effectively levy pressure on the Islamic Republic.

Furthermore, Iran's nuclear program, which it insists is for peaceful purposes only has caused it to become further hostile towards the West.<sup>26</sup> Unlike Mubarak, a US ally, Khamenei does not have to pay heed to what President Obama or other world leaders have to say. There are few ways the West can persuade the Islamic Republic's rulers to leave power or even consider reforming the system and meeting some of the most basic demands of the opposition movement.<sup>27</sup>

### A REGIME-FRIENDLY SECURITY APPARATUS

Perhaps the most crushing blow to any hopes of change in Iran is dealt by the fact that unlike Egypt and Tunisia, the Iranian military is largely sympathetic to the regime. Some have gone as far as claiming that the power of the military is holding the regime together.

The Iranian military is composed of two different sections. Artesh – Persian for army – functions as the regular army and has over half a million service members. Artesh is responsible largely for keeping peace at Iran's borders.<sup>28</sup> Iran also, however, has a separate branch of the armed forces with its own commanders called the Islamic Revolutionary Guard or Sepahe Pasdarane Enghelabe Islami, numbering at 125,000.<sup>29</sup> The IRGC also controls the paramilitary Basij force, whose members are especially ruthless and according to the government has a membership in the millions.<sup>30</sup>

When the Islamic Revolution succeeded in toppling Iran's long-reigning ex-King Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the state created the IRGC and the Basij in a bid to both consolidate its power over the country and to thwart any attempts by a unified military to topple the regime.<sup>31</sup> These efforts have largely paid off as the IRGC and Basij have acted almost in unison with the regime in clamping down on the Green Movement protesters.<sup>32</sup>

Part of this is because former IRGC members make up almost half of Ahmadinejad's cabinet ministers. But the more important factor here is that the IRGC also has personal issues with regime-change in Iran. Over the past three decades, the IRGC has turned into a multinational corporation of sorts with billions of dollars in

holdings both in Iran and abroad.<sup>33</sup> This monetary interest gives the leaders of the IRGC another reason to not just distrust regime-change, but to actively hunt down anyone who seeks to bring about such change.

These actions combined with their past brutality and collaboration with the regime in stamping out dissidents has made the reformist portion of Iran's population loath the IRGC. It looks likely that, if ever, regime change occurs in Iran, the IRGC as an institution is likely not going to survive. This last bit ensures that the IRGC acts against any opposition to the regime brutally and decisively not just because of its monetary interests, but for its very survival.

## CONCLUSION

In the face of such challenges, it is not hard to see why the Green Movement has so far not succeeded in toppling the Iranian regime. Although they have been persistent in protesting against the regime and disseminating information to the masses about their activities, it will take much more than that to unify the population, crack the regime and ensure its removal in the long term.

There is scant evidence that this goal could be achieved in the short term given the odds. The opposition will have to come up with ways to force the President to resign, but also remove the Supreme Leader, disarm and remove the IRGC from the scene, and finally, dismantle the many institutions of power in Iran and finally. All of this will require more time than was required for the toppling of Egypt and Tunisia's leaders. In the short term, remaining optimistic in the West about Iran's prospects for change perhaps might be the only option.

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# WILL THE UNITED STATES REMAIN IN LIBYA?

KEVIN WOLDHAGEN

On March 17<sup>th</sup> the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1973 establishing a no-fly zone over Libya and allowing the use of “all means necessary” to protect civilians. After the spontaneous uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt led to the ouster of decades-long regimes and several other Arab nations protesting against corrupt autocracies, the Libyan people began their own uprising. Unfortunately, the president of Libya, Muammar al-Qadhafi, responded quite differently than neighboring governments and began squashing the protests violently and without apology. Key military commanders in the eastern portion of the country defected and joined the rebellion and the conflict quickly turned from a peaceful civilian protest into the beginnings of a civil war, with rebel forces losing ground by the day. With the growing number of civilian deaths already creating a refugee crisis, the Libyan people called out to the West for intervention. After a lack of urgency towards the genocides in Kosovo and Rwanda, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and deaths, the United Nations decided to act this time before it was too late.

The United States is leading the coalition and at the same time calling for the ouster of Qadhafi, leaving many to fear this will eventually mean another prolonged war in yet another Muslim country. Yet there are key differences in how the US entered Afghanistan and Iraq in contrast to the current actions in Libya, actually sharing more characteristics with a previous American intervention in the Middle East, the first Gulf War. Additionally,

the tone Barack Obama has used in the past, both in regards to humanitarian crises and the Muslim world, differs greatly from that of George W. Bush and provides an insight into his actions in Libya today. Taken together, I argue that the similarity in circumstance to Desert Storm and the marked change in foreign policy under the Obama administration spell a short-lived intervention in Libya.

The intervention of the United States into Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 either had goals that entailed protracted involvement or were not in response to a particular crisis in need of foreign intervention. In the case of Afghanistan, the attacks on America by Al-Qaeda precipitated a response by our military to find those responsible<sup>1</sup>. The stated mission was to root out Osama bin Ladin and those loyal to his cause. Such a goal requires not only sea and air forces, but also the insertion of ground troops and establishment of a lasting presence in the country. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was initiated by the Bush Administration over their concern that Saddam Hussein was building weapons of mass destruction. However, the United Nations’ nuclear watch-dog agency, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), did not find conclusive evidence of weapons of mass destruction, finding only components that could be assembled for the use of nuclear weapons<sup>2</sup>. Contrasting that with North Korea’s well documented possession of nuclear weapons, including the underground testing of such a device, the imperative for a foreign power to immediately intervene in Iraq seems questionable and certainly did

not require unilateral intervention by the United States.

Current governmental actions in Libya pose an imminent threat to civilian lives. Statements and actions made by the Qadhafi regime show the aggressive nature of this regime and underscore the need for international intervention. In several statements, Qadhafi has promised severe treatment of these rebels, vowing to “find [them] in [their] closets” and show “no mercy or compassion.” Qadhafi displays this unforgiving stance by continuing to shell rebel towns despite the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Libya that has included strikes against tanks and ground artillery. While I do not mean to belittle the importance of finding Osama bin Ladin nor the threat of a nuclear armed Saddam Hussein, the events unfolding in Libya are at a critical tipping point and can be addressed through a no-fly zone that does not involve a prolonged and controversial involvement in another country.

In contrast, the first Gulf War bears many similarities to the current crisis in Libya, both in terms of circumstance and the players involved. After years of war with Iran, Iraq was left with billions of dollars in debt to their neighboring Arab states and Saddam Hussein pleaded with them to forgive the debt to show appreciation for keeping a periphery against Iran<sup>3</sup>. When this failed, he sought to raise more money through oil profits yet could not do this without OPEC agreeing to lower production, which would raise prices on oil and generate more revenue. Failing again, Saddam turned to aggressive tactics and accused Kuwait of overproduction of oil and used this as a precept to invade the tiny gulf state<sup>4</sup>. The incursion immediately precipitated an international condemnation not only from the US and several European nations, but also several Arab states, including Egypt and Syria. The US sought to create an international coalition against Iraq, initiating a series of embargoes and sanctions in order to induce Iraqi forces to withdraw. Yet when Saddam refused to bow to international pressure, the United Nations Security Council authorized the use of “all necessary means” to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait, prompting the US led invasion of Operation Desert Storm<sup>5</sup>. The attack lasted a month, achieving the stated goal yet stopping short of overthrowing the government of Saddam Hussein. There are several compelling similarities between the first Gulf War and the current crisis in Libya, including its nature as a rapidly developing crisis, a broad consensus among the international community, and the strikingly similar verbiage of the United Nations Security Council Resolution. Despite numerous differences, there are greater variances between the circumstances that led to the continued presence in Afghanistan and Iraq than the circumstances surrounding our involvement in Libya today.

