

GLOBUS MUNDI

An abstract painting featuring a large, textured globe in shades of green and grey. To the left is a red, brick-like structure. In the bottom left corner, there is a small red and black object. In the bottom right corner, a cityscape with orange and yellow buildings is visible against a dark background.

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FACULTY PAGE

MARTIN MORALES



Welcome to volume seven! What a year it's been. I'm amazed at how quickly the academic year passes and that this is our seventh issue. I attribute time flying to our students driving us the way they do as they pursue their educations and supplement their academic work with extra-curricular activities such as this journal, Model UN, campaign internships - all while forging the deep bonds of friendship and camaraderie that come with the cohort they've become a member of.

We started this academic year literally as last year's ended by teaming up with OneJustice, a San Francisco based pro-bono legal services provider. **Neph Robles, Giselle Garcia** and **Juan Saavedra** provided interpreting services for Spanish speaking people who need access to a variety of legal services (immigration, family law, employment) throughout California. We traveled to Half Moon Bay, Tracy and Stockton to work at community clinics and returned from each trip further committed and energized to do more. It was an honor for me to roll up my sleeves and work side by side with these amazing students. We look forward to a continued partnership with OneJustice and new challenges given the Trump administration's views and policies. September saw Beth Huffman and I hosting a very well attended new student orientation explaining the major, its different tracks, electives, transfer and career options. (This event is available for viewing on the department's webpage under "Events & Colloquia.") Expectedly, the fall was dominated by the November election. We were pleased to see our students **Tyler Gunn, Gurmilan Kaur, Keagan Miller,**

Alex Recalde and **Da'jai Roberts** interning as campaign staff. My colleagues Diana Reed and Georgine Hodgkinson joined me at a campus-wide viewing of the first presidential debate (September 26, 2016) to present differing academic discipline perspectives and, more importantly, to take student questions on what we saw and heard that night. Beth and I hosted the sole VP debate on October 4th and provided analysis and commentary on the two candidates' answers. Less than a week later, I was a guest speaker at our **Patron's Club** luncheon and presented them with copies of *Globus Mundi* - after sharing with them how our program evolved to its present day configuration. It was truly enjoyable being there and taking questions. The holidays were special this year thanks to **Brittany Cox's** suggestion we host a student Christmas dinner. Going forward, this will become an annual alumni tradition.

Spring semester's personal highlight was the opportunity to work with my good friend and colleague, Kim Codella, in our presentation on "Lost Antiquities" (March 29th). Kim's unmatched knowledge in art and culture were on display for all to see that night in the Winn Center as we discussed the loss of man's common cultural heritage in Syria, Iraq and other nations affected by the vandalism, destruction and theft war brings. (This event is available for viewing on the department's webpage under "Events & Colloquia.") The intellectual discourse inspired by Kim is best related by sharing the dinner conversation following the event: a large number of students took over a local establishment for dinner following the event and had an amazing conversation on what they had just learned. I was lucky to be invited to this

dinner. Also in March, I was delighted to host visiting alumni. **Brittany Cox** (attending Stanford University), and **Josh Slowiczek** and **Julian Ramos**, both recent graduates of UC Berkeley, stopped by in March and spoke to several of my classes on what upper division life is like in terms of reading, work-load, academic rigor and expectations. Our students were appreciative of the time and information alumni gave them. More than anything else, they saw they could transfer to one of these premier institutions – and this was very motivating. Early in April, I staffed a table at Sheldon High's Academic and Career Fair and was joined by **Marissa Huisman**, a current student of mine and SHS graduate. Marissa pulled students and faculty towards our table, handed out copies of *Globus Mundi* and fall schedules and answered questions.

Model UN takes place every April. This year, CRC represented Canada and came home victorious, winning its second Slanczka Award for Diplomacy. This year's President, VP and Secretary, **Adalynn Makihele, Sarah Ortiz** and **Neph Robles** – all veterans – guided the team to victory. The secret to their success lies in starting early (October), writing thorough country profiles, well-researched resolutions and practicing speeches. As always, I take no credit for anything tied to Model UN because ... I do nothing. It was all **Adalynn, Sarah** and **Neph**. Nothing gives me more pride than to be able to say this because it shows how focused, driven and intellectually ambitious our students are. This year, as with every year prior, we acknowledge and thank alumni who've contributed time and expertise to their successors. Accordingly, **Amir Terovic, Jon Sweeney** and **Brittany Cox** all deserve thanks for their contributions. Next year, Model UN will be led by **Andi Murphy**, a veteran from this year's team.

May is also a particularly hard month as the year ends, finals loom and we have Colloquium. This year, we had three presentations: Our first speaker, **Maria Roman**, discussed South Korea's outsized global impact through K-Pop and K-dramas. Her presentation, aptly titled "From Hollywood to Hallyuwood," showed how these two art forms have given South Korea strength in soft power projection. We were honored to have her family join us that night. Our second presentation, "American Capitalism and Socio-economic Conditioning" by **Adalynn Makihele**, discussed the consequences of American capitalism on three distinct groups: African slaves/African-Americans, women during and post the Industrial Revolution, and South Asian immigrants who came to the US through Angel Island. The evening's last presentation, "Afwerki Averts the West: An Appeal for Sovereignty" by Lyonna Yohannes, addressed potential conflicts in her native Eritrea should its president, Isaias Afwerki, be removed from power by examining events in Iraq and Libya post Saddam Hussein and Muammar Qaddafi, respectively. **Brittany Cox** is also commended

for her tireless work helping organize Colloquium. In addition to these amazing presentations, we unveiled our 2017-2018 calendar of events. Lastly, and as is tradition, we announced the destination of our transfers. We are pleased to report they will attend the following institutions: Howard University, UC Davis, San Francisco State University, UC Santa Barbara, BYU and UC Riverside; one student transfers to CSUS to study California government (see "Valete").

The last night this year's amazing class of students was together was for "Revolutionary Ideology." We held a "last supper" at a local venue, continuing the long established tradition of eating together as a class. These social meetings away from CRC are instrumental in developing the camaraderie and bonds our students cherish, appreciate and remember. In addition to weekly class dinners, we attended many events in San Francisco this year – too many to list. Our year ended with a BBQ in Elk Grove Park, a last chance to celebrate an incredible year and look forward to the next. A good time was had by all.

I want to thank Interim HSS Dean Greg McCormac for his hard work, support for our students, participation at their events and for his empathy. You'll be missed, Greg.

Election results were a blow. Hillary Clinton's concession speech was marked by two days' worth of tears, disillusionment and anger in our classes. As I write this, three months into the new administration, we sadly note the alienation of major allies, vilification of the media, the insistence on fiction as fact, the accepted resurgence of racism and xenophobia, potentially impeachable offenses and the appointment of cabinet secretaries seemingly committed to destroying their agencies. From the selfish perspective of an educator, the appointment of Betsy DeVos as Education Secretary is the single most frightening thing imaginable as her actions will adversely impact what we do. Never before has anyone so underprepared, unqualified and hostile to public education been put into a position such as this one. California is a K-14 state and this gives me no hope that we'll fare well particularly as the state is a sanctuary state and all four of our colleges are sanctuary schools. All that was accomplished over the last eight years evaporates with every keystroke. Our most valuable social safety programs are about to be eviscerated as will be public education. We can watch and wait or we can protest and organize. I've been pleasantly surprised at how many students have participated in protests since the inauguration and am hopeful their voices and efforts prevent – or slow - the assault of all we hold dear.

This wonderful edition was edited by **Adalynn Makihele**. The quality of Adalynn's editing skills is obvious and has produced yet another amazing issue. Much like Model UN, I claim no credit for

anything in *Globus Mundi* except this article: Adalynn and student authors did this!

Our covers, “A Sad State of Affairs” by **Brittany Cox** and “Farewell to Freedom” by **Sorraya Houmani** capture the angst associated with the 2016 election’s results. Lady Liberty sits sobbing on “the wall” above a grenade placed at the fabric of our society with her torch out while a sanctuary city burns in the background. In Sorraya’s cover, two women – one a minority – weep while a red power-tie wearing man rips the Constitution in half. We thank them both for their vision and skills. Brittany double majors in medical biology and IR at Stanford. Sorraya plans to transfer to CSUS in 2018 and continues to connect with her community by creating original works of art.

Volume Seven commences with “The Kargil War: The Bellicose History and Continued Animosity Between Pakistan and India,” by **Hiba Baloch**. Hiba just graduated from Cal and graciously contributed an article for which we thank her. “American Capitalism and Socio-Economic Conditioning,” by **Adalynn Makihele**, discusses the consequences of American capitalism on three distinct groups: African slaves/African-Americans, women during and post the Industrial Revolution, and South Asian immigrants who came to the US through Angel Island. Adalynn relocates to Anchorage, Alaska and will be missed (see below). “Tracing the Growth of Western Socio-economic Imperialism in Latin America” by **Susana Sanchez**, explores a similar theme in regards to the consequences of American imperialism throughout Latin America. Susana, in addition to her article, was a member of this year’s Model UN, and returns to CRC next year – her last prior to transferring. “Crushing Identity: The Destruction of Cultural and Religious Relics as War Policy,” by **Brenna Murray**, discusses the consequences of lost culture as a cause of war for mankind. Brenna was also a member of Model UN this year. “From Hollywood to Hallyuwood,” by **Maria Roman**, shows how KPop and K-Dramas have given South Korea outsized strength in soft power projection. Maria wrote this article to support her colloquium presentation while she had a full load of classes and participated in Model UN. She returns for her final year at CRC and will be my teaching assistant next year. To say I’m looking forward to our partnership is an understatement. **Lyonna Yohannes** wrote “Afwerki’s Averts the West: An Appeal for Sovereignty” and examines potential conflicts in Eritrea should its president, Isaias Afwerki, be removed from power by comparing events in Iraq and Libya post Saddam Hussein and Muammar Qaddafi. Lyonna, in addition to her colloquium presentation and published article, was a part of this year’s Model UN; Lyonna also joined in all the extra-curricular activities organized by her friend, **Brittany Cox**: hikes, kayaking trips, dinners and events. She

leaves CRC for Howard University in Washington, DC and will be greatly missed. **Zach Holetz** contributed “Plagues of Policy: Apartheid and AIDS in South Africa.” His article is a continuation of the research begun last summer in the African Politics course he took with me; it examines unanticipated structures flowing from apartheid in South Africa and the consequences for the nation as it deals with AIDS. Zach delayed his departure to CSUS by a year to pursue a minor in IR. He was a great friend to his classmates, a solid Model UN team member and the star of **Neph Robles’** commemorative Model UN video. Zach will be missed. **Paul Frederici**, a two year Model UN veteran and TA to Beth Huffman, adds “The Path to Democracy in Central Asia: From the USSR to the Present.” His article reflects a deep understanding of political ideologies and systems in a little known part of the world. Paul leaves CRC to relocate to Red Bluff and will be missed by everyone. **John Skinner** gives *Globus Mundi* its first original work. “Disillusionment in the American Political Sphere” reflects deep thoughts that transcend the personal and carry into American polity. It’s the kind of article that seeps into your mind and provokes deep thoughts about our political system, candidates, campaign rhetoric and financing. John returns next year – his last at CRC prior to transfer - and will serve as Editor to this journal.

Our department has a very ambitious events agenda for next year:

- We will be presenting “Political Psychology,” “Political Sociology,” “War & Strategy,” “Peace & Conflict Studies,” and “Great Power Relations” as a lecture series to introduce these subfields to our students.
- Hosting a film series showcasing world regions as a means of creating a forum to discuss global affairs and recruit students to our fields; additionally, the series will serve to re-energize “Informed Thinkers” - our political discussion student club.
- We have invited a forensic banking expert to CRC to discuss illegal funding sources for terrorism (human trafficking, sale of stolen art, ransom money, etc.) and interdiction measures.
- Launching a departmental informational video targeting high school seniors and students looking for globally focused major.
- Presenting a political panel discussion on the state of the women’s movement in the US as part of Women’s History Month.
- Discussing the contents of the State of the Union speech.
- To support our Latin American Politics course, we’ve invited representatives from the Consulate of Mexico to discuss the current state of US-Mexican and California-Mexico affairs.
- To support our California Politics course, we’ll be inviting representatives of both gubernatorial campaigns to CRC.

As we've done over the last 7 years, we'll:

- Recruit, train and field a Model UN team.
- Publish Volume VIII of this journal.
- Prepare our best students for colloquium.
- Continue supporting students in political internships.
- Host a cohort dinner in Elk Grove.
- Host a holiday alumni event in San Francisco.
- Host an end of year "Transfers BBQ."

Both Beth and I are looking forward to next year.

Future editions of *Globus Mundi* will follow, yearly.