When evaluating the final goal in Libya, however, the situation bears more similarity to the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Indeed, the

initial goal of the United States entering Iraq was to remove weapons of mass destruction, yet the mission quickly became about toppling Saddam Hussein’s control of Iraq. Already, the mission in Libya lacks coherence as to the intent of the United States. Members of the Obama administration have said that they adopt a policy of regime change in Libya, yet stipulating that this will be done through embargo and sanctions. Meanwhile, Obama himself has gone to great lengths to highlight the limited nature of American involvement, stating that coalition forces will take over operations, “within a matter of days, not a matter of weeks.”<sup>6</sup>

Yet while the circumstance bears resemblance of the slippery slope followed in Iraq, Barack Obama and his administration’s tone differ greatly from that of the Bush Administration. As a US Senator, Obama cared deeply about the genocide in Sudan. During the years 2003-2006, the Sudanese government began a campaign of ethnic cleansing of non-Arab Sudanese in the western part of the country, resulting in the deaths of up to 400,000 and the displacement of millions<sup>7</sup>. After the deaths of 800,000 Tutsis in Rwanda during the previous decade, many in Africa refrained, “Never Again,” never again shall there be a genocide in Africa. However, the lack of action in Sudan underscores the difficulty in galvanizing action on humanitarian grounds. Barack Obama called upon the American people to act on behalf of Darfur, stating, “We cannot sit idly by as innocent people are indiscriminately killed and forced out of their homes by violence.”<sup>8</sup> While the situation in Libya should not yet be dubbed genocide, international action is needed where it was absent in the past, before we lament on what should have been done. Obama’s past concern about the crisis in Darfur sets the tone for the US involvement in Libya today.

Obama also specifically reached out to the Islamic world in a landmark speech known as “A New Beginning” given at Cairo University June 4th, 2009. After the Bush administration’s wars in Afghanistan and Iraq embedded the Islamic and Arab world with sense of mistrust towards America, Obama felt it incumbent upon him as the new president of the United States to change the tone. “I’ve come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect,”<sup>9</sup> Obama stated. In this speech he mentioned Afghanistan and Iraq, in the context of building international involvement and international consensus, respectively. For Afghanistan, he highlighted the responsibility of everyone to help combat terrorism, “and that’s why we’re partnering with a coalition of 46 countries.”<sup>10</sup> For Iraq, although he’s glad to see Saddam gone, he prefers the use of “diplomacy and build[ing] international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.”<sup>11</sup>

In this speech Obama also addressed the issue of democracy

and America's role in promoting its practice. He distanced himself from democratization, the policy of the previous administration that favored imposing democracy where it has not emerged organically. However, he did place value on the merits of representative government, stating, "all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose."<sup>12</sup> The recent protests in the Middle East are a prime elucidation of this point, for in almost every Arab country there has been a spontaneous uprising of people that have demanded some form of these rights, if not all of them.

In Libya, these calls for human rights were met with force. Obama's promise of a new beginning caused many Libyans to look to America for assistance. However, American involvement walks a thin line between 'support' and 'invasion' and already that line is being blurred; The Arab League, the representative body of Arab Nations spanning from Morocco to Iraq, called for Western intervention in Libya to prevent Qadhafi from harming his own civilians and while they initially favored a no-fly zone, they have since criticized the idea due to reports of civilian deaths from the 180 Tomahawk missiles the United States fired to establish it<sup>13</sup>. Such fire power brings back memories of America's initial attacks in Iraq, where American occupation lasted nearly eight years and still keeps close to 50,000 troops within its borders. Combined with the sizable number of American troops that remain in Afghanistan, the over-extended presence of American troops in foreign nations creates a sense that America has a hard time leaving countries once it gets involved their internal affairs. Regarding Libya today, if the US had not acted at all, the Arab world would feel that Obama had forsaken all promises made in his Cairo speech; alternatively, if US involvement lingers in Libya, the perception of American colonialism will only be reinforced. You're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't.

It is impossible to predict what the future will hold, but a careful look at the past may provide insight. In light of Obama's stance on the crisis in Sudan, his desire to support the democratic aspirations of the people and the importance of creating international support to take military action, the current situation in Libya is an opportunity for America to build trust with the Arab and Islamic world, not just through words, but through action. As of this writing, there is a tentative agreement amongst all NATO signatories to share joint responsibility for ensuring Resolution 1973 be enforced until there is a cessation of hostilities. Let us hope that this is an opportunity to move forward, not only for relations between East and West, but also for the Libyan people to establish a system of government that reflects the will of the people.

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# THE PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTION

GIOVANNI MARTINEZ

*“Against brute force and injustice the people will have the last word, that of victory.”*

— Ernesto “Che” Guevara

The year has kicked off to an exhilarating start as revolutions have swept across states such as Libya, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, spreading further to other parts such as Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Bahrain. Amidst all the sensation, the most successful revolution has been in Egypt. Long-time Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, was forced out of office as the people demanded government reform. It is important to understand the importance of how these revolutions work and the objectives behind them. While casual observers can generalize the immediate causes that are displayed sometimes poorly or inaccurately in the media, revolutions have much more depth. Theories and reasons have been formulated to give a much clearer understanding of the word and the concept. It is much more than a movement, it is an ideal; a principle which is often successful in reformation and change.

There are specific factors why revolutions start in the first place. There are four critical factors which can lead to a revolution, those being mass frustration, division among elites, unifying motivation, and a severe crisis. Mass frustration is when a large part of the population within the state is upset, which often leads to heavy protest or rebellion against authorities of the state. Division among elites is when highly influential, powerful

and educated groups turn on their own against the government, whereas unifying motivation occurs from powerful motivations and demonstrations which loom across social classes, unifying the majority to succeed in the goal of revolution. Finally, a severe crisis is when the state reacts from a crisis such as defeat in war, a natural disaster, economic depression or withdrawal of economical and military support from other states.<sup>1</sup>

In Egypt's case, mass frustration is an obvious factor. The people called for a new government, sparking a need for national change. In most cases, a large change in internal institutions is the ideal principle for revolution, however this isn't always the case. James DeFronzo, in his book *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, distinguishes that there are two types of institutional change: reformation and revolution.

A revolution is classified as a social movement in which people are organized to majorly change or replace existing social, economic, or political institutions.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese Revolution is a clear example; communist leader Mao Zedong defeated his adversaries, the Kuomintang (KMT) during the Chinese Civil War (1928-1949), and immediately Mao established what is now known as the People's Republic of China (October, 1949). As the new leader, Mao implemented many of his proposed policies,

which included populism and nationalism.

A reform movement, in contrast, focuses on changing the limited aspects of society but nothing major in political, social or economic institutions. The Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is considered to be the most prominent reform movement in the United States. It called for desegregation within public sectors, expanding access to everyone regardless of race and emphasized heavily on equality within the nation. Eventually, the Civil Rights Movement became ingrained within American culture and incorporated into the Constitution. Nationalism can also play as another key factor in change. It's defined to be a blend of patriotism and sovereignty<sup>3</sup> that plays as a driving force toward political, economic or cultural autonomy.

While reform movements are often successful in their endeavors to create change within the social system exempt from violence, revolutions are quite the contrary. They can be successful in changing the state as a whole, but it does not necessarily mean the body count stays at zero. Violence surrounds both sides: revolutionaries as well as the government forces against them. Acts taken by revolutionaries can be labeled as terrorism, but this is a word that should be taken lightly. It's open to interpretation, from one perspective the opposition against the state could be a terrorist or a freedom fighter and vice versa<sup>4</sup>. Often, movement leaders and their groups engage in tactics such as guerilla warfare, practiced to help move their revolution forward both literally and figuratively<sup>5</sup>. As a means to combat movements, governments will implement counterinsurgency techniques which prevent the movement from expanding. The Tudeh Party of Iran was a counter group designed to overthrow democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953. Another example is the PFLP/PFLP-GC (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/General Command) established by former Syrian President Hafiz Al-Assad to stop movements of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) at the start of the Lebanon Civil War in 1975.

While it may appear that revolutions across the globe are seeking to attain change within their borders, this is not the case. There are in fact two kinds of revolutions, a left and a right wing. Left-wing revolutions focus on changing society through redistribution of goods between social classes and access to public sector goods such as education, healthcare, and jobs. Upon his election in the 1950s, President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala provided a left wing revolution as part of his presidency. Arbenz enacted a sweeping land redistribution that allowed more property access to peasants. Arbenz and his government had acquired almost 300,000 acres of land from the private US based company, United Fruit Company. Almost immediately, the Eisenhower administration engaged in counterinsurgency techniques by arming

Arbenz opponents, ultimately leading to the overthrow and exile of the President.

The opposite counterpart focuses on the restoration of old traditions within society but maintains the status quo instead of instituting change. Iran, in 1979, became the result of this under the leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. After his exile by the Shah, Khomeini returned from Paris to rid Iran of America influence. Soon, he established the Revolutionary Council for Islamic Clerics to mirror the government he opposed and the Revolutionary Guards to combat the Iranian army. Khomeini's movements became very powerful against Mehdi Bazargan, the prime minister at the time; his council and army were successful in obtaining private holdings and making them a part of the state. In late 1979, a new constitution was approved and Iran overtook the US Embassy, holding it hostage until 1981. Bazargan then resigned.

It is important to know these facts in the rapidly changing global political climate. It is especially important now in the digital age, since many states have some access to the Internet and are able to communicate their cause through social media networks. However, this can be both an advantage and a disadvantage at the same time. While the Internet serves as a hub for an enormous amount of information to be sent over, it can also misconstrue a story. Unfortunately, the primary focus is on the violence rather than the proper timeline of how events occurred. Instead, very few facts are presented and one must piece together from various sources and media networks to get an idea of the actual events. Eventually, updated facts and statistics come forward to unveil a more accurate description of events in global politics.

The key components to understanding the concept of revolution in the 21st century are in understanding reasons and mechanics. With these two crucial pieces, one can infer and develop their own opinion on the subject to create a better understanding of an idea often misinterpreted by many.

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# CITIZEN CONFUSION AND THE ROLE OF THE NEWS MEDIA

LOGAN RINCON

The First Amendment of the Constitution, giving its citizens the right to free speech and the freedom of the press, is one of the most essential requirements for a democratic government. In order for citizens to have a legitimate involvement in their government, there is a necessity of a freedom of information and a climate in which opinions from all sides are audible. These rights have been well defended and scarcely questioned in the United States since their inclusion in the Constitution. However, in the last century developments in information technology have begun to change not only the capability, but also the very nature of the press' relationship with the public. In a world where information expressed to the masses comes with a cost, the motivations behind the press have become somewhat tainted.

Words from a political philosopher of the Enlightenment period, Jean Jacques Rousseau, in one of his most renowned writings, "The Social Contract," seem to best sum up the soured state of the relationship between the press and U.S. citizens as of late. When speaking of the general will of the people he states, "Our will is always for our own good, but we do not always see what that is; the people is never corrupted, but it is often deceived, and on such occasions only does it seem to will what is bad."<sup>1</sup>

The idea of the media greatly affecting what the public considers relevant, as well as what their perceptions are about a given subject, has been identified by a scholar named Maxwell McCombs. In his theory of "agenda-setting", he explains that

because of the news media's inhibited ability to only cover a small number of issues in their medium on any given day, they are forced to prioritize what they deem as most important.<sup>2</sup> The term "agenda" doesn't necessarily refer to a predetermined message they wish to convince viewers of. Rather, the term is in reference to the subject matters in which the news outlet tends to deem most important, although it is easy to see how the two notions of the word could possibly be practiced simultaneously.<sup>3</sup> McCombs contends that, inevitably, when one is a viewer or reader of a given news outlet, over time they will be able to perceive that which is their agenda.<sup>4</sup> This is most easily accomplished by observing what topics are consistently on the front page of newspapers or what has a significant amount of time spent on it in the organization's broadcast message.<sup>5</sup> McCombs' research found that the press has a significant influence on the public in their knowledge of current events as well as opinions form in relation.<sup>6</sup>

A prime example of a critical issue that was malevolently handled by many facets of the news media is that of the decision to go to war in Iraq. In a poll given to Americans in 2003, 60% believed at least one of three given misconceptions: that there were in fact weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, there was evidence of a direct link to Al Qaeda, or that there was significant world opinion favoring the war.<sup>7</sup> Of those that held one of these misperceptions, 53% supported the war.<sup>8</sup> The percentage of those that were supporters rose to 78% when they held two misperceptions and 86% when they held all three.<sup>9</sup> Although it

would seem obvious to argue that these misperceptions came from the publicity of the heavy advocacy for the war coming from the Bush administration, correlation of these polls with certain news organizations seem to rebut that. Of those polled that said they were Fox News viewers, 80% held at least one of these misperceptions while NPR and PBS listeners and viewers only 23% did.<sup>10</sup> Realistically, other factors like education and beliefs do play a role in what those polled were found to believe, yet the correlation is inarguably significant. In a situation in which media outlets were unbiased, and reported events only as they happen, there could never be such a drastic contrast between the perceptions of one viewership and another.

In a clear about-face in public opinion, support for the war in Iraq decreased steadily from 2003 on. In July of 2003, 75% of Americans believed the war was going well.<sup>11</sup> By 2005, that number dropped to 54% and by 2007 was at only 30%.<sup>12</sup> One may argue that this was mostly in relation to bad news about American soldiers being killed in the conflict, as well as civilians, or perhaps the exorbitant cost the war. Although these are obvious factors, the legitimacy of the war must be the most influential aspect when given the comparison of World War II in which there were fewer outcries due to cost or life lost. It seems much less likely that the idea of Americans buying war bonds to support the Iraq war would have made much ground during the time since the Iraq war began.

Another clear instance in which the press had conveyed a false understanding of an issue is in the handling of the healthcare legislation in 2009. There were quite a number of falsehoods perpetuated by the media and policymakers alike during the period in which the bill was in consideration. One of the most prevalent misconceptions in many people's minds was the idea that the bill would allow the government to decide what kind of care patients would be allowed to have. In other words, if a patient were ill the government could deny their treatment. This accusation was later proven to be completely false, yet the effect of news coverage convinced a significant amount of Americans otherwise.<sup>13</sup> According to a CNN/ORC poll in September of 2009, 41% of Americans believed that the government would be given the right, through the healthcare bill, to deny coverage to patients.<sup>14</sup> Other false accusations the bill perpetuated through the media included the illegalization of private insurance, coverage for illegal immigrants, and the idea that counseling for patients seeming to be at the end of their lives, was actually a government "death panel" encouraging assisted suicide.<sup>15</sup> Although this was obviously partisan slander, the very fact that these claims had such a profound impact on the public shows an obvious problem with media's role in citizen confusion.

What these previously discussed issues have in common

is an element of fear. In the realm of news media, the tactic of using the emotional appeal of fear to attract viewers is far from a new concept. Yet the progression that news organizations have seemingly made from purposely exaggerating information in a commercial to attract viewers to tune- in, to openly perpetuating fictional claims through the entirety of their reports, leads the public away from their own general will. The only conclusion to be made from this progression is that the use of fear to attract viewers has now led to outright propaganda with the inevitable outcome of misleading viewers. This accepted fear-based form of press can only lead to the deception of the general will of the people and therefore disrupt the effectiveness of the democratic government in which they wish to take part.