Alumni, students and faculty will be asked to submit papers for consideration on topics from international relations, economics, history and theoretical issues as they pertain to 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

We look forward to your continued readership.



Martin Morales

Chair of the Department of
Political Science & Global Studies

ALUMNI NEWS

OLIVIA ASKINS

Hello and welcome to my first Alumni News! It's hard to believe that this is the seventh volume of *Globus Mundi*. It's even harder to believe that I graduate from UC Davis with a degree in International Relations/Peace and Security in less than one year. Despite the challenges of university, my course experience at CRC provided the foundation needed to be successful after transferring. I am well prepared and very much looking forward to both my academic and professional life after I graduate.

Many of my colleagues at CRC have recently graduated and are enjoying great success in their academic paths. Congratulations to this year's alumni graduating from Cal: **Hiba Baloch, Tosh Fulton, Talia Kwong (nee Davison), Brienna Rainey, Julian Ramos** and **Josh Slowiczek**; Josh graduates Magna Cum Laude and begins his MA in Journalism program at Cal in the fall. **Audrey Foulk** will be graduating from UC Davis summer quarter. And **Amir Terovic** and **Joseph Johnson** also just graduated from CSUS. Good luck to everyone as they embark on these new adventures!

Students from prior years have checked in and we know that **Taylor Martin** (who I succeeded as Prof. Morales' Teaching Assistant) and **Candy Moreno** will both be attending graduate school at University of San Francisco in the International Studies Department. Candy took Professor Morales' Revolutionary Ideology course this spring to prepare for graduate school. **Kathleen Soriano** will attend USC as a graduate MPA student. **Alicia Evans** will also be at USC pursuing an MA in Archeology; Alicia attended this year and earned a Geographic Information

Systems certification. **Gabby Castillo** was accepted as a Capitol Fellow. Good luck to you all!

To the Bar - or more aptly put - in the legal department: **Monique Matar** graduated from USC Law School and is preparing to take the California Bar Examination in order to join Baker Hostetler, the firm she's clerked at the last two years, as an associate. **Alexandria Jones** also graduates law school this year (Thomas Jefferson Law School, San Diego) and intends to practice international law. **Gerald Forrest** has a year left at Maurer School of Law (Indiana University) and **Alec Jacobs** awaits to hear from the law schools he's applied to.

Ally Medina (CRC-UC Davis), was elected to the Emeryville City Council last November. It won't be long before she runs for (and wins) a Senate seat.

Two prior students, **Gina Cole** and **Rich Floyd**, both working in the EGUSD, stopped by to see Professor Morales recently. Gina teaches at William Daylor School and Rich at Monterey Trail. Rich recently earned his MA in International Education Integration (CSUS). Another alum, **Ryan Neach**, comes full circle as he has been hired to teach an on-line section of US Government at CRC. Congratulations, Ryan!

Marius Iordache (CRC-UC Davis) begins a new phase in his career as he leaves the Department of Treasury for an international posting with the Department of Homeland Security.

Ryan M. King received his M.A. in Global Communications Studies from Georgetown University where he works as a Public Information Officer.

My classmate here at UC Davis, **Giselle Garcia**, is a press intern in Assembly Speaker Anthony Rendon's office. **Hana Alkayat** is interning at the IRC where she's working with **Kevin Woldhagen**. **Nick Stepps**, before he moved to Oklahoma, interned at the California Natural Gas & Vehicle Coalition, an internship he obtained through Kathleen Soriano. Several students interned for various campaigns last fall: **Tyler Gunn** (Scott Jones for Congress), **Gurmilan Kaur**, **Kegan Miller**, **Alex Recalde**, **Da'Jai Roberts** (Committee to Reelect Congressman Ami Bera). And **Lyonna Yohannes** engaged civically through Black Lives Matter.

Brittany Cox hosted a surprise birthday party for Professor Morales this year, right before class, and we all sang Happy Birthday to him, to his horror...

This year's journal looks great and is a tribute to the Editor – my successor as TA and Model UN President – Adalynn Makihele. Also, congratulations to this year's team for winning the Slanczka Award for Diplomacy for its representation of Canada. Well done team! To those taking over next year's MUN team, good luck – you have everything you need to be successful.

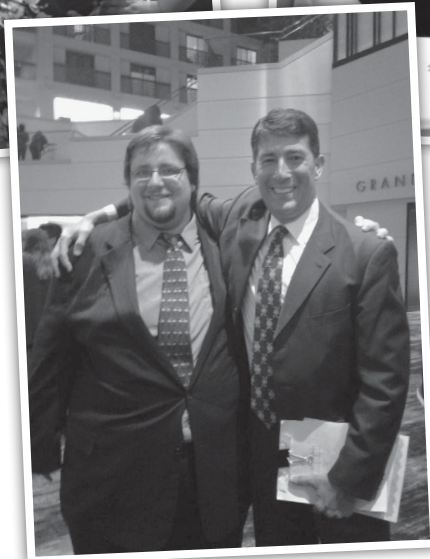
Now that I'm gone and reflective of my time at CRC, I think it's important to point out the relevance of an eclectic course selection and multi-disciplinary approach as displayed by the IR program. I'm finally where I need to be and it's because of being able to explore varied disciplines and academic avenues, eventually deciding on Peace and Security studies as a field in IR. The IR program at CRC is a gem because of the endless opportunities offered to students by the incredible professors in the department. I think that I speak for every past, present and future CRC student when I say "Thank you!" to the IR professors and the program for a truly invaluable experience.

Next year's calendar of events is quite impressive. I'm looking forward to seeing alumni and meeting new students at one of the twenty events Professors Morales and Huffman are hosting. I'm pleased to have been asked to present on Peace and Security in September and am excited to see many of you there.

To those of you moving on: good luck. To those of you continuing: good luck, too.



Neph Robles, Adalynn Makihele, Professor Morales and Sarah Ortiz at Model UN



Professor Morales and Paul Frederici at Model UN



Sarah Ortiz and Adalynn Makihele at Model UN

VALETE

THIS SECTION OF ALUMNI NEWS IS DEDICATED TO IDENTIFYING THOSE WHO ARE TRANSFERRING

KATHERINE BURKE	CSUS (CA GOVERNMENT)
TRAVIS FAMA	UC DAVIS (IR)
VANESSA GUERRERO	UC DAVIS (IR)
TYLER GUNN	UC RIVERSIDE (POLITICAL SCIENCE HONORS SCHOLAR)
MARK GUZMAN	SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY (POL SCI)
ZACHARIAH HOLETZ	CSUS (COMM STUDIES/POL SCI)
MAYLEE MELO	UC SANTA BARBARA (IR)
KALEEMAH MUTTAQI	UC DAVIS (IR)
ADELKHAN NIAZI	SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY (IR)
JORDAN SCHAIBLE	UC DAVIS (IR)
JON SWEENEY	UC SANTA BARBARA (IR)
GABRIELLA UMANA	BYU-I (HISTORY/POL SCI)
LYONNA YOHANNES	HOWARD UNIVERSITY (IR)



ADALYNN MAKIHELE

Mother. Student. Teaching Assistant. Friend.

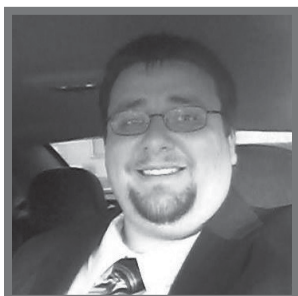
I met Adalynn last year in IR because her friend, Sarah, dragged her into the class. She did very well and really impressed me with her writing, inquisitive nature and innate intelligence. There happened to be a vacancy for TA this year and Olivia Askins suggested I consider Adalynn for the job. Based on what I saw in IR and heard from other staff who've had Adalynn as a student, the job was hers. The litany of duties a TA performs is lengthy and familiar with the hardest part of the job being to baby-sit me. Adalynn has been amazing and made my job a lot easier.

I'm going to miss Adalynn stopping by my office to talk about life; I'm going to miss our IR chats and talking about all the projects she's been managing for the department. But the thing I'm going to miss the most about Adalynn is her outsized presence in my classroom. The laser-like focus Adalynn has in her eyes, the pointed comments and questions she asks and ... her sass ! WOW !!!

Adalynn grew up locally, attended Elk Grove High School and found her way to CRC. She married her husband, Simi in October, 2011. They moved down the coast to Oceanside where he was stationed and they have two beautiful children, Luella and Logan. Simi recently accepted a position in the Alaska National Guard from where he hopes to transition to the Army as a pilot. They'll be moving away at the of the May.

Adalynn mentioned she wants to write (she used to be an English major – before she discovered IR) and I hope she does. She's an amazing writer - something you'll notice at word one of her journal article. To my student, I say "keep it up." To my friend, I say "stay close."

Farewell, Adalynn.



PAUL FREDERICI

One of the most important moments in our profession is when students finish our program and transfer on to other programs. We see students come in as a freshman, full of freshman ideas and study habits, and watch them as they mature and develop into scholars. And then suddenly, before we can quite believe it, it's time for them to move on.

This year it is truly difficult for me to believe that it is time for Paul Frederici to move on. Paul has been my TA for several semesters now. They were several very long semesters as I taught numerous classes with numerous students. They were long semesters as our country underwent many changes.

Paul has tutored American government students through the ups and downs of government shutdowns, regime change, healthcare changes, policy shifts and election cycles worthy of the circus. He has prepared them for tests, advised them about the dangers of being overconfident or under-prepared, and shared with them the strategies that all good students know. He has become an integral part of the good work we do here in our department. I cannot envision teaching without him.

And so it is a bittersweet moment as Paul prepares to leave us and takes the next step in his career. It is difficult, because his absence will be keenly felt - he will be definitely missed! But it is also exciting, because I look forward to seeing him go on to do great things.

Thank you, Paul, for all of your hard work and effort over the semesters. Thank you for your contribution to your fellow students. Good luck, as you open the doors to your future. And always remember that our doors are always open for you.

THE KARGIL WAR: THE BELLICOSE HISTORY AND CONTINUED ANIMOSITY BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

HIBA BALOCH

Despite the historic partition of 1947 gracing Pakistan and India with newly sought independence in order to maintain a populace division for the flourishing of peace relations, a hostile relationship perpetuating animosity between the two continues to prosper. Albeit the creation of Pakistan as a sovereign nation premised the creation of a Muslim majority country in the subcontinent, India insisted its desire to allow a Hindu-dominant yet secular homeland for various religions. The initial migration between the two nations spurred massive violence between Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs predominantly. The intention of creating separate states to subdue the tension driven environment of the original subcontinent due to religious turmoil alleviated some issues; however, through the creation of sovereign Pakistan and India and the initial struggle for equal distribution of the remaining British property, tensions continued to amass. One of the longer lasting causes of this malicious correspondence regards a territorial dispute: the struggle of each side attempting to assert its dominance over the region of Jammu and Kashmir. Multiple altercations and chaotic incidents since the partition continue to make Kashmir a contentious issue; yet perhaps none so impactful as the Kargil War of 1999 insinuated between the confident military leaders of Pakistan and ended by the haughty air force of India despite the circumstance of both states possessing arsenals of nuclear weapons.

In this paper I seek to provide a succinct explanation of the events leading up to the turbulent conflict and gruesome

bloodshed by describing the altercations of former years between the rival nations, explaining the previous disputes' established resolutions analyzing the causes for how they unfortunately ceased to withhold future clashes to demonstrate the tumultuous history ultimately stipulating the distinguishable 1999 battle. I further seek to argue how the theoretical concepts of issue indivisibility explained by James D. Fearon, an assumption under the idea of the Bargaining model by David A. Lake, particularly in the context of territorial disputes, spiral quarrels over rightful ownership regarding contested land, also how asymmetric information in regards to misreading signs about private information escalated the war, and finally the idea of an Arms race by Michael Horowitz, especially the irrational behavior resulting from possessing and/or testing nuclear weapons, all aid to understand the rational for the eruption of the Kargil War between Pakistan and India during the early summer of 1999.