The freedom of the press is, and will continue to be, protected by the First Amendment of the Constitution. Therefore, the solution to fear-based, misleading facets of the press must be an equally effective emotional appeal based news media. Only an equally effective appeal could emerge as competitive to the predominant appeal of fear, since in reality news programs have a necessity to bring in viewers. One alternative, still arguably in its infancy, is the alternative appeal of humor. Although the show may have some of its own biases and is currently inhibited by a number of factors, one of them being time allotment, the example of "The Daily Show" with Jon Stewart has emerged. Despite being broadcast only four days a week for half an hour, with breaks wasting many weeks, the show has emerged as a source of information that is growing in popularity. Hesitations may be warranted for a show appearing on a network called "Comedy Central" becoming a legitimate source of news, but so far there are signs the appeal of humor shows potential. A 2004 Pew Research Center study found the number of young people under the age of 30 relying on comedy shows for their source of news rivaled network news programs.<sup>16</sup> Of those surveyed in the age group, 21% said comedy shows like "The Daily Show" were their preferred authority for news while 23% said network news programs were theirs.<sup>17</sup> In another 2004 survey, the National Annenberg Election Survey, by using a six question test on political knowledge the surveyor found those that watched The Daily Show were more likely to know "the issue positions and backgrounds of political candidates than people who [did not] watch the show."<sup>18</sup>

Despite the news media's malevolent influences, due to its vehicle of fear to attract its viewers, citizens still need information and news outlets still have to compete with each other in order to attract those citizens toward their channel, newspaper, or website. Therefore, an effective alternative means is required that doesn't, by nature, lead to perpetuating misperceptions. Albeit his timeslot,

resources, and television network inhabit Jon Stewart, his show has nevertheless proven that the use of humor is a possible alternative to the currently predominant appeal of fear. Given the financing, along with will, there is an opportunity for a credible news program that not only rivals the number of cable news network viewers, but also provides a substantial alternative that produces factual content.

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# UNTOUCHABLE PROSPERITY

RYAN NEACH

Over the past two decades, India has grown from struggling economy to full-fledged economic power and this has, in turn, helped establish a new or particular identity. The growth of India over the past fourteen years has been a byproduct of the world becoming more connected through technology and globalization. With a population of more than a billion people, land and many resources, India is poised to be an economic powerhouse for decades to come. However, India's sudden transformation has not come without a price. Hunger, low food safety and water quality, and class discrimination—which plague India's poorer population—are some of the many problems India faces as it enters this decade. Sooner or later, India will need to start finding solutions to these problems.

India's sudden economic boom has in large part been through the help of American companies. Many companies invested in India during the late 1990s because of India's lack of corporate rules and regulations. This has saved companies millions in tax dollars that would have been paid to hire employees in America.<sup>1</sup> Outsourced American jobs went to India because of its well educated and multi-lingual upper class. India's workforce for technology and services is estimated to be about 205 million people.<sup>2</sup>

However, those huge numbers can be deceiving. To truly understand India and recognize the number of people living in poverty, one needs to break down the numbers. There are endless amounts of numbers on India's poverty that range from 200

million to 800 million people. From all the information gathered, it is clear the exact number of Indian citizens living in poverty is unknowable. It is difficult to gather information on a billion people: all one can do is consider data, some of it conflicting, some of it estimated, and make an educated guess.

To start, India has a population of 1.189 billion people. Of that, 437 million people are considered to be a part of the workforce. Ten percent of the workforce is unemployed, which indicates there are approximately 40 million people unemployed. Forty percent of the population is below the age of eighteen years old, and around five percent are students studying in higher education and not yet in the job market. Compiling these statistics, it is evident there are roughly 150 million adults who are unemployed.<sup>3</sup>

One also needs to factor in the other side of the workforce as well. Agriculture creates more than fifty percent of the job market in India, serving as a provider of work for more than 232 million Indians.<sup>4</sup> However, the agricultural sector in India has left many workers illiterate, malnourished, and underpaid. The majority of agricultural workers are still considered below the poverty line. Taking into account all of those unemployed as well as the large portion of the agricultural work force, it can be estimated that 400-450 million people live below the poverty line.<sup>5</sup>

Those numbers are staggeringly large for a country which is considered a global economic power. What has brought a country that has developed into a global economic power to a state of crisis for such a large portion of its population? How have these people

been ignored? The three factors that one has to take into account with India's poverty are its history, government, and size.

India has a long history spanning from kings to being a part of the British Empire to gaining independence and becoming a constitutional republic. However, one thing that socially has remained throughout these changes is the social pyramid known as the caste system. The caste system is a social hierarchy which was used to completely separate the classes—the poor from the rich, giving specific jobs to each individual caste.<sup>6</sup> The system was originally a convention of the Hindu religion but integrated itself into Indian culture through many generations.

The caste system gave order to society while also securing position within the upper and lower classes, limiting the opportunities of the lower class to live any sort of good quality life. Citizens from the lower castes were never allowed to be seen nor heard, especially by royalty or the upper classes. They were invisible outcasts living amongst the rest of society. This type of social stratification gave way to generations of horrible treatment and discrimination amongst the country's poorest. Over the last century, the caste system has been recognized for what it is: a suppressive ordering of society that made the poorest in the country seem worthless. One leader who called for change was Mahatmas Gandhi. Gandhi was the most outspoken leader of the "Untouchable" class. His calls for social change caused citizens of India to question their society for the unkind treatment of its own people.<sup>7</sup>

After India gained independence from Britain, one of the first laws passed under its new Indian constitution was a law outlawing the caste system. This was a huge step in making sure a new democratic society would shine through. By outlawing the caste system, it was believed people would automatically change their views on the lower class. However, social prejudices were ingrained in society and very little changed. Today, those same prejudices still live in almost every aspect of Indian culture. Fifty-five percent of Indian citizens today still feel the caste system is a barrier in society. This barrier cannot be brought down by law, but by a serious social shift in thought.<sup>8</sup>

The next factor one has to understand about India is its government. India's government is described as a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. Building a fairly new government does not come without its share of problems; governing over a billion people is a difficulty in itself. India's government needed some sort of way to launch India into the modern world. India's economic boom during the 1990s was partially because of the government's easing regulations and limiting corporate taxes; this brought many companies calling for Indian workers.<sup>9</sup> Despite this, the lower caste does not

benefit from investment in their schools and continues to remain uneducated. The Indian government has also stopped regulations on essential goods and services, such as cutting back on food and water.<sup>10</sup> Thousands of Indian citizens die every year from bacterial infection caused by their water and food. Many of India's children die of famine and starvation.<sup>11</sup> While the government of India focuses on building success within its upper class, millions of citizens are left behind suffering inhumane treatment.

India's government needs to make a decision: it either needs to sacrifice a portion of its economic growth by taxing corporations more money to invest in infrastructure of socio-economic programs for the poor or continue the same policies in place today and let millions more go without an adequate education, water or food. Neither decision is easy but if the government's recent actions are any indication, it still trusts fully in direct foreign investment.

The final factor is the population of India. Since the government has a limited amount of power and adequate funds, very little money can be directed to addressing the major problems India faces. The majority of the poor are located in urban areas around the country, but there are still millions of poor that live out in rural areas. As one can see from the statistical evidence related to India, it is difficult to estimate just exactly which place is in the most need, seeing as it is almost impossible to get a clear idea of who most needs help.

Even though India's problems are vast, it does not mean solutions are impossible. Obviously, there is not a clear way to begin fixing poverty in any part of the world. However, there are fixes that India can make to combat some of the horrible conditions that its poor face. One is better regulation on food and water. If India can cut down disease from bacteria in its poorest areas, it would vastly improve the quality of life for many of its citizens. Another is providing better access to education in highly impoverished areas. Building a strong educational system in a poor region helps improve the community. Last, holding companies more accountable in helping build up the communities around them that they rely so heavily on. India cannot simply rely on its government to get it out of this massive hole. Government alone does not have the reach and capabilities to fix a problem such as this.

Vinod Kholsa is a billionaire who made his money investing in a company called SKS Microfinance while also co-founding Sun Microsystems. Mr. Kholsa has contributed almost 117 million dollars of his own money to the poor of India. He has called for many other wealthy Indians to do the same. "By backing businesses that provide education loans or distribute solar panels in villages, he says, he wants to show that commercial

entities can better help people in poverty than most nonprofit charitable organizations.”<sup>12</sup> While Mr. Kholsa calls for mostly Indian businessmen to reinvest in their country’s poor, it is also important that businesses, especially United States businesses, invest in those same communities. By improving the environment around its Indian employees, better relations with the upper and lower class in India will be established. If an importance of the citizen’s welfare is demonstrated as beyond your own company’s welfare, a lasting relationship with the people is built. That loyalty is something difficult for companies today to find, but can be valuable to a company’s success in that region.<sup>13</sup> A great example of this kind of care is Japan. Japan has very few natural resources and almost no viable agriculture. Japan, however, has become an economic power because of its people. In Japan, it is considered honorable for a company to give its employees good benefits and have employees treated with respect. This kind of treatment makes employees very loyal to a company. It is often the case in Japan that people stay in one job for multiple years because they are loyal to that company. This kind of relationship that companies have with employees has been pushed aside for cost cutting in many countries around the world. Companies care more about saving money than giving their employees a viable wage and good quality of life.

India is an intriguing nation to study as it provides deep contrasts of within herself. On one side, it has an unlimited job market with millions of people ready to work. It also has a good education system, and its production has grown every year for the past decade. But, on the other side and in deep contrast to this amazing economy, is a Third World country.

India cannot expect to continue down this path for much longer in a world that is becoming more connected each day. Being an economic power requires certain responsibilities. President Obama recently visited India to discuss some of the issues that have hindered the relationship between the United States and India, as well as discussing what India’s goals are to helping the less fortunate.<sup>14</sup> President Obama said, “We believe that no matter where you live - whether a village in Punjab or the bylanes of Chandni Chowk...an old section of Kolkata or a new high-rise in Bangalore - every person deserves the same chance to live in security and dignity, to get an education, to find work, and to give their children a better future.”<sup>15</sup> This shows that India can no longer sit idly by and leave its poor disenfranchised. Steps must be made to begin helping its poor or the world will finally begin to take notice of what India has been ignoring for decades. The question remains, will it be the government that steps up first to help, or will it be the poor that demand the treatment that they deserve? Of course, no one has the answer to this question. In

a country with almost half- billion impoverished people, their capabilities and contributions will remain unknown until change is effected.

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# CHINA: A LONG HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

RICK WESTBERRY

The Peoples' Republic of China is a very mysterious place to most Americans. Today, China represents many things, from one of the world's most wealthy countries to the country which had the most extravagant Olympic opening ceremony ever. There are many things that are overlooked when it comes to China, and they are some of the most important issues of the modern world.

To understand the current issues in China, it is important to look at the foundation of the current system of government and its history. The Peoples' Republic of China was established in 1949, when the dominant political party became the Communist Party of China, which remains in power today. During its time in power this government would take many steps in building a powerful country; unfortunately, they would also do many things that are classified as human rights violations in the process. Human rights are defined as those rights and freedoms that every human is entitled to; unfortunately these rights are often taken away under governments like China's. One of the most memorable failures to protect human rights came during the infamous Cultural Revolution; in this time we would see countless atrocities committed against the Chinese people, but human rights violations would not end at that time. In recent years China has shown that they have the ability to become one of the most powerful

nations in the world in many different ways. Even with all their advancements, in almost every way they are held back by the way they treat their citizens. If China really wants to be the most powerful nation, one of the steps they must take would be ending human rights violations in their country.

With such a long history of human rights violations, the world must wonder if it is possible for China to make such a huge change. There are many things to understand before we can come to a conclusion about China ending their human rights problems; in fact we must look back to the events of the 20th century to see how the Communist Party gained its power. There was a civil war between the communists (led by Mao Zedong) and the Chinese Nationalist Party (led by General Chiang Kai-Shek). During this civil war, the common people of China supported the communists because they were the force that chose to treat the people with dignity. This is ironic because this same party would be the one to turn on them over the decades to come. After taking control of the government we would see many violations of human rights in China, but one of the first major chain of events would be seen to take place during the "Great Leap Forward". This "Great Leap Forward" was an economic plan created by the communist party in order to take the country from an agrarian nation to a modern industrialized country. It took place from 1958 to 1961. The

Great Leap Forward would soon backfire on the CCP because the economic plan failed, leading to “economic chaos and a dramatic drop in both industrial and agricultural output.”<sup>1</sup> By the end of this failed economic plan, Mao would find himself losing power in the government and had to find a new way to control the people thus leading to the Cultural Revolution.

The next step in this chain of human rights violations began in 1966 and came to be the most memorable of all the events: the Cultural Revolution. Today when we think of examples of human rights violations, this time period is one of the main things we look to. During this time countless atrocities would be committed against the people of China because of the ideas of desperate Mao Zedong. He had one simple goal: to remove capitalistic ideas from the country and impose the spread communism further than it had already reached. The actions the CCP undertook were radical: “Mao urged young students called Red Guards to fight against anyone who might have liberal, capitalist, or intellectual leanings... Books were burned, and educated people were arrested and persecuted.”<sup>2</sup> It becomes clear that this period represented the worst violation of human rights in China. This is definitely one of the most obvious cases of human rights violations in China because it was the center of Maoism and it was his main goal. Another reason the Cultural Revolution is a perfect example of human rights violations is because we have so many first-hand accounts of experiences during this time. One example of Mao’s ideas at work comes from the writings of a 25-year-old man in 1966. An educated man, he was the perfect target for Maoist followers. In his story, he tells how his graphic persecution took place at the hands of working class people.

“One day, I don’t know what possessed them, but they suddenly decided to cut off my penis with a pair of scissors. Of course I couldn’t let them do that to me... I resisted with all the strength I had left, holding onto my pants as tightly as I could. My hands were bleeding from the scissors and perhaps the sight of blood stopped them.”<sup>3</sup>

With examples like this, it is clear that this time period was not a good time to live in China, and, as this is only one example from one part of China, we can only imagine how bad it could be all over the country. The Cultural Revolution would last ten years (1966-1976) and many more similar events would take place.

The next big historical event representing gross human rights violations in China are events at Tiananmen Square. These events took place in 1989, recent history and a time when media coverage of world events was much more prevalent. “Tens of thousands of college students staged a pro-democracy demonstration in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square.”<sup>4</sup> Powerful images, including those of unarmed protesters standing in front of tanks, were seen around

the world. However, the protests ended with no movement toward the government changing to a democratic system anytime soon; there were hundreds of deaths and maybe even more than that. Even though these events did not seem to lead to any actual changes in government, or actual decreases in human rights violations, the negative response would lead China to carrying out similar acts in a much more quiet way – away from the media.

The modern styles of human rights violations are much different than the old ways from the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the events at Tiananmen Square. Although the new style of human rights violation is much quieter doesn’t mean that there is less taking place. There are still many accounts of people going missing and never being seen again, as there are organizations solely devoted to stopping these disappearances, such as the Chinese Human Rights Defenders. Although the way in which the government persecutes its countrymen is different, the same type of people are the ones being persecuted: intellectuals, artists, and anyone who believes in democratic society. There are many examples of these missing peoples, but one that has been the top of the news in recent times is the Chinese artist Ai Weiwei and many people connected to him. Ai Weiwei is one of many of the pro-democracy activists involved with protests in protests, recently. Ai Weiwei got involved in “the latest of dozens of activists and government critics rounded up following online calls for demonstrations in China to emulate the “Jasmine” protests that have rocked the Arab world.”<sup>5</sup> Any attempt to gather people together for pro-democracy protests does not have a chance when the government is able to silence anyone who will speak out against their system. This is not the first time that Ai Weiwei has gotten in trouble for being outspoken, but this time there are no signs that he will be released soon. Not only is Ai Weiwei facing persecution, many people connected to him are, too. Another example of how any connection can get them into trouble would be that of Liu Xiaoyuan, a Chinese rights lawyer who was arrested even though he was not connected to the protests. Liu Xiaoyuan said ““They knew I was Ai Weiwei’s friend and they knew I was willing to represent him. Ai Weiwei has said before that if anything happens to him, he would want me to be his lawyer. My feeling is my detention could have been tied to that.””<sup>6</sup> As this current case against Ai Weiwei continues we also see more and more people are ending up being arrested by the government, many of them being lawyers and other activists. Although this is clear proof that these acts of human rights violations are continuing to take place in China, all that can be done is to speculate on the outcome.