As the British Empire in the subcontinent crumbled, granting India its independence and further allowing Pakistan sovereignty from both countries, the disputed lands, explicitly of Jammu and Kashmir, Britain decided to install one last command before officially releasing ties—inputting a Hindu Maharaja (King) to rule over the area. Despite the religious fragmentation of the regions including the Buddhist area of Ladakh, majority of Hindus residing in Jammu, and a predominantly Muslim valley of Kashmir, Britain left the Maharaja to decide which of the two domains of the subcontinent it preferred to become apart of.¹ Yet to this day,



Indian Army troops in Babina, India on October 13, 2009

Pakistan believes as the majority population of the contested region is Muslim, it has rightful ownership as the country's creation was made with the followers of Islam in mind; whereas India claims ownership by citing the initial Hindu Maharaja, who by October of 1947, joined his territory with its Hindu brethren.²

This constant back and forth behavior spirals a complicated history of competition and destroyed security relations between Pakistan and India. A series of Indo-Pak wars and disputes from 1947-1949, the war of 1965, conflicts brewing again in the late 1980's and early 1990's, and once again with the tragedy of 1999 set the stage for such an untrusting relationship. Following the partition, the first conflict between the two rivals ensued after Pakistani tribesmen revolted in Kashmir causing the Maharaja to evoke the assistance of India and its military strength to settle matters. Although India agreed, it did so by bargaining. Following the conflict's end, the Maharaja would have to accede to their side. Under duress, the Maharaja obeyed, further prompting fighting between the two nation's militaries. In 1949, the first war halted only when the United Nations administered a cease-fire line patrolled by peacekeepers. This also divided the region: the east, including Jammu and parts of Kashmir valley, acceded to India through formal ratification and employing a constitution modeled after India's thus allowing it to view this region as inherently apart of India's union. Pakistan, on the other hand, obtained the west of the Jammu and Kashmir valley known as Azaad (Free) Kashmir.³

Again in 1965, despite dividing the territory, war broke

out when Pakistan's government launched an offensive attack across the UN determined line into Indian territory resulting in another sponsorship of a ceasefire, yet also efforts by both state's government leaders' to engage in peaceful tactics from that point onward. Thus, the Simla Agreement divided Kashmir through a Line of Control (LoC) replacing the former UN ceasefire line.⁴ The LoC was designed with the intention to finally end the hostile relationship between Pakistan and India and allow long-term peace to ensue. Furthermore, in the years ranging from the the late 80s and early 90s, home grown militant groups, prominently Hisbul-Mujahideen and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, began violent campaigns against the Indian government for its army's heavy patrolling and presence, demanding independence from the Indian controlled region.⁵

The notable Kargil War varies in comparison to the prior disputes as briefly aforementioned due to the level of intensity fought by both militaries as well as the total collateral damage amassed by both sides. Though the Kargil War lasted for a mere seventy-four days, it costs both India and Pakistan more than one thousand wounded soldiers each.⁶ A skirmish over disputed territory fought primarily over crossings of the LoC battled in the rough terrain of the Himalayas, and the level of military might utilized by both nations is slightly worrisome when considering the nuclear capability each nation possesses. Preparations made in Pakistan earlier that year during the signing of the Lahore Declaration (promising peaceful relations to ensue) also allowed

for the meeting between Pakistan's and India's Prime Ministers, Nawaz Sharif and Atal Vajpayee, respectively. This left the political environment at ease. Possibly due to this rather stagnant time and emboldened by the recent acquisition of nuclear capabilities, senior leaders in Pakistan's Army, notably Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf and the Chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General Mohammad Aziz, met to plan the logistics of the surprise operation on India defying the sole purpose of the above agreement and to permanently reverse the status quo along the LoC to instead become advantageous to Pakistan.⁷ The incursion began when members of the Pakistan army crossed the LoC into Indian administered Kashmir, overlooking Kargil, at the height of the mountain range. This strategically important endeavor aided Pakistani forces because intruding onto Highway IA distorts military lines traveling to the Siachen glacier and region of Ladakh.⁸ The outposts along the border could reach anywhere from 14000 feet to 18000 feet in elevation and due to the inhospitable nature of such an atmosphere, many posts were left vacant by the Indian army creating a perfect opportunity for infiltration prompted by Pakistani battalions of the Northern Light Infantry in collaboration with local civilians opposing the Indian government's stance. This ultimately allowed the occupation of nearly one hundred and thirty posts on India's side of the LoC over the duration of a few months; furthermore, due to ingenious efforts to not appear culpable of the operation, the involved Pakistanis deceptively honed in Mujahideen traffic via the radio to fool India's intelligence the incursion was actually masterminded by insurgency forces.⁹

Though the initial response by India to remove the cross-border Pakistanis failed due to lack of accurate information, as the battle continued to ravage, it became increasingly apparent how entrenched Pakistani militants were not solely in number but also in being equipped with heavy weaponry. Thus an increased level of combat from India's side was launched in the form of air power initiating the beginning of India's Operation Vijay (victory) to defeat and reposes the land stolen by Pakistanis in the Kashmir region.¹⁰ It is noteworthy to mention the introduction of India's air force played a significant role in its ultimate victory in the Kargil crisis. As the tides of the conflict changed due to India's military leverage, it prompted India to not only recapture stolen positions but also capture Pakistani positions; hence, Pakistan's capital of Islamabad faced diplomatic alienation as several countries blamed Pakistan for unnecessarily beginning a campaign it could not triumph in as well as triggering a possibly devastating nuclear crisis between two rival armed states. Eventually, Pakistani Prime Minister (PM) Nawaz Sharif called off the operation and sought intervention from President Bill Clinton who rescued Pakistan's

reputation in the international realm by instructing PM Sharif to return the LoC back to the status quo.¹¹

A myriad of dynamics play a role in understanding what circumstances motivated and why Pakistan pursued such an operation against India. This next section of the paper focuses on the rationalist explanations for why war erupts despite it being costly; in particular, the assumptions of issue indivisibility in the context of territorial disputes of the contested Kashmir territory. It will also explain how asymmetric information about private information of each state's resolve prompted the chaos, and finally a conversation about nuclear arming to demonstrate how it increased the chances of this war erupting. James D. Fearon in his article "Rationalist Explanations for War" explains the theoretical concept based on the fundamental idea war is costly. Actors can endure significant losses by initiating such an act; thus, it explains the central puzzle: "wars are costly, but nonetheless wars occur."¹² Though it sounds contradictory, to prevent further damage from occurring, the theory put into context against David A. Lake's bargaining model, explains why war continues to occur despite "there [being] a negotiated outcome that will leave both sides better off."¹³ Utilizing two mechanisms: issue indivisibility and asymmetric information provides rationale for why the Kargil war erupted in the manner that it did.

In regards to issue indivisibility, Fearon argues "perhaps some issues, by their very nature, simply will not admit compromise."¹⁴ This runs directly counter to Lake's bargaining theory assuming issues are infinitely divisible, such as territory, because logically speaking it holds the capability to become easily divided; yet, if certain connotations--religious, sacred, or strategic are associated with it, it becomes nearly impossible to peacefully bargain an outcome both sides agree to without precipitating war. Kashmir as a disputed territory lays explicitly in this category. As aforementioned, prior to the 1999 Kargil War, there lay a period of nearly a decade in which no true conflict arose in regards to the issue of the Kashmir region as the LoC acknowledged which sides belonged to India and which to Pakistan. Perhaps Pakistan interpreted this international silence on the matter as unacceptable since it continued to hold firm beliefs disagreeing with the status quo currently set; it desired the readjusting of the border preferably to its benefit since Pakistan was created as the Muslim country in South Asia and sought to include its Muslim brethren in the Kashmir region for completion.

Pakistan continued to believe it was the rightful owner of Kashmir and since for years not much diplomatic action occurred in regards to finalizing a stance on the issue it appreciated, Pakistan decided to strategically spark the flames of a conflict in the hopes to bring Kashmir back into the spotlight and spawn international

action. Pakistan was not content, and deeply feared the LoC would become an indefinite border as the Kashmir issue became less salient in global matters.¹⁵ A goal of igniting the already friction-driven relationship was reminding the international community Kashmir is potentially an issue easily able to escalate to the nuclear level of fighting. *Kargil: Lessons Learned On Both Sides* also argues “Pakistan understood very well the risks but felt compelled to take a calculated gamble in an attempt to alter the status quo—precisely as it perceived it had no other choice.”¹⁶ Recognizing the religious aspect of the territory, it is important to also illuminate the strategic qualities of Kashmir. As explained by Musarat Cheema, the Kashmir valley has a river flowing into Pakistan and it remains a necessary water source for two provinces, namely Punjab and Sindh, which rely heavily on agriculture for their economies. A rational fear of Pakistan is India could permanently shut off the water supply into Pakistan’s territory as the river runs predominantly through India-controlled-Kashmir first, so easily allowing it the ability to destabilize Pakistan if/when it so pleased.¹⁷ For these reasons, the issue of the Kargil War accelerated based on territorial indivisibility issues causing insecurity in Pakistan’s government to alter circumstances. It seems Pakistan will never become satisfied until it is granted more recognition of the Kashmir territory; in the meantime, permanently settling this historic dispute seems unlikely.

Asymmetric information also played a key component for not only why the Kargil War erupted but also for understanding the level of intensity through which the battle escalated to. In regards to the bargaining model, a reason why negotiations preventing the resorting to war fail is due to misperceptions and miscalculations. As Fearon explains “...a state’s leader may rationally overestimate their chance of military victory against an adversary, so producing a disagreement about relative power that only war can resolve.”¹⁸ It could be argued Pakistan did not expect India to react in such a manner as it ultimately did to end the dispute. Utilizing India’s military might by initiating attacks via the air force, as the Army Chief of India, General V.P. Malik, at the time lamented “[India] was determined to get the intrusion vacated...Pakistan failed to take into account a hard military response.”¹⁹ Furthermore, as also explained in *Kargil: Lessons Learned On Both Sides* there lay consensus Pakistani military leaders failed to strategically predict not only domestic support from higher-ranking officials such as Prime Minister Sharif himself, but also other active members in the Pakistani Army, who denied any prior knowledge of the Kargil operation. Pakistan also believed India would not know how to respond due to its weakened leadership in light of forth-coming elections.²⁰

Moreover, in regards to India initially miscalculating its

military needs causing it to later strike the Pakistanis with deeper blows, highlights the asymmetric information calculated on their behalf as well. India assumed only ground military would suffice to end the ordeal; however, the infiltration onto Indian’s side of the LoC was so incredible that Indians quickly rescinded their decision and released an air campaign instead. Had the proper calculations about the gravity of the Kargil war taken place from the start, perhaps such a level of intensive fighting from the Indian’s would not have resulted.²¹ Yet, since the inaccurate information in regards to the incursion of the Pakistanis caused Indians to lash out in greater volume, this caused a gradual escalation of war easily increasing the chance of a threat to use nuclear arms in order for both sides to protect their vital interests.

A year preceding the onset of the Kargil War of 1999, India joined the ranks of the United States, Russia, England, France, and China as the newest member of the nuclear club. In early May of 1998, India successfully exploded three atomic devices, though it received condemnation for doing so. Posing a serious national security threat to Pakistan, the tests triggered a follow up reaction in which PM Sharif declared six nuclear devices were launched from their side and Pakistan now held the capability to also carry nuclear warheads on missiles.²² As explained in Michael Horowitz’s “The Spread of Nuclear Weapons and International Conflict”, he argues “acquiring nuclear weapons could alter state preferences and make states more likely to escalate disputes...given their new capabilities.”²³ Though nuclear arming causes nations to abide by deterrence theory since the demise of the world becomes a potential likelihood if the use of such weapons became normalized, even this mechanism fails to bring sustainable peace without the occurrence of war between Pakistan and India.²⁴ Furthermore, with Pakistan’s nuclear capability superior in comparison to previous years, this perhaps boosted the confidence of the military leader’s who decided to lash out against India stimulating the onset of the Kargil war. The war stopped just short of the utilization of nuclear arms as weapons against each other, since both India and Pakistan and the international community are aware of the consequences such an action could flare. Nonetheless, the building of arms and the nuclear testing emboldened Pakistan to engage in the fight and ultimately “...may not have deterred the parties from escalating military hostilities.”²⁵

The Kargil War of 1999 and the sporadic history of the two nations contributes to the continued animosity and overt competition between Pakistan and India; however, the Kargil War stands distinct due to the escalation factor not solely in regard to the intensity of the military might unleashed during the dispute, yet also in the gradual escalation of fear of nuclear war as the arming and testing in the year before prompted the war process.