From most of the world’s point of view, China is one of the strongest world powers, if not the strongest. But with accusations of violations of human rights all over the news, one

must ask: where do they plan to stop? How can one of the most powerful nations arrest artists and lawyers? The lawyers that have been getting arrested represent the Chinese people and their (theoretically) fight for their rights yet they cannot even support clients whose rights need protecting. Given the history behind the current system for persecuting citizens in China, it is hard to say what it would take for them to stop the persecution. How far will they go to protect the old ideas that they are still living with?

China produced the most extravagant Olympic opening ceremony the world had ever seen, however they have some of the worst human rights regulations. We can reflect on the Olympic opening ceremony and think about the amount of manpower it took to create everything that went into it, such as the grand stadium it was held in, one of the most important parts of the ceremony. The strange part about this situation is that Ai Weiwei was one of the many people involved in the designing of the stadium, and yet a few years later the government he worked for would detain him for his political views.

The Peoples' Republic of China has made many changes and improvements over the years, but one thing that has still stuck is their willingness to violate the human rights of their citizens. Although the persecution does not seem to be as bad as the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution, people continue to hope for a more democratic society. With China continuing to grow as a world power all that can be done is continue with the democratic protests and hope that the Chinese people can eventually gain their basic human rights.

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# EASTERN BLOC INTEGRATION INTO THE EU

MARIUS IORDACHE

Change, in any form, can be difficult to adapt to. In the case of the Former Eastern European Countries' transition from communism to democracy, an adaptation to new policies has not been easy. This article addresses, from both an academic and personal perspective, the issues with change in Romania, my country of origin.

After World War II, Europe was divided between two major ideologies: capitalism and communism. Capitalism was represented by the liberal democracies of the United States and Great Britain and included the nation-states of France, Italy, and Spain; communism was represented by the Soviet Union (USSR). The area which was ultimately controlled by the USSR was referred to as the "Eastern Bloc" and included the nation-states of Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. These Eastern Bloc nations were governed by centralized governments, by and through their respective Communist Party, and took direction from Moscow on all matters of foreign, domestic, economic and military policy.

The European continent suffered tremendous damages during WWII. Indeed, the scale of reconstruction was beyond imagination and, initially, commenced at a slow pace. The initial phase consisted mostly of "digging out" and was followed by definitive institution creation – the goal being able to self-govern thereafter. These conditions were applicable in both Western and Eastern Europe. Despite commonality of cause amongst wartime allies, events took a different course due to the manner in which the war ended and the occupation zones were instituted. These events were driven in large part by the different views held by both sides as to

policies to be pursued and the goals associated with these policies. By 1947, circumstances dictated that these perceived temporary divisions would become permanent specifically with the initiation of the Cold War and lasting until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Although this shift to democracy was indeed beneficial to these Former Eastern European Countries (known as FEEC's - with the unstated parentage being "former Soviet controlled states"), the transition has been ridden with corruption.

The transition from communist led regimes to democracy by the Eastern European bloc nations, the primary focus of this article, begins with the policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika" under the last Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev. ("Glasnost" and "Perestroika" are openness and restructuring, respectively.)

Gorbachev understood that the USSR and their Eastern European satellite states lived in deplorable conditions due to poorly managed central economic policies and rigid ideological constraints, thus his two policy initiatives. He also understood that Cold War policies of maximum and accelerated resource exploitation contributed significantly to the poor socio-economic conditions he inherited. Perestroika, it was hoped, would alleviate some of the problems and openness (glasnost) would encourage the flow of ideas necessary for vibrant development. Despite every effort to keep the USSR intact, these policies simply got away from Gorbachev.

The Eastern Bloc, under the Soviet boot since the end of WWII, was desperate for change. They, of course, attached greater importance to regime change than economic policy changes, having been denied democratic rights for so long. Gorbachev's

policies would, inevitably, lead to clashes within each state and, eventually, to democracy. The change was sudden and brought with it unanticipated situations. Ideologues, reformers, and revolutionaries who—despite their best intentions—were incapable of running a nation ushered democracy in. They were simply not competent to do so and, without meaning to, engendered conditions that allowed corruption to remain and social confusion to expand to the point where populations were unsure of what laws to follow.

More than twenty years have passed since the Eastern Bloc transitioned to democracy yet many socio-economic problems remain despite many of these countries having become members of the European Union (EU). These post-revolutionary Eastern Bloc nations are referred to as “FEEC’s”—Former Eastern European Countries. Indeed, countries like Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and Poland still struggle to elevate themselves to the standard of living of their EU neighbors. However, more than this, FEEC’s are struggling with the transition to democracy after decades of communist policy. Democracy cannot be understood like a set of procedures or an electoral choice—it must be understood as an ethos in which the period between elections requires sustained citizen involvement. People in FEEC’s tend to not care about the periods between elections and, in many cases, about government at all. Citizens see themselves as removed from the decision-making process and do not necessarily believe that their votes count.<sup>1</sup> Is this a cynical view or a failure to comprehend that democracy requires citizen involvement?

FEEC’s seem to lack support from established democracies in terms of helping them establish strong (er) democratic institutions and inculcating the ethos necessary for making democracy work. FEEC’s emerged from communism and totalitarianism like a newborn, with no knowledge or experience in how to successfully transition a state and its people to democracy. Two of the most common things to emerge instead of democratic reforms have been corruption and flight. People, finally free from the tyranny of communism and fed up with state policy, tend to flee for nations in which there is political and economic stability. The better educated and/or skilled the labor, the more likely it is to relocate.

Political corruption is partially defined as “... the misuse of public trust for personal gain,” but it is more complicated than that. There are many types of corruption in FEEC’s and the range can be limitless - from the interaction between citizen and policeman (in which bribery takes place) to official misconduct. A disturbing example of official Romanian corruption, reported on May 27, 2011, by a Romanian television anchor regarding the 29 indictments for custom officials from Port of Constanta and the

involvement of the Secretary of Interns which included Laureniu, Mironescu and Senator Sorin Brejnea. The scandals erupted based on wiretaps from the national department of Anti-Corruption (DNA). The wiretaps revealed a conversation that took place between the senator mentioned above and the Secretary of Interns where the sum of 200,500 United States dollars was illegally paid for the senator campaign by the head of Romanian customs of the Port of Constanta Liviu Burboc.<sup>2</sup> In a state with strong democratic institutions and a sophisticated public (defined as a public that adheres to the ethos of democracy), this sort of act would be met with moral and civic outrage as opposed to being dismissed as an expected act or event.

The World Bank identifies corruption as the single most common source of poverty in lesser-developed countries (“LDC’s”). Countries that transition from communism to democracy, like FEEC’s, provide extreme examples of corruption. Privatization of property, dishonest procurement policies, extortion, and asset stripping can create an interesting new phenomenon called “state capture”.<sup>3</sup> “The irony of “state capture” lies in this: there are democratic institutions and laws in place but they are ignored by an elite, nee oligarchy, that will now control the economy to their benefit. The public expects this sort of behavior and does not complain, in effect, legitimizing the acts of corruption. This “new” way of doing business has a familiarity to it that is yet more shocking: the “new” leaders were the old leaders, having survived the transition to democracy. Their skill at maneuvering within the old system served them well in the new.