The 1999 dispute between Pakistan and India occurred due to the lack of agreement from Pakistan's end in accepting the status quo over the Kashmir territory making the issue indivisible, also due to asymmetric information mechanisms preventing accurate measures of resolve from being understood thus increasing the level of destruction with how the war was fought, and ultimately the armament of nuclear capabilities and experiments for nuclear testing, by both Pakistan and India, contributed to the heightened confidence to begin the war despite the possibility of a greater tragedy occurring if things could not ameliorate.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *India-Pakistan: Troubled Relations*
- 2 *India-Pakistan: Troubled Relations*
- 3 *India-Pakistan: Trouble Relations*
- 4 Musarat Javed Cheema. *Pakistan-India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir*. South Asian Studies. University of the Punjab, Lahore. http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/4%20Mis%20Musarat%20Javaid_30_1.pdf
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- 10 Marcus P Acosta. "The Kargil Conflict: Waging War in the Himalayas". *Small Wars and Insurgencies*. Pages 397-415.
- 11 Bhumitra Chakma, "Escalation Control, Deterrence Diplomacy, And America's Role in South Asia's Nuclear Crisis." *Contemporary Security Policy*. Pages 554-576
- 12 James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*. Pages 379-414
- 13 David A Lake, "Two Cheers For Bargaining Theory". James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War" "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*. Pages 379-414
- 15 *Kargil: Lessons Learned On Both Sides* "Chapter 3" https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1450/MR1450.ch3.pdf
- 16 *Kargil: Lessons Learned On Both Sides* "Chapter 3" https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1450/MR1450.ch3.pdf
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- 18 James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War" "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*. Pages 379-414
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AMERICAN CAPITALISM AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONING

ADALYNN MAKIHELE

For centuries, nations have struggled with unlocking the key to socio-economic success – a goal that has stimulated the world’s greatest minds to construct a plethora of economic theories. As can be seen today, capitalism appears to be exceptionally successful, as it is the reigning economic foundation of the world’s leading hegemon. Capitalism thrives most successfully through a competitive market economy where the more adaptive and more successful businesses triumph over ‘weaker’ ones, pushing ‘failed’ companies to explore alternative business ventures and ultimately allowing people and businesses to find their own economic niche in which they may prosper. Such economic pruning would ideally be aided by an efficient system of labor division, as emphasized by Adam Smith, the father of capitalism: “The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgement with which it is any where directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour.”¹

Division of labor as Smith discusses refers to the stages of production involved in, for example, furniture manufacturing. It is substantially more efficient for one company to chop wood, another to mill the lumber, another to create a particular piece of furniture from that lumber, and so on. Following this structure, companies and laborers become more specialized, allowing for various companies to simultaneously flourish and providing many jobs in which workers will not over exhaust themselves completing a wide variety of difficult, unrelated, or complex tasks. This analysis proves problematic when capitalist theory is imposed

upon a people securely rooted in societal class and culture – which, unfortunately in America, the idea of dividing labor is in fact further defined through these socio-cultural aspects. Now, the separation of paper and book companies, or lumber and furniture companies in modern America proves that division of labor does in fact occur the way Adam Smith intended. However, division is not limited to manufacturing and production. Division also occurs on a more subtle level, with capitalist foundations and intentions manipulating the assignment of economically malleable demographics in order to further a competitive market. The social regulation of these vulnerable groups fostered habituated stigmatization aided by ‘scientific’ claims, resulting in a socially Darwinistic legacy of inferiority. In turn, these legacies uphold the environment which keeps these demographics and their descendants economically impaired and open to exploitation, creating a cyclical effect of social control and economic disadvantage.

Social manipulation in America executed through a capitalist agenda is a recycled and reliable stratagem. Evidence can be found when understanding American influence in the rise of capitalism in Latin America or of communist containment during the Cold War (although arguably the two go hand in hand). In Latin America, political regimes and economies were staged and formatted to reject native inhabitants in order to serve American interests. During the Cold War, countries were accused of being sympathetic to communism in order to economically isolate said country, effectively propagating a fear of communistic threats to

American freedoms and creating international animosity. History proves that American socio-economic control for capitalist benefit remains largely unchecked. It is important to understand these socially manipulative movements shadowing the rise of American capitalism, beginning with the emergence of the American colonies – a blank slate through which a competitive market economy would be birthed.

SLAVES: SOCIAL CHANGE TRIGGERED IN PREPARATION OF A CAPITALIST ECONOMY

The preparation for a competitive open market in America occurred on the backs of laboring persons, allowing for the rise of capitalism. Business strategists in early colonial America discovered that the best way to create revenue would be through the exploitation of the laborers working under them – English indentured servants and African slaves alike. If the English American elite could maintain control over their working class through harmful socio-economic conditions, workers would remain subdued. Through this control over services rendered, elites were able to produce goods, carving a space for economic success in a developing market. However, exploitation was recognized and resented, creating a unified working class regardless of cultural or ethnic differences. This posed a threat to the elite should the working class rise up and revolt – which they eventually did during the Nathaniel Bacon Rebellion.² In order to ease class tensions and prevent future rebellion, elites needed to find and utilize a division in the working class that would cause members of this group to turn against each other. The solution emerged with racial divide. Over time, the number of imported African laborers grew exponentially while indentured servitude became a dwindling practice, making African slaves the clear and desired target for business owners to control. Consequently, laws were passed to dehumanize imported African laborers, effectively creating ethnic division and diffusing economic unrest in order to regulate and control the growing slave population in America for capitalist benefit.

These laws animalized and debased African slaves in America with the intent to protect American capitalism. Laws, such as the 1643 law taxing the work of African women but not White women and the 1662 law distinguishing that slavery is an inherited matrilineal condition, allowed this dehumanization.³ These laws protected blossoming American capitalism through creating an environment that further harmed economic opportunity and individual equality for Africans or African Americans in the face of socio-economic unrest within an exploited working class. Rights and freedoms were stymied as this method of division separated the working class into two new racial groups where exploited

European Americans could now affiliate themselves with a more powerful social banner: white lineage. Slaves were socially targeted and weakened with legal support, making them easy economic prey. European American elites could freely exploit African slave labor in order to ensure the production of goods for a competitive market without fear of their source of labor dissolving or revolting due to economic dissension. These points ensured the continuance of an easy and cheap competitive market economy as well as altering the perception of European Americans towards African Americans for generations to come.

From this standpoint, even abolition reinforces the capitalist agenda as freedom could easily have been rooted in economics as in ethics. If the cultivation of such a vast population of workers in the south began to shift relationships of production and competition between northern and southern states, it is understandable for the North to have pushed for an end to slavery. With the end of slavery also came a change in public opinion of African Americans from chattel to social pariah. Even though African Americans could no longer be controlled through the institution of slavery, they continued to find themselves subject to increasing social stigma. Even before the abolishment of slavery, ‘free blacks’ were subject to social and occupational rejection, naturally leading to confinement to poor and underdeveloped living conditions, economic prejudice and discrimination and continued social rejection.⁴ This socio-economic cycle kept African Americans at the mercy of the capitalist machine – an entire demographic was pruned and picked through due to changing social allowances, just as businesses possessing the least competitive conditions fail under capitalism. When demands of the competitive market change, businesses which can adapt and accommodate will succeed and businesses which cannot adapt will fail. When legislative conditions changed in America, society made sure to control the public image and economic mobility of African Americans and prevent them from being able to adapt to ‘freedom.’ It is disturbing to think that economic jealousy, rather than opposition to the degradation of human rights on a fundamental level, may have been a driving factor to such an important historical progression.

Years of social conditioning to suppress the success of the African American population resulted in ingrained strains of social understanding and socially Darwinistic legacies. Survival of the fittest, in terms of economic and social Darwinism, should really be understood as ‘Survival of the Most Socially Accepted and Competitive,’ and the socially Darwinistic legacies deal with the schools of thought and accepted truths created in the wake of mass social manipulation for economic benefit. The socio-economic cycle mentioned previously is a prime example of how these

legacies begin. African Americans were economically manipulated through creating suffocating social conditions. For instance, public education in the 20th Century was shaped by the misconceptions of social, physical, mental, and emotional inferiority of African Americans. American children were taught that slavery was an economic and social boon for both slaves and whites alike, with abolition actually interrupting the security and reliability offered by the slave system.⁵ Society buried and ignored all evidence of African equality, and in doing so molded them to continue to work under oppression and boost the market economy. They looked to nature in order to justify and define their blatantly ignorant and racist discriminations, prejudices, and tendencies.

In that same vein, society looked for ways to discredit African American achievements in attempts to justify the racism that society had come to know and rely on. In the 1936 Olympics held in Nazi Germany, African American athlete Jesse Owens won four gold medals in relay and long jump. Immediately after his victory, American scientists tripped over each other to solve the mystery of African or African American athletic success. What followed was a medical fervor so cherry picked in facts and support that it can hardly qualify as science, aiming to prove that Africans had additional or significantly longer bones in their feet or that Black athletes were less intelligent in order to make up for their athletic prowess.⁶ White doctors conditioned in a historically prejudiced society looked for exactly those facts which would support their inherently racist conclusions – that black people could experience success because they were biologically different than their white counterparts.

African American individuals have had to live within the confines of an economic strategy that bled into every aspect of modern life concerning the social, economic, and political arenas. These socially Darwinistic legacies of general inferiority have inhibited the growth and success of this demographic as a whole. The tides of socio-economic trends have historically dictated the conditions under which African Americans, among other groups, have lived. The result is that these trends and understandings become social truths, and scientists and legislators delve into these social truths and label them as scientific or legal evidence of the prejudiced claims they make. It is then nearly impossible for a person born into the demographic to escape the path paved for them by others who were also victims of a conditioned society.

WOMEN: CREATING A CAPITALIST ECONOMY

In shaping a capitalist economy, the same manipulative method was strengthened with the rise of female workers in an industrializing America. American women before the Industrial

Revolution spent much of their time providing goods and services to their families from inside the home, tying an economic value to domestic women. With the rise of the Industrial Revolution and wage labor, factories emerged which produced those same goods and services as in the domestic sphere, rendering the working women in the home nearly obsolete. As a result, the American family shifted from an economic unit to a social one, creating a dependence on the capitalist American factory system. It became much harder to preserve the roles of a more economically functioning family unit, and many poorer families could no longer afford for the women to stay home due to the rise in industrial



Women in the work force

product manufacturing and purchasing. So with a lower reliance on female domestic labor and a higher need for wage labor to sustain the capitalist economy, women began looking for work.⁷ However, the simple act of looking for work led to a wide range of socio-economic complications.

Women who participated in the American capitalist factory system were unsurprisingly taken advantage of. They were subject to poor working conditions, meager pay, and rigid hours out of their control. As a response, many women attempted to unionize in order to gain basic protections, and this act was seen as a threat to the capitalist machine.⁸ If women were to unionize, the economy would lose an easily controlled and manipulated source of labor and production – hence, the “Cult of Domesticity.” Under this ideology of “True Womanhood,” women were expected to adhere more strictly than ever to their assigned gender role and stereotype.⁹ Women in the home, women as ornaments, women exclusively bearing and rearing children, women as an accessory to men, quiet, good, godly women were celebrated and revered,

making working women a social pariah and lessening her power and standing both socially and economically.

As is well known, gender stereotypes are not new or unique to the 21st century. Though expectations and extremes shift and vary through time and across cultures, gender roles in their many forms can be identified even from the first recordings of human life. As Western influence spread the idea of ‘proper’ and ‘traditional’ roles for men and women, it is no secret that women have been understood and conditioned to be more fragile, weaker, less able and less competent than men. With this understanding, the Cult of Domesticity, which revolved around the idea of a “True Woman” – pious, subservient, obedient, faithful, delicate, and dutiful – was by no means a dramatic change in social ideology. In fact, the Western idea of ‘traditional’ gender roles largely dictated male and female interaction all across America at the time. What makes the “Cult of Domesticity” notable is the way in which an existing ideology was emphasized and reinforced in order to re-direct social progress for the sake of capitalist protection, resulting in harrowing social implications for women at home and women in the workplace for decades to come.

The “Cult of Domesticity” was used to keep women economically powerless. The Industrial Revolution in America saw the beginning of factory and industry related wage labor, and for the first time Americans had the opportunity to venture outside the home and attempt to make a living in the new economic environment – men and women alike. Theoretically, it was a clean economic slate where both men and women could have the opportunity to be valued equally while doing whatever work suited them best since factory work varied as much as individual ability. The problem with an equally protected and valued source of labor across the board is that it is not conducive to achieving the most competitive rates of production and sale. The practice of capitalism in America, having a foundation of exploitation to achieve competition in an open market, did not change when women became more involved in the work force. Women were already socially subordinate, so their emergence into economic activity served as a built in demographic for manipulation. The unequal social conditions already existed thanks to the Western understanding of gender roles and expectations, so from an American capitalist standpoint those conditions merely translated into the economic language of exploitation when women entered the workforce. Although the Industrial Revolution in America could very well have been a dramatic shift towards gender equality, it made more sense from an economic standpoint to stick with the social order and maintain the divide.

This strategy did not have short term consequences, nor did the effects remain restricted to economic values. Expanding the

understanding of inequality strengthened a socially Darwinistic hierarchy and legacy. Using the “Cult of Domesticity” to maintain and exploit a demographic not only reinforced previously held beliefs about women but spread the social idea to an emerging economic platform. Gender inequality was no longer confined to a social ideology but became economic truth – women were actually valued less than men. This has carried on for generations, and the inequality has not yet been rectified. Once the idea shifted to a twisted truth, other examples of this truth could be found on an increasingly trusted and legal level. For example, the Brandeis Brief (1908) used quascience and scientific language to make a medical and legal argument to restrict women’s economic opportunity. The Brief, presented to the Supreme Court, argued that “women are fundamentally weaker than men” and that the “maternal capacity” of women must be protected, prompting the Court to rule in favor of restricting and regulating a woman’s working hours.¹⁰ To this day, despite advancements in political, social, and economic arenas, women’s voices are often ignored, pay is unequal between men and women, and socio-economic expectations are still prejudiced based on gender. The “Cult of Domesticity” ensured that it would be permissible for women to be economically held to an archaic social standard even in the face of American progress.

IMMIGRANTS: MAINTAINING A CAPITALIST ECONOMY

As the American capitalist economy rose from slave labor and was shaped by economic entrapment of later demographics, groups such as the immigrants from Angel Island during the early 1900’s certainly helped to maintain it. Reasons for immigrants entering the States varied with an overarching theme being an attempt at greater opportunities which could not be found in the area whence these individuals came. Many Asian immigrants arrived in America through the West Coast with the intent to find social, economic, or political betterment, fleeing political or religious persecution, entering marriage, or seeking other prospects. These immigrants, however, were often received by a prejudiced, arduous inspection system and prolonged detention due to the socio-economic tensions created under the influx of immigration at the time.

Immigrants passing through Angel Island often faced prolonged detention periods, helping control the flow of immigrants and possible work force and ensuring the capitalist market remain beneficial for Americans. From 1910 to 1940, Angel Island acted as the vetting station for immigrants entering the United States from the West Coast, many coming from Eastern countries.¹¹ Detention and rejection of these individuals acted as an appropriate governmental response to the more recent social

rejection of exploitative immigrant labor through the lens of an American class system in which it became beneficial to exclude immigrants from the work force. Although in objective capitalist theory it would seem more beneficial to keep the exploited



Angel Island Immigrants

population in order to further a competitive market, American capitalism seems to operate under the premise that only Americans should reap the rewards of capitalism. Therefore, if immigrant laborers interfered with or threatened American participation in the working class, the immigrant population poses a threat to the American capitalist system and must be eliminated.

Through applying this logic of capitalist threat to slaves in colonial and antebellum America, because the idea of slave *inclusion* because of the exploited labor they provide and immigrant *exclusion* because of the exploited labor they provide seems contradictory, an understanding can be reached. It was beneficial to keep the exploited slave population in order for Americans to thrive. Slaves did not interfere in any way with American ability to work or enjoy success, until slave production in the South surpassed non-slave production elsewhere – at which time slavery was eliminated under a moral façade in order to level the economic playing field. During the early 1900s, however, it was far more beneficial to inhibit the exploited population in order for working class Americans to thrive. Americans were under the impression that immigrants did in fact interfere with American ability to work and enjoy success, as businesses would rather hire an easily exploited immigrant as opposed to a legal, and quite possibly unionized, American citizen. Therefore, discrimination ensued. Xenophobia backed by American desire to participate in the competitive market economy took precedence over immigrant involvement. As American economic classes expanded, the

working class of ‘natural’ American citizens became vulnerable to immigrants replacing the American labor force, making American policy more aggressive and discriminatory following the wave of social prejudice.

With so many immigrants coming to America, finding cheap and exploited labor preferred by major companies and industries was not a difficult task and many Americans did not appreciate the flood of foreigners and foreign practices. One particular group, South Asians from the Indian subcontinent, was targeted with extreme prejudice and restriction leading to socially Darwinistic understandings. Rigorous and discriminatory medical examinations, interviews, and exclusion efforts stood in the way of successful immigration and assimilation so many strove for.¹² This particular demographic eventually became the group with the highest denial rates due to vague, sweeping generalizations pertaining to inherent health, racial, and financial inability. The medical exams performed on Angel Island were terribly subjective, labelling any individual understood to be a possible economic burden in any way (through medical care, possible reliance on government programs or aid for survival, etc.) a “Likely Public Charge,” or “LPC.”¹³ This label, though often assigned under a medical environment, became economic rather than medical.

What began as a pseudoscientific response to an unwanted influx of immigrants became an economic mechanism, moving from a tangible and supported platform to a more theoretical one. The label of LPC was so widely used that it cast a shadow of understanding that South Asians were inferior not only in health but also in society and economics. This understanding was demonstrated outside of Angel Island as well. In 1923, *United States v. Bhagat Sing Thind*, an already admitted and legal American immigrant supporting a family, was determined unable to be naturalized because he was not white, setting a precedent allowing for the mass denaturalization of immigrants regardless of their status.¹⁴ Immigrants such as Thind were understood to be a threat to the “existing racial order,” a tragically understood and supported ideal of the time.¹⁵ In fact, the US Consul stationed in Calcutta, India, actually praised the exclusionary efforts in the States upon hearing the new restrictive policies resulting in the rejection of 1,000 Punjabis. He was quoted as saying “it will not be long until there will be no more attempts on the part of Indians to override the policy of the US,” demonstrating the sheer racism emanating from the United States through elected officials chosen to represent the attitudes of the country.¹⁶ Developments such as this led to weakened infrastructure for South Asian immigrant resources as rejection and racism prevented the growth of organizations dedicated to assisting the transition from one country to another.¹⁷ As a result, these proceedings

merely perpetuated the pre-existing socio-economic inequality and prevented timely, successful and prosperous assimilation and acceptance within the United States.

CONCLUSION

Instilling fear, suspicion, and superiority into the white (often male) population allowed for a monopoly on success in America. For the oppressed, marginalized, and manipulated demographics, capitalist ventures have turned out much the way Karl Marx predicted. The labors of the groups discussed have produced great beauty and industrial progress at the expense of personal and social drain – through capitalist production, individuals have given pieces of themselves to institutions which dilute the very meaning and existence of the groups to which the individuals belong. The effects of social conditioning for capitalist benefit reached far beyond economic quarters, and would continue to do so for generations; as is the case for many different demographics who have found themselves marginalized and manipulated. Although there could be a similar argument presented for numerous groups, the three discussed acted as a catalyst for social and economic movement in America some way or another, all with the common thread of capitalism at the core. Furthermore, prejudiced motives backed by fabricated or fraudulent quasiscientific claims only enabled the emergence of socially Darwinistic outlooks and approaches to dealing with demographics that might have been of use to an American capitalist society. In ensuring the continuance of a functioning competitive market economy, American policies, medical determinations, and social understandings began to take shape in accordance with the capitalist agenda. Legal policies, scientific publications and findings, and warped social perspectives based on prejudices and greed filled gaps where logic, human empathy, and reason might have taken root, making American capitalism a dangerous but effective form of economic progression and social manipulation.

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TRACING THE GROWTH OF WESTERN SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

SUSANA SANCHEZ

INTRODUCTION

The entire region of Latin America has been and continues to be affected by colonial control with Latin America given an ongoing disadvantage. Colonialism begun by Europeans in Latin America had the objectives of free labor upon the enslavement of indigenous tribes and the extraction of plentiful natural resources. These resources would then be used for manufacturing and building finished products that would then be sold back to the conquered. In United States history classes, students learn about European explorers as if they were heroes, given that they ‘discovered’ many places for Europeans to infiltrate and violently take over. Moreover, there is a wide-spread assumption that colonization officially ended after World War II with the exit of European nations from many countries. This misconception has blinded many people from the truth that colonization has still not ended. From man-made militarized European borders to the spread of xenophobia and racism, colonization has made possible the economic growth of Western nations at the expense of developing nations. These developing nations must conform to westernized rules within the international arena. The white man’s burden of ‘saving the man and killing the Indian’ has spread to Latin America alongside rampant racism against residents

who maintain more indigenous features. Consequently, those who uphold more European features have more opportunity for political influence. The head start forcefully taken by the West has facilitated an international structure that many argue only helps Western nations, while Latin America continues to altogether stagnate economically.

In the 20th century, during a time of growing international transparency, Latin America adopted a persuasive explanation for its socioeconomic failure. Dependency Theory began to be accepted at a rapid pace by Latin American leaders, legitimate and illegitimate, which grew to be a unification device for many of them. This particular theory proclaimed that colonialism was a catalyst for the dependency amongst underdeveloped nations to depend on the West for trading and for foreign companies, usually Western corporations. Such corporations have the opportunity to own resources of other, often underdeveloped, countries. In this theory the core, considered the West, represented the rapid advancement of industrialization while the periphery, considered Latin America, symbolized agriculture. Colonialism and imperialism have implemented the unfair structure of aiding the West while stunting economic growth of developing countries. The solution was clear for the developing Latin American world—to cut communication ties with the developed, who had utilized resources

from developing nations to become economic powerhouses.

Conversely, the Western understanding for the failure of economic growth in Latin America was at the time Modernization Theory, which determined that underdeveloped nations like those in Latin America needed to desperately develop industrialization. Furthermore, the West concluded that by focusing on agriculture, Latin America would continue to suffer economically. Regardless, through the enforcement of socio-economic imperialist policies by Western nations, the West has continued to profit over the modern paradigm of colonial borders. The success of Western domestic and foreign policy towards Latin Americans has been possible due to a historic influence in Latin America while millions of Latin Americans suffer from the war on drugs, man-made borders and immigration detention quotas.

LATIN AMERICA'S ECONOMY AND VIOLENT FOUNDATION

After World War II, Europe steered towards unity between its nations and the U.S. strengthened economically by funding the reconstruction of Europe with an internationally leading currency. The U.S. has also maintained, since World War II, a strong voting power within Bretton Woods structures, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. Both have been criticized for operating heavily under U.S. influence and abiding by the rules of the U.S. at the expense of other nations in need of aid. While Europe and the U.S. preserved a stable relationship, residents of Latin America fought to stay alive through Western funded terrorism. At the same time that Dependency Theory emerged in the 20th century, dictators backed by the U.S. certified political and economic turmoil in Latin America. From the disappearance of thousands in Argentina to the genocide of indigenous Mayans in Guatemala, the U.S. was able to monetarily fund right-wing dictators and help train the troops that raped, tortured, and murdered millions in Latin America. This era of genocide was produced by U.S. greed—the insatiable appetite for more money and control over the Latin American region with the excuse of containing communism in order to justify U.S. intervention with dictators and soldiers.¹

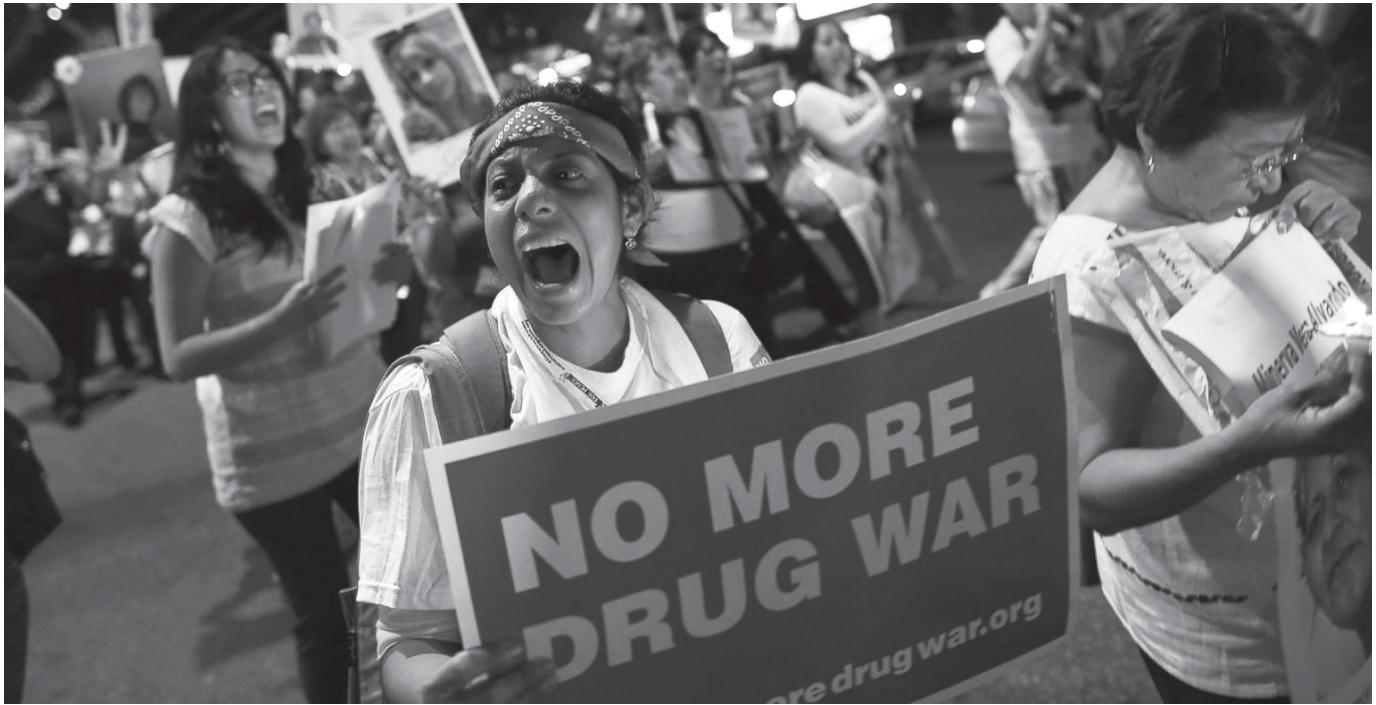
Economically, Latin America became more destabilized when Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) was implemented by its own governments. ISI prioritized substituting domestic products for imports, which required an active state policy that chose which industries to invest in by the government and which ones would be left to be terminated. Unfortunately, governments chose to invest in businesses that did not produce enough money for profit, nor for their countries. The first step of ISI consisted of light manufacturing, like producing shoes and apparel. The second step

consisted of manufacturing consumer durables such as washing machines. When taxing businesses that focused on exports, governments purchased those exports from their own countries in order to sell them in the global market at a higher price. Latin American governments would then pocket the extra money for themselves at the expense of their people.