It can be argued that one of the most significant and contributive factors in the decline of communist regimes was this very type of corruption. Using “state capture” as an example and extending into the realms of policy and law, we find that judges still do not question nor dare to challenge officials in instances where a member of the legislature or elite support a party to a lawsuit or legal action.<sup>4</sup>

Public institutions are one of the main targets of corruption in FEEC’s. Again, using Romania as an example, we find that an employee within the Romanian Ministry of Finance (an agency very similar to the US IRS) had other employment as a Comptroller in a privately held firm. His job was to ensure that there were no audits of the firm, reported by Romanian Television (TVR) in 2007.<sup>5</sup> While Romania has yet to fall into “state capture,” this style and the degree of corruption make it seem likely to in the future. The new elite controls institutions through patronage and nepotism, which allows them to easily control the electoral process. The European Commission, which overlooks elections in states desiring admission into the EU, stated that in Romania’s 2002 elections, half of the parliament bribed different



members of their own parties to gain better position on electoral lists. The motivation for this is easy to identify: members of parliament enjoy prosecutorial immunity—a law in place from the days of communist party control in Romania. This is, obviously, a problem that not only undermines government but also sets the stage for organized crime.<sup>6</sup>

It is a mistake for the EU to take an “economics first” approach to admission of FEEC’s or other states. The EU should, instead, shift to a “structural functional analysis first” policy. FEEC’s and other states with strong democratic institutions, adherence to the rule of law and a democratic ethos will be more likely to integrate into the EU better.<sup>7</sup>

Thus far, structural functionalism and the corruption, which renders it dysfunctional, have been the focus of this article. The second problem identified with FEEC development and integration into the EU is intellectual flight—“brain drain.” Overly simplified, freedom allows people to flee the state in which they have lived oppressed lives. The more resources a person has, the more likely they are to flee. If educated or skilled, they are worth more in a stable democracy than they would be in a corrupt nation struggling to implement democracy. Romania, on getting its independence, processed over a million passport applications—per month.<sup>8</sup> The problem, internally, was brain drain; externally, the established western democratic states of the EU faced masses of immigrants. These first waves were skilled and educated, followed by a secondary, non-educated/non-skilled wave of laborers. The problems for both sides are obvious.

By 2010, Romanian Labor Department statistics show 50% of the young (18-27) and 50% of the old (35-40) labor force listed as “emigrated”.<sup>9</sup> Skilled and unskilled labor alike found employment and homes in Spain, Italy, and Germany amongst other EU nations. This “brain drain” has paralyzed Romania and all other similarly situated FEEC’s. This flight impacts future direct foreign investment (DFI): foreign investors become highly skeptical about investing in a country with nothing more than unskilled—or worse—uneducated workers. Further, “state capture” conditions make FEEC’s less than attractive as investment opportunities.

Conditions in FEEC’s necessitate EU investment to bolster economies and build viable institutions. Despite a good faith effort, these forms of aid do not produce tangible results as flight persists in concurrence with corruption. For the sake of Romania and the other FEEC’s, democratic and electoral accountability are essential steps to achieving parity, indeed complete integration into the EU.

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# FUKUSHIMA DAIICHI NUCLEAR POWER STATION AND THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

MATT McAULEY

On March 11, 2011 at 2:46 ST, a 9.0 earthquake struck 250 miles off the coast of Tokyo. The quake was the fifth largest in the world, dating back to 1900. This quake then caused a powerful tsunami that affected the whole Pacific Rim. The tsunami moved as fast as 500 miles per hour before striking Hawaii and the United States' west coast. The biggest wave to hit the United States was in Crescent City, California, creating waves about 2 meters high, while Japan had waves as high as 10 meters which struck the city of Sendai.<sup>1</sup> The biggest hit was the Fukushima Daiichi Power Station, which caused a failure of the reactor cooling systems.

The Fukushima Daiichi Power Station operates six nuclear reactors, but prior to the earthquake, Units 4, 5 and 6 were shutdown while the remaining units were shutdown immediately after the quake hit. When the tsunami hit the power station, the flooding caused the energy generators to cease their functioning preventing the pumps from cooling and stabilizing the reactors. Due to the severe possibility of a nuclear meltdown, a 20 kilometer evacuation and no fly zone was implemented.<sup>2</sup> Reactor Unit 1 underwent a partial nuclear meltdown and the reactor building's roof exploded from increased hydrogen pressure, but the reactor containment remained intact despite the explosion which injured four workers.<sup>3</sup> Due to the condition of the Unit 1, the use of seawater to cool the reactor was implemented as a last ditch effort. However, the impurities within seawater caused irreparable damage to the reactors systems, the use of seawater

as a coolant and signifying that Unit 1 would be in decommission after the crisis is over.<sup>4</sup> Reactors Unit 2 and Unit 3 also underwent similar catastrophes when both units underwent cooling problems. Unit 3 suffered from low water levels which caused a hydrogen explosion bigger than the one from Unit 1. The explosion injured 11 people, but as with Unit 1, containment was not breached from the explosion of the reactor building.<sup>5</sup> The fuel rods were partially exposed in Unit 3, requiring the Japanese government to drop seawater on the reactors through the use of helicopters. Due to the explosion from Unit 3, Unit 2 was suffering a cooling problem from the failure of the water pumps. The resulting explosion of Unit 2 released enough radiation to exceed the maximum legal limit, causing the evacuation of non-essential crew members. The final explosion occurred at Reactor Unit 4, when hydrogen pressure buildup damaged the rooftop of the building and later the spent fuel pool caught fire.<sup>6</sup> The explosion at the 4th Unit was significant due to the reactor being previously shut down before the earthquake while Unit 5 and Unit 6 remained relatively safe from complete meltdown. The latest danger level of the reactors is level 5 for Unit 1, 2, and 3, while Unit 4 is a level 3, according to the seven-level International Nuclear Event Scale established from the International Atomic Energy Agency.<sup>7</sup> To put this in perspective, a Level 7 is equivalent to the Chernobyl Disaster while a level 5 is equivalent to the Three Mile Island Incident. Witnessing the excessive damage from this tragedy, it raises the question as to whether nuclear energy has a future or not.

The difference between the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant and Chernobyl or Three Mile Island was that it was caused by a natural disaster—not a human or mechanical error. The reactor with the worst accident in history was the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in Pripyat, Ukraine, formerly part of the USSR. The main problem with the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant was the reactor had a dangerously large positive void coefficient (the measurement on how the reactor reacts to an increased steam in the water coolant) whereas most nuclear reactors are negative void coefficient, also the reactor did not have a containment facility in case of an accident. Negative void coefficient decreases its heat output when water turns to steam since fewer neutrons are slowed down by water vapor; these fast neutrons are less likely to split uranium atoms than slower neutrons, since they produce less power. On the other hand, positive void coefficient reactors use graphite to control the neutrons which makes water act as an absorber even if vapor water is present, slowing down neutrons and splitting a larger amount of uranium. This creates a higher energy output which causes the reactor to be unstable at low levels.<sup>8</sup>

Three Mile Island, located in Pennsylvania, had a partial melt down compared with the total meltdown from Chernobyl. The meltdown happened when a pressure relieving valve in the core failed to close, creating a chain reaction beginning with the water coolant in the reactor leaking out of the valve, thus causing the reactor to overheat. Due to the lack of instruments to measure the amount of water in the core, engineers were judging the level of the water by the level of pressure, which was high. The engineers took a series of actions when warning bells rang, signaling nuclear overheating; this led to the fatal error of stopping the water coolant, and the nuclear reactor went into a meltdown.<sup>9</sup> Both nuclear reactors scared many people, one causing many deaths and damages, and the other concerned with the use of it as a practical energy source. However, these two incidents were considered disasters that can be avoided by proper regulation and better designs of nuclear power plants.