While Latin American nations had previously emphasized their antagonism toward the West, the Latin American region ended up importing a significant amount of parts from developed nations to be able to produce domestic products to substitute for imports. The failure of the ISI method became clear when in the 1970s, corruption alongside large budget deficits, current account deficits from importing machinery, and small profit margins from businesses had begun to accumulate. By the 1980s, the West provided the option for Latin America to operate with Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) that included privatization of failing businesses, deregulation of markets, decreased social spending, and openness to foreign direct investment in order to receive aid. Nations that imposed SAPs achieved higher economic growth and lower inflation at the cost of higher alcohol, suicide, and heart attack rates from severely limited government spending on social programs like healthcare.

Drug cartels flourished upon the inception of debt crises and lack of opportunity in Latin America in the latter part of the 20th century. The U.S. has become the largest demanding figure for more drug supply from the region, while at the same time promising a war on drugs.² It has become clear that the U.S. has been the winner throughout the war on drugs against Latin America by also becoming a substantial provider of weapons to Latin America for violent criminals to use.³ The top priority is money, and as long as the U.S. keeps receiving money from selling a variation of guns and other weapons to Latin American gangs, Latin America is bound to be in a state of chaos. The genocide against the original inhabitants of Latin America has not ended—it has only continued with Western foreign policy.

The West has blamed the Latin American people for creating the drug war in the region. The drug problem has not been discriminant towards victims of any age. The repercussions have yet to end; increased trading between Latin America and the U.S. has meant greater opportunity for the drug market to succeed. Drug profits used to buy weapons is caused by Latin American nations' violence and the great drug demand of the U.S. The origins in drug activity escalation in Latin America are residual effects from historic inequalities and lack of competent leadership for the people. Free trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement have permitted the rise of firearm transactions from the U.S. to Mexico as well as intensified violence there.⁴



Protesters hold a candlelight vigil and a march calling for the end of the drug war on September 6, 2012

Instead of alleviating violent tensions through supposed equal opportunity for more jobs between Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., Mexico has been the one to suffer. This can be traced back to unequal structures. Mexico and other Latin American nations had not been as economically ready as developed Western nations had when globalization had begun, especially with the recent aftermath of dictatorships. The chain reaction of violence has spread from the drug epidemic as a major contributor to the migration crises in which Latin Americans find themselves being forced to leave behind friends and extended families in order to survive economically and physically. The incompetence of Latin American government and presidential figures do less than help the people push more towards migration into the U.S. for opportunity.

MEXICO'S DRUGS AND WOMEN

Contemporary and modern presidents in Latin America have reflected the legacy of colonialism in the region with some presidential candidates receiving privileged education in the West or at home while people in their countries remain in or at risk of poverty. The disassociation to which wealthy presidential candidates allow themselves from the people they have authority over has proven to cause a stalemate in improvement against corruption, better education, worker's rights, and violence. The prevalence of violence has been widely attributed to a lack of leadership from political figures like Enrique Peña Nieto, Mexico's president who was born into a wealthy upper class family. As

environments shape the way in which people see the world, Nieto demonstrates no urgency in helping the poor class of Mexico from drug violence that has caused countless deaths in the country. This is because Nieto has not been constantly exposed to the effects of such violence—such as having a family member die from the crossfire of drug gangs nor has he had to struggle to find work and shelter, as many Mexicans have to because of a large poverty rate.

Lethal weapons and poor government foundations have meant ongoing violence in Latin America, especially towards women. The consequences of drug cartels plaguing the region has included the romanticism of drug criminals. They often help to accommodate people with assistance that governments refuse or cannot provide while simultaneously murdering innocent people in cold blood. *Femicidio*, or *femicide*, is a sex-based hate crime movement against women that is almost unheard of throughout the U.S. Ciudad Juarez in Mexico has become an area with high volumes of femicide and a popular area for drug gangs. Alongside the border with the U.S., *maquiladoras*, foreign companies in Mexico mostly owned by the U.S., hire mostly women knowing they are vulnerable in order to pay them low wages and keep them working in inhumane conditions. Such conditions include being in environments which have caused health problems and where women are susceptible to sexual abuse. It is not just Mexico that is a host to Western foreign corporations; all throughout Latin America Western corporations are a priority over domestic concerns in order to receive more opportunity for work and money

no matter how repulsive conditions are for the working class.

Additionally, women who work in miserable conditions in order to produce products for the West are most vulnerable to drug cartels. Drug cartels and men who do not approve of working women have been able to murder these women with minimal government involvement. In the 1970s, mass migration to urban areas of Mexico increased as more women found jobs in factories. During this same period of time, an increase of prostitution on city streets ensued. Women who had to work in factories to provide for their families were constantly associated with these prostitutes as an attempt to characterize them as deviants and criminals for breaking traditional patriarchal values. According to the government and police, women who had begun to be murdered in large numbers by drug criminals were living double lives as prostitutes. Murders of the women were justified as being part of a 'public cleansing' that would gradually restore the reputation of cities throughout Mexico. Both political and corporate elites used a victim-blaming strategy to shrink compassion for victims. Women had been and continue to be dehumanized, seen as perpetrators of their own deaths.⁵

As a counter towards such victim-blaming, protestors and activists had begun to organize in large marches against the state's inefficiency to bring justice towards victims. The failure of the government's attempt to accuse activists of only sensationalizing stories for media attention caused President Felipe Calderon's militarization of cities like Juarez. This militarization tactic brought more violence. Civilians began to realize drug criminals were able to competently bribe and corrupt the majority of government officials. Since the introduction of militarization for the drug war, body counts have gone beyond any other record, including the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The U.S. at first protested the dangerous area and warned tourists against the prominent violence connected to drug activities. However, within a few years the U.S. declared that Mexico is no longer at risk of becoming a failed state and the violence seen today is due to the government successfully fighting against drug cartels. The U.S. is manipulating the severe drug problem to have people believe that more violence means safety for civilians and has sent at least one large military package in aid to Mexico, regardless of the clearly failed war against drugs.⁶

Equally important to understand is why female and male workers take on work for businesses throughout Latin America while being subjected to low pay at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. In the case of Mexico's *maquiladoras*, the locations are set in a free trade zone, allowing for the cheap exchange of drugs, migrants, and sex workers with the U.S. As a result, both informal (illegal) and formal (legal) economies have developed together. Moreover, a human resources officer

has seen elite businessmen bid on attractive female workers and choose which women to sexually harass. Sexual abuse towards working women has become a common problem that has even been normalized by women themselves who have constantly felt powerless under the authority of a workplace ruled by rich men. Tragically, vulnerable women like those that are indigenous and transgender, have seen the growing global consumer demand which has forced many communities into miserable living conditions. Globalization has attempted to help developing nations in Latin America that have, for the most part, not been ready to be part of the global market but have been forced to join in order to continue trade with the West.⁷

CHALLENGING COLONIAL BORDERS: GENERATING MONEY FROM DEPORTATIONS

The implications of the drug war have yet to be realistically felt by the U.S., which has created anti-immigrant sentiment towards the most marginalized and desperate people fleeing the violence of Latin America. Such people remain in search of opportunity for a better life. Attitudes and foreign policy towards Latin America could be more efficient if the U.S. government was able to hear in person the personal stories of residents from Latin America and see real-life evidence of the mass graves and aftermath of drug-related shootouts in areas where civilians are prone to be caught in the crossfire. The U.S. has continued to help fuel drug cartels. Through high drug demand, the U.S. has set Latin America in socio-economic limbo until it is ready to move forward with progressive policies that can help Latin American migrants. The large influx of migration towards the U.S. is a sign of failed Western foreign policy. Great migration has only helped U.S. agencies like Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Homeland Security to profit over the suffering of people that have wrongly been labeled as criminals instead of victims.

Furthermore, by calling those of Native American heritage 'illegals,' the U.S. has strategized an effective political crusade against Latin Americans who need to cross the border for safety by using fear tactics. Such tactics include the threat of job security and criminal activity. Natives targeted include Mestizos, Mexicans and other Latin Americans who have both Spanish and Native heritage, as well as indigenous Latin Americans. While the intentions of many Democrats have been inclined to help immigrants from all over the world, Democratic politicians like Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were not able to help draft legislation that would protect undocumented workers from deportations. However, the politics of pandering through promises has been successful. The

consequences of the drug war have yet to hit home for the U.S., who values humanitarian intervention but does not intervene with policy that can effectively help both neighboring Latin America, and itself.

From poverty, limited opportunities, infamous violence and corrupt leaders, one can clearly see the pressure many families and individuals feel to escape such a crisis. Regarding the journey to the border, people prepared to cross it are warned by many to stay since crossing the border can be deadly. The number of people who have senselessly died at the border remain inaccurately underreported as corpses of people without identification or location can never be accounted for. Causes of death include dehydration, heatstroke, rattlesnake bites, and murder by other migrants, U.S. vigilantes, and the U.S. border patrol. In 2014, the U.S. was stunned with the arrival of many minors without parents at the border who fled gang violence. They had to be put into immigration detention centers where undocumented immigrants are forced to sleep on solid concrete floors without any privacy, even for the bathrooms.⁸ After an extremely dangerous and life-threatening journey across the border, the capture by border patrol and ICE into detention centers which dehumanize people is understood to be a cruel irony by people seeking a better life.

Correspondingly, the inhumane treatment of undocumented people reflects violations of human rights which are constantly ignored due to Western colonial standards as to what and who is 'legitimate'. By rebuilding Western Europe, the U.S. had been able to begin a strong trade relationship. By helping Latin America with foreign policy, which could reduce inequality through political and policing transparency and aid aimed towards alleviating poverty instead of bolstering military, the U.S. could have a strong trading neighbor and ally. Nevertheless, because the U.S. has realized there is profit in employing more people for the 'war on drugs' with homeland security, ICE, and immigration detention jobs, the U.S. has no need to initiate effective domestic immigration policies nor compatible foreign policies with Latin America.

For the U.S. to only consider deportations as the answer to increased immigration from Latin America is unrealistic as it will only continue. Interestingly, the irony of the U.S. government is to deport people back to violent countries they are trying to escape—violence caused there by U.S. foreign policy. Noticeably, back in the 1980's, Ronald Reagan's anti-communist campaigns against the political left throughout Latin America mirrored a U.S. style drug war in the area.⁹ The extent to which the U.S. has chosen to ignore the consequences of its hyped military interventions have been catching up with the U.S. today. In fact, countless people have fled the violent conflicts President Reagan and U.S. taxpayers spent \$4 billion on. U.S. taxpayers paid to contain leftist revolutions

that would help the poor. If deporting people for not having proper documentation due to a backlogged bureaucracy were not enough, the reasons for deportation are beyond hypocritical as U.S. taxpayers have directly paid for undocumented immigrants to flee towards the border in the name of democracy and freedom.

Upon approaching the 'American dream' of more opportunity for work when entering the U.S. and surviving lethal experiences along the way, if caught by ICE or border patrol, freedom ends for some. Supposed months that undocumented people are to spend in immigration detention centers have easily turned into years, robbing people of their lives in order to fit immigration detention quotas. A significant amount of undocumented people at such centers are walked through without legal counseling nor solid comprehension of what the future holds.¹¹ This has been due to communication issues in which detention workers make sure victims do not receive proper legal help nor make effort in explaining the consequences and options for being 'caught'. The Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act of 2010 included a mandate which included availability of funding with 33,400 detention beds to be filled, later increased to 34,000 in 2013.¹² This act specifies that funding by Congress will be made to immigration detention centers as long as there is a certain number of undocumented people in them, encouraging more hostile tactics like increasing house raids that can be physically and psychologically traumatic.

Comparatively, immigration detention quotas have authorized impunity for those working at immigration centers, ICE, and border patrol; the same impunity which allows for the cruelty towards undocumented people. The same policies used to view undocumented people as criminals instead of victims have permitted the federal workers that fight against them to take advantage of the extra profit being made from having a certain amount of people in detention centers as well as use excessive force that can turn deadly. The government has no need to convict its own workers against those it claims as foreigners. A woman who sustained injury at the hands of a border patrol agent had to be taken to the hospital for surgery. She had awakened to find a border patrol agent sexually assaulting her while also having her feet restrained. Agents of border patrol had also ignored the cries of a pregnant minor in pain even when her water had broken resulting in her bleeding and then losing her baby. There has also been the video of Anastacio Hernandez-Rojas circulating through the internet as a posse of border patrol agents violently beat the undocumented man while stripping him of his clothes and attacking him with a taser. Even though witnesses took video, the agents were not found guilty later on.¹³

Moreover, there are two main companies that profit from detention centers for undocumented migrants. The fact that “ICE partners with private prison companies to house undocumented immigrants in prison-like facilities around the country” means each person imprisoned becomes a commodity that produces money for the U.S. government and private corporations just by presence. The first corporation, Geo Group, has failed inspection in one of its detention centers in Washington where “detainees there complain[ed] of low wages, abuse from guards, even maggots in their food.” Both Geo Group and its only major competitor, Corrections Corporation of America (now CoreCivic) have claimed to control seventy-five percent of private prisons. The need for private prisons have been sharply criticized for netting profit towards only corporations and their workers.¹⁴

There is no secret behind the fact that giant corporations hold significant power that can be quite influential in the U.S. political system. According to Jamie Trinkle of the Enlace Private Prison Divestment Campaign, “in the last decade, [CoreCivic] and Geo have spent \$45 million lobbying the federal government.” Millions are spent by just these two corporations in order to continue benefitting from the suffering of innocent people unjustly labeled by the U.S. as criminals due to the crossing of a man-made militarized border. The ongoing cycle of Latin American immigrants being held in detention centers of corporations like Geo and CoreCivic is only benefitting these corporations, who spend as little as they can on detainees’ welfare, and the U.S. government has enabled the profit of immigrant suffering.¹⁵

ADDRESSING NEOCOLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE U.S. TODAY

The cruel journey to the border does not have to end in prisons which make profit off the lives of many. If the journey is completed, undocumented migrants often find themselves in a land considered foreign due to a predominant European language, xenophobia, and racism brought by colonizers. Labeling any person as ‘illegal’ helps form a detachment, enabling the understanding that people labeled ‘illegal’ are less than human. The U.S. has, for the majority, been able to efficiently portray undocumented migrants from Latin America as delinquents. Political parties have consistently utilized undocumented migrants as scapegoats for stealing jobs and breaking the law of crossing a border patrolled by people who have the authority to shoot indiscriminately at anyone who crosses without proper documentation.

Today the growing immigration crisis has risen due to a history of corruption, capital flight, impunity of the privileged, rape of

people and the land, and high rates of murder from violence due to socioeconomic inequalities. The understanding alone of Dependency Theory would not break the bonds of the West, but it reflects a symbol of unity and strategic attack against Western economic imperialism and colonialism. Nonetheless, U.S. influence has been able to continue in Latin America today. For example, the Southern Border Program in Mexico has been funded by Obama’s administration with around “\$2.9 billion...allocated to the militarization of the southern border of Mexico and Guatemala.”¹⁶ The U.S. has made possible the continuation of a militarized border between Mexico and Guatemala, the same geostrategic idea the U.S. has created against Mexico. The divide and conquer method has been working in favor of the U.S., making sure to separate people of the same cultures while having the same country it has built a border against, Mexico, build a border against neighboring Guatemala.

While many people in the West, especially the U.S., believe that colonialism is long gone, the growth and expansion of imperialism has continued to do more damage in Latin America than believed. The idea that U.S. goods are worth more compared to Latin America agricultural goods stems from Columbus’ trade for valuable metals with Natives in exchange for his cheap commodities. This concept made Latin Americans believe that their goods were and are inferior. In order to level the economic field, Latin America needed to emulate the West in every aspect possible. As a result, the “middle and elite classes of all countries in Latin America constantly attempt to reach whiteness and mirror it. This ideology stems from the colorist system that Spanish conquistadors created 500 years ago,” making sure that darker complexioned people of Latin America feel inferior to the whiteness of European colonizers. This helps explain why many Latin American political candidates are exclusively white and light skinned.¹

Overall, the scars of colonialism have not yet healed in Latin America and never will until justice has been served for the millions of lives affected today by imperialism and neocolonialism. Some U.S. citizens are quick to call migrants from Latin America backwards due to the nations they come from and dehumanize Latin American migrants through derogatory labels, while at the same time they exploit their cheap labor, which has continued to make the U.S. economy grow. The California economy alone ranks among the top ten economies in the world, and that is in great part due to Latin American immigrants who work hard for low wages—mainly in the agricultural sector. Economy affects the living standards and opportunity throughout an entire country; without an efficient and prosperous economy, many nations in Latin America cannot move forward socioeconomically.

Reclaiming indigenous identity has been a struggle for many Latin Americans who have a native bloodline, but unity of the majority is the only way to stand against a vicious cycle of border and immigration detention deaths. Latin Americans continue to struggle for their human rights, both in Latin American and in the U.S., and the right to be seen as human beings and not just commodities for the West. For there to be any justice, there must be acknowledgement and reparations for the original inhabitants of Latin America who are now seen as criminals due to European border intervention. One must remember to “respect existence or expect resistance” as justice will be served only when the oppressor is defeated.

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CRUSHING IDENTITY: THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS RELICS AS WAR POLICY

BRENNA MURRAY

There is no shortage of death in war. Brutal things have been done in the name of security, liberation, and conquest. Often, conflict is synonymous with loss. It is simple to focus on the egregious loss of life in armed combat. Death is rarely limited to the warring factions, and innocent civilians fall for a cause they may not even believe in or support. With such tragedy to focus on, it is of little surprise that, when cataloguing the losses of war, the mind automatically goes to the death toll. That, however tragic, is not the only loss in conflict.

Conflict has a few lesser acknowledged casualties, chief among them is the destruction of cultural and religious relics, artifacts, and sites. Places and items of cultural heritage are of little concern in war-time. However, many of these items and sites are not the victims of incidental bombings; often times they are systematically targeted by one side in an effort to eradicate the cultural and religious heritage of their opponents. Confined not to any one region of the world, nor any one time-period, the eradication of identity has long been a policy in major conflicts throughout history. War develops an ‘us versus them’ mentality, in which the advantageous side seeks to eliminate all traces of the disadvantageous side.

Two of the major examples of both cultural and religious destruction, in a systematic effort to eradicate cultural identity, are

the now infamous theft and destruction of cultural property by the Nazis and the Soviets during and immediately following World War II as well as the destruction of religious property in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990’s. Both of these events show a dangerous pattern that has emerged in all conflict, a need to dominate the opposing side to a point beyond simple conquest, a point where the things that make them who they are either disappear- secreted away to join the collections of some private antiquarian- or are destroyed. This dynamic of conflict, though woefully under-acknowledged, has existed as long as conflict itself has. It continues today. Despite international efforts to limit destruction of cultural heritage and trophy-taking in times of war, it has become a policy that continues to this day, showing little chance of stopping.

US VERSUS THEM: SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

At the core of all social behavior and interaction is identity. Who an individual considers themselves to be and how they classify their own place in the world is at the center of their every action and decision. Their entire view of the world derives from it.¹ George Herbert Mead, the father of social behaviorism, was the first to develop the concept of self as a dynamic of personality and social development.² Mead saw “self” as the product of an



French troops of the United Nations patrol in front of the destroyed mosque of Ahinici, near Vitez, northwest of Sarajevo, on April 27, 1993

individual's social interactions and experiences; human beings develop an image of themselves and their corresponding identity based upon a variety of social factors.³

Prior to the rise of social psychology as a branch of the field of psychology in the mid-twentieth century, war was attributed to a personality flaw, the so-called 'blood-and-guts-model'.⁴ Many prominent names in the field in the early half of the century, such as Freud, attributed most unexplainable phenomena to biological impulses that man could not escape.⁵ In the case of the 'blood-and-guts-model', aggression, and therefore war (as the ultimate form of aggression), emerge from animal instincts thought to be inherent in human biology.⁶ Man, therefore, cannot help himself; at some point, his biological switch will flip and he will respond with the aggressive tendencies built into humanity's genetic makeup.

Henri Tajfel, a Polish Jewish Holocaust survivor and social psychologist, rejected the 'blood-and-guts-model' on the basis that sometimes certain actions were responded to with the aggressive tendencies that seemed to evidence the model, but, other times, the same actions were met with non-aggressive reactions and entirely peaceful outcomes.⁷ Therefore, Tajfel believed that conflict resulted more from a social aspect than from an inherent biological instinct to be aggressive; "to explain why wars occur at one time and not another, one must go beyond the hypothesis of an

aggressive instinct and look at the social and historical conditions."

⁸ As a result, the study of the intricacies of conflict should find root in group attitudes and the ideologies that bind a group together. ⁹

Thus the idea of 'us versus them', the core of social psychology's theories on prejudice, emerged. Prejudice, both good and bad, is a cognitive shortcut that all human beings take. The social world offers up simply too much information for it to all be processed efficiently when taking time to examine and understand it all. The human brain breaks down information and sorts it into pre-formed categories, making it easier to take in and process all the social information in a given situation. ¹⁰ According to Tajfel, humans don't inherently have these categories of organization already in their minds, but rather form them through the cultural environment in which they reside.¹¹ It is in this context that the 'us versus them' mentality can take root. Based on cultural and political norms, an individual can take to sorting specific types of individuals automatically into the in-group category, those that the individual considers to be of a likeness to themselves, and the out-group category, those that the individual considers to be different.¹² In the right environment, with the right provocation, this basic human tendency can be exploited. Influential leaders and social movements can maximize these divisions between the in-group (us) and the out-group (them), pushing individuals to

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a violent level in which members of the dominant in-group see a need to eradicate what they consider the 'other', the out-group that they perceive as lesser than members of their own group.¹³ This can take many forms, including the theft of cultural artifacts and the destruction of religious sites, as in the cases of Poland and Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively.

UPROOTING CULTURE: THE CASE OF POLAND DURING WWII

One of the most infamous cases of cultural theft and destruction occurred during and immediately following the second world war. Made famous in modern day by popular culture and such films as "Monuments Men" and "Woman in Gold," the theft and systematic destruction of cultural relics, most commonly works of art, during Nazi conquest is one of the most widely known instances of cultural theft in history. Art, as well as other items of value, were looted from homes in states that the Nazi soldiers took possession of, often being given over to high-ranking officials, sold for profit, or even simply destroyed. This was not limited to Jewish households, but extended to include any home deemed fit for plunder.¹⁴

In the case of Poland, the state fell victim twice to such atrocities. First, they were among the many territories that fell victim to the Nazi's seizure of valuable cultural artifacts, but then they fell victim once more when they were invaded by the Nazi's allies, the Soviets, from their eastern flank.¹⁵ "Poland suffered the highest rate of loss of any country occupied by Nazi Germany during the war, but a great deal of art was also taken by the Soviets, for whom theft was a matter of policy. Art plundered by the Nazis was often re-stolen by the communists."¹⁶ Facing invasion from both sides, Polish citizens, and more specifically Polish Jewish citizens, were often stripped of everything they owned. For the Soviets, eliminating everything that even hinted at Polish identity and culture was a matter of war policy.¹⁷

The theft of Polish art by any country is a layered and complex issue still to this day. Restoration of cultural and historical artifacts seized as wartime trophies is complicated even in the clearest of circumstances, where the art in question is found to be in the possession of a state that observes international law. In states like the former-USSR, which rarely obeys international law unless there is political benefit, it is nearly impossible.¹⁸ Losses of cultural artifacts and art are numbered too high to count; lost works of art alone amount to over 60,000 pieces according to the Polish Ministry of Culture.¹⁹ Any items that weren't immediately valuable, such as the contents of archives and libraries, were often burned into nothingness.²⁰ It was common practice of the Soviets, in a misconstrued idea of the communal values of communism, that

any items of value were the spoils of war, free to be collected at the discretion of soldiers. Whereas Nazi seizure of any piece of cultural significance had a purely racial motivation, the Soviets' motives "included the desire to destroy the Polish elite and to subjugate, control, and Sovietize Polish culture."²¹ This Soviet behavior was not limited to Poland either. Just as the Nazis had at the peak of the war, the Soviets continued to do the same to the territories they occupied at the end of the war and the years that followed.