Despite the accidents at these three reactors, many believe nuclear energy still has a place for us in the future. With the rising cost of fossil fuel across the US, already at \$4 per gallon and rising, nuclear energy is an alternative energy source which can satisfy our need for energy to run our everyday needs. The biggest incentive in running a nuclear reactor is the fact it is relatively cheap energy (compared to other forms) and does not emit greenhouse gases. To understand why nuclear reactors are not contributors to greenhouse gases, we need to understand the basics of nuclear fission and the operation of a nuclear reactor. The process in which nuclear energy is created is called nuclear

fission, where high-energy neutrons bombard atoms of uranium which cause atoms to split apart. When the atom has gone through fission, massive amounts of energy are released and more high-energy neutrons are created, which can hit more atoms in the uranium, continuing the process until the atoms have undergone fission. The heat energy from fission is used to heat up water, converting to water vapor, or steam, spinning a gas-powered turbine and creating electrical energy to power homes. Throughout the whole process of bombarding atoms to produce electrical energy from gas-powered turbines, there is no carbon dioxide produced. Carbon dioxide is the leading cause of global warming, the heating of the planet, which is caused by the use of carbon energy sources such as coal and fossil fuel. The only products nuclear reactors create are energy, radiation, and spent uranium. The radiation from the reactors is very low to the people living and working around the reactor, receiving less than one-tenth of one percent of the annual radiation a typical American receives.<sup>10</sup> An unfortunate side effect of operating nuclear energy is the byproduct of nuclear waste which is harmful to humans and lasts thousands of years. A solution to this problem exists in France. Their reactors reprocess spent fuel rods to be used as fuel again.<sup>11</sup>

In the aftermath of the disaster following the Japanese Earthquake and Pacific Rim tsunami, the future use of nuclear energy as a viable source of clean energy can continue to be considered. Currently all 104 of United States' operating nuclear reactors are undergoing tests to determine reactor capability. They tested the reactors by seeing if the safety systems could operate despite the significant power loss. United States' nuclear reactors are designed to withstand flooding.<sup>12</sup> Another issue that needs to be addressed is the poor engineering surrounding the nuclear reactor. The Fukushima Daiichi Power Station is situated right next to the Pacific Ocean with a seawall constructed around the power plant to help against tsunamis, yet the seawall did little to stop the tsunami from flooding the reactors because it was built too low compared to the seawalls of Japanese cities. Another constitution defect was the placement on the generator to operate the reactor and its coolants. The generators are located in low spots of the facility so that when a flooding occurs, the first place hit is the basement.<sup>13</sup> The disaster at the power plant could have been limited or prevented if the seawalls were as high or higher than the city's seawall or if the power generators for the coolants were placed on high ground.

The question on everyone's mind is how this affects the political community. In China, after the tsunami, a senior military official claimed that military occupied reactors were in safe conditions. "We have thoroughly inspected the military nuclear facilities immediately after the nuclear plant accident in Japan,"

said Cai Huailie, a senior colonel of the People's Liberation Army, was announced after the results of defense reviews. The People's Liberation Army will be receiving a 12.7% increase in their defense budget about \$91.5 million with portions of the funding going directly to Chinese nuclear facilities.<sup>14</sup> In the United States we are very paranoid with nuclear energy after the Chernobyl and Three Mile Island Incidents. Indeed, the production of new nuclear reactors has ground to a halt. President Obama is a proponent of safe nuclear energy, considering it a clean source of energy like wind and solar power.<sup>15</sup> Another issue Republicans led effort to cut funding for Tsunami warning systems. Republicans like Dan Lundgren, Congressman from California's 3rd District, voted to cut \$454 million from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which is responsible for the Pacific Tsunami Warning Center. Despite how devastating the tsunami was to an industrialized country, Republicans defended their position with Representative Eric Cantor of Virginia saying, "Look, I think that all of us need to be tempered by the fact that we've got to stop spending money we don't have."<sup>16</sup>

Despite the many faults associated with nuclear energy, it is still a viable source of energy. Workers at nuclear reactors need to remain vigilant when operating a nuclear reactor. As long as nuclear energy can get a reliable source of coolant, a nuclear meltdown will never happen. If we continue to learn from our mistakes from the disaster from Chernobyl, Three Mile Island, and now Fukushima, nuclear energy can be a safe, reliable, and cheap source of energy.

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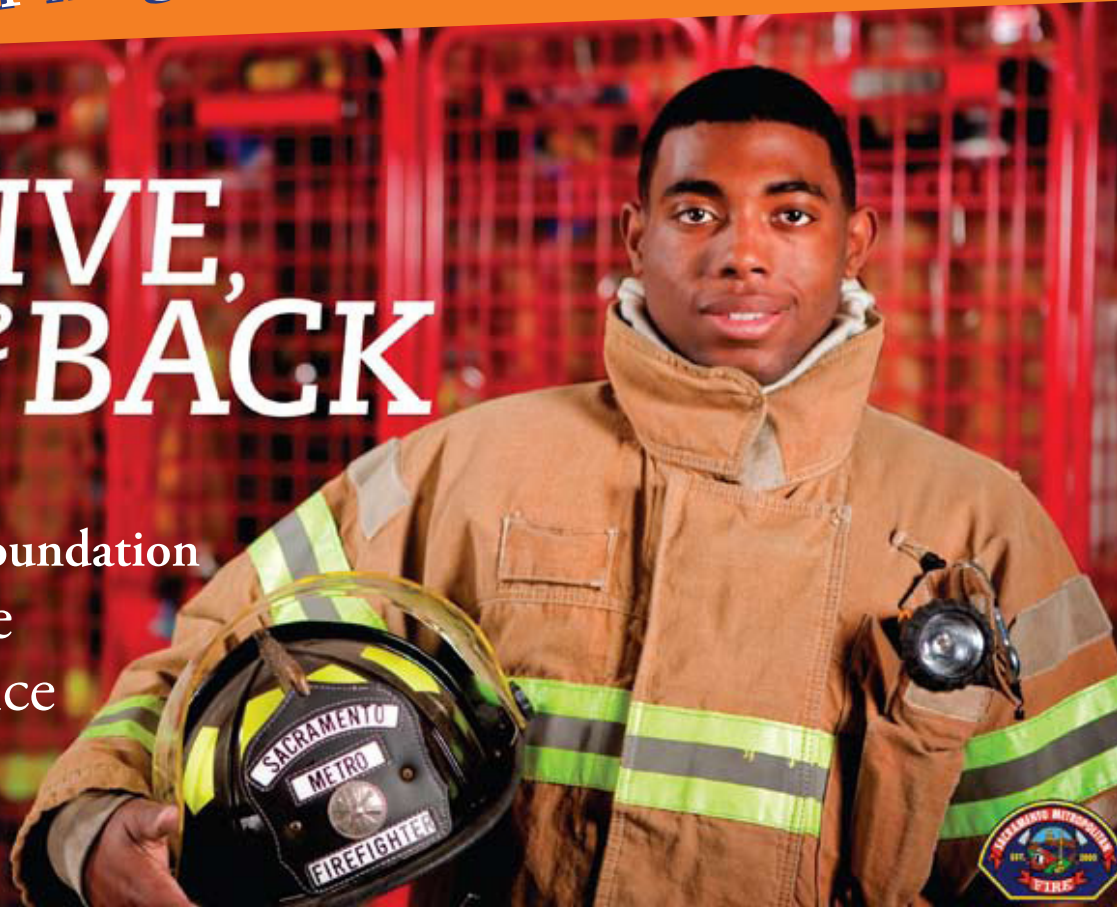
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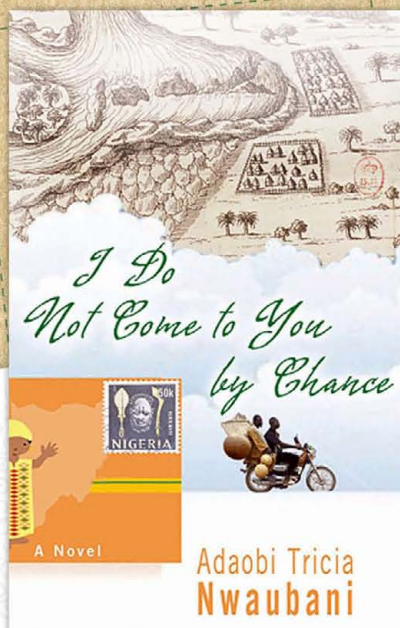
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Funded in part by a grant from the CRC Foundation  
Philosophy & Humanities Department in partnership with the Global Studies Program