For Poland, art and literature held prominent significance to



View of a train boxcar, through the open door of which can be seen some of the art collection looted by the Nazis

their heritage. It was a way to maintain their national identity in the face of the loss of their independence in the 1700's. Polish elites sought to accumulate art to maintain a connection to Western Europe and Western thought.²² Art became an extremely important part of Polish material culture. The systematic destruction, vandalism, and theft of these artifacts "was one piece of much larger programs to destroy Polish culture and society that included the mass murder of leaders and assaults on education and learning."²³ These efforts, for both the Nazis and the Soviets, were part of an overall effort to eliminate the Polish identity- to destroy what it meant to be Polish to pave the way for the existing identity to be replaced with one of their own design.

The majority of the art stolen from Poland during this time has not been returned to the heirs of those it was so brutally taken from, and, in many cases, it probably never will be. For countries that are willing to return the art if it is proven stolen, there is a matter of confirming a claimant's legitimate right to the piece. Other countries wish to keep pieces open for public viewing, such as those of Jewish painter Dina Babbitt (who was forced to be a private painter for Josef Mengele, and had painted some of his

victims before they were killed), as a testimonial to the atrocities that occurred during the war, an effort to never let history repeat itself.²⁴ More complicated still are the cases involving governments of non-complying countries, such as Russia. Because of its general belief that art is a spoil of wartime conquest, the state is reluctant to return any pieces found within their borders, despite the high numbers of estimated stolen pieces residing within their borders; “an estimated one quarter of a million works of art brought from Germany after the war are said to reside in the collection of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg alone.”²⁵ Despite the fact that, in many cases, there are too many of these works to be on display and therefore they remain sitting in storage and many of them will never be returned to their rightful owners.

ELIMINATING RELIGION: THE CASE OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN THE 1990'S

Cultural artifacts of monetary value aren't the only casualty in conflict: religious sites and relics have long posed significant targets as well. Religion, while not always an aspect of a culture, can be important in certain cultures. Countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, for example, consider their faith, Islam, to be an extremely crucial part of their cultural identity. It is an integral part of who they are. The same can be said for Bosnia-Herzegovina, a small country in Eastern Europe with a significant Muslim population.

In the aftermath of the break-up of the former Soviet Union into independent states, many of these newly formed states experienced periods of social unrest. In some cases, this turned into violence. This can be said of the conflict that erupted in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Neighboring Serbia, wishing to expand and gain territory, engaged in one of the worst cases of ethnic cleansing in modern times. Not only did their tactics involve heinous acts of torture, rape, and murder, but they also consisted of brutal psychological warfare that targeted the Bosnian Muslim population right in the very core of their identities: their religious beliefs. Muslims were exposed to repeated desecrations of their faith, including being force fed pork and having pigs set loose and sometimes sacrificed on their holy grounds, forever tainting the sanctity of the sites.²⁶

The desecration of religious sites was not limited to slights against the values of their faith. The sites were physically targeted as well. Sites of significance to the Islamic religion include mosques, medresas, tekkes, mektebs, religious archives, Islamic libraries, turbes, and clock towers. Any of these sites were marked as potential targets, though mosques gained particular attention from Serbian forces in the conflict.²⁷ A series of investigations by the Committee on Culture and Education of the Council of

Europe's Parliamentary Assembly found that, of the 277 mosques they examined, none escaped some form of damage. Less than eight percent of that number were undamaged enough to still have the main part of the structure whole.²⁸ Many of that number had been mosques that were under construction at the time conflict broke out and were not being actively used; though these were frequent targets of theft and instances of vandalism, they were not targeted for elimination.²⁹ 255 of the 277 mosques surveyed were too compromised to be of use; 71 of these were under legal

“Less than eight percent of that number were undamaged enough to still have the main part of the structure whole “

protection as historic sites and nearly two thirds had been built in the 17th century or before.³⁰

Damage to buildings may seem like just an unfortunate consequence of war. When two sides are firing at each other, their first thought is generally not to the significance or potential importance of the buildings around them. However, the Committee's examination also found that almost all the mosques had been more than victims of incidental fire. Many had blast marks indicating that explosives had been placed inside the buildings, regardless of whether there were people in them at the time, and set off.³¹ The destruction of these cultural, historical, and religious sites was systematic and intentional. The lack of attention paid to new mosques that had been under construction when war broke out is thought to be a sign that the Serbs were working off a pre-printed list that had yet to include the new locations, a clear indication that the attacks were a premeditated effort to, along with their other psychological tactics, eliminate the religious identity of Bosnian Muslims.³²

INTERNATIONAL POLICY: THE LAWS OF WAR

At The Hague Convention of 1899, a resolution was put forth and ratified by all relevant powers regarding the Laws and Customs of War on Land. It was then amended and ratified once again by all relevant powers on 18 October 1907, at a follow-up convention at The Hague. ³³ Article 56 of the resolution states “all seizure of, destruction, or willful damage done to institutions of [religion, charity, or education], historic monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden, and should be made the subject of legal proceedings.”³⁴ This resolution thereby deems it illegal to destroy or seize any property from a “hostile state” that is cultural or religious in nature.

For Poland, international response has been mixed, ranging from demand for justice to dismissive indifference. For Russia, who

is in possession of much of the stolen Polish cultural artifacts, they maintain that, since the art and other items were taken largely during Soviet occupation, they are Russian property now, regardless of their origin.³⁵ Russia's ambivalence to international law concerning the theft of cultural heritage, combined with their position as a powerful state, has led to a reluctance by the international community from pursuing the matter using more incendiary means than formal requests for the return of Polish cultural property. Russia's refusal, while largely expected, is not the only denial of requests to return the stolen artifacts to their home country.³⁶ Many states and private collectors in possession of missing works often devise arguments against returning the pieces, often stating that these works either need to be displayed in remembrance of history and the horror of World War II or that the residence of a work is of little consequence, as art belongs to the world as a whole and not just an individual culture.³⁷ This view is problematic, as "to blur cultural distinctions in the name of some vague, universal right of humanity is collectivism writ large."³⁸ However, even in the cases of states such as these, who are open to international law even if they also prove reluctant to return certain pieces, enforcing the return of lost works is a difficult and laborious process. Works not only have to be positively identified and authenticated, but the claimant's valid right to the work must be established. With well-known pieces, this is a smoother process, but with those works of cultural heritage which aren't, claims can last through drawn out years of dispute, and sometimes still prove futile. Restitution can most often only be achieved with mutual cooperation between the claimant and the individual or state currently in possession of the work. Depending on this process leaves many of these works lost to their rightful owners forever.³⁹

In contrast to Poland, where the cultural theft occurred largely before its creation and while the United Nations was still in its infancy, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the religiously motivated atrocities committed there were a visible blight playing out on the world stage. Even prior to this conflict, the UN had a firm stance on religious freedom, passing two resolutions in the General Assembly in 1981 and 1993 that condemned religious intolerance.⁴⁰ The Security Council of the UN ordered the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) to explore human rights violations, a critical factor in repairing some of the psychological and emotional toll religious persecution had taken.⁴¹ However, the Human Rights Office established by this mission to carry out these investigations was limited to solely examining violations committed through official channels, like those perpetrated by the police.⁴² Though the Human Rights Office, through the UNMIBH, was tasked with and granted the power to carry out these investigations all the way though helping to punish

the guilty, this was largely an effort to maintain tenuous peace and prevent further conflict; it did little for the religious destruction that had already occurred.⁴³ Unlike with Poland, the heritage here could never be returned. The mosques and other religious sites, many built as far back as the 1500's, can be rebuilt but never truly returned. Restitution cannot ever be paid for the destruction suffered.

The Laws and Customs of War on Land, as established at The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, have been violated many times since their ratification, including in Poland during World War II and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the mid-1990's. Not only was valuable art and property seized that was of immense cultural importance to the people of Poland, much of it has yet to be returned, as it should be under international law. Likewise, the systematic destruction of the mosques and other Islamic holy sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a clear violation of the tenants of Article 56. International law, though clear on the matter of the destruction of cultural heritage, failed to prevent what happened in Poland, and yet again proved unable to stop what happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina a half-century later.

CONCLUSION:

Rising out of the Syrian desert is the ruin of what was the once-proud city of Palmyra. Eroded with the passage of time, the old city with its temples and architecture that hints of a time long forgotten, is a historical landmark for the country. Or rather, what little remains of it is. Captured by the terrorist group ISIL in early 2015, it was damaged and destroyed little by little throughout the summer months.⁴⁴ A well-respected archaeologist, Dr. Khaled el Asaad, was decapitated and hung from the columns after refusing to give into ISIL demands that he lead them to the city's hidden treasures.⁴⁵

Palmyra isn't the only ancient city that has seen its ruins ransacked. In their terror campaign, ISIL has hit several locations just like Palmyra across multiple countries, including the ancient cities of Mari, Apamea, and Hatra, which were widely looted.⁴⁶ Mosques and other religious locations have also been the target of the terror group.⁴⁷ The group posted pictures of the destruction of the Mar Elian Monastery.⁴⁸ There are no shortage of targets for their ethnic and ideological cleansing campaign.

Destruction of cultural, historic, and religious relics and sites is a violation of international law, yet it is a reality that still exists today. The problem has not been solved and indeed may only get worse as the global climate grows ever more unstable. Without enforcement of the laws put in place at The Hague Conventions and touted since, history is doomed to repeat itself and the tangible symbols of cultural heritage will continue to be the other casualties of war.

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FROM HOLLYWOOD TO HALLYUWOOD: THE FUTURE OF CULTURAL DISTRIBUTION ORIGINATING IN SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

MARIA ROMAN

As the world seemingly grows smaller with access to technology and information expanding (further explained by globalization: “The process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale”¹), the debate of who benefits continues. For many years people have claimed globalization is a western movement or a new form of cultural imperialism; however South Korea seeks to prove that narrative false. A country of only 99,720 sq. kilometers² with a population of about 50 million³ has managed to exceed all expectations and become the world’s 11th largest economy (2015)⁴. The progress of the country’s economy has been long been overshadowed by their reputation of still being at war with themselves, a nation famously split between north and south.

Korea was under Japanese occupation from 1910 until the end of World War II. Once Imperialist Japan was removed from Korea, it was decided that it would be split into “two zones of temporary occupation” along the 38th

Parallel. However, though the process was supposed to help establish a singular new Korean government, it resulted in Korea being occupied by two opposing forces, the United States in the south and Soviet Russia in the north. This would lead to tensions and ultimately result in their split from one another, based on the ideologies influenced by their prospective ‘protector’ countries. In short, they were influenced by their protector countries soft power, which can stem from 3 areas: culture, political values, and foreign policies⁵. As the Russians held on tighter in the north, refusing to let the United Nations in, the UN held elections in South Korea which resulted in Syngnam Rhee becoming president and South Korea proclaiming itself an independent republic in 1948.

In 1950, North Korea invaded the South⁶. The divided country then remained at war for three years, resulting in the death of 2 million people⁷, with active war not ending until a ceasefire was signed the 27 July, 1953⁸. Following the war, the process of reconstruction fell to Park Chung-



Hee who oversaw the beginning of South Korea's success, properly dubbed the Miracle of Han River⁹ which meant the rapid industrialization of the country that resulted in an average of 9% growth for the next 30 years¹⁰. The remarkable feat of not only recovery but success for the nation has been emphasized by worldwide recognition in relation to their plastic surgeons¹¹ and technology¹², and now it seems their pop culture will become their new powerhouse. Described as the *Hallyu Wave*¹³ on South Korean government websites, it's the movement from South Korea that has benefitted from globalization by taking in American culture, adapting it as their own, and exporting it to other countries. Through the use of their pop culture, mainly their music and T.V. dramas, South Korea may be able to increase their soft power and influence worldwide.

The Hallyu movement does not come without its own strong supporters; mainly the government that has invested money, energy, and resources to guarantee Hallyu can be a success. Officially rebranding themselves "Creative

Korea" in July 2016¹⁴, South Korea showed their newfound commitment to their entertainment industry that has been increasingly gaining recognition. South Korea has brilliantly used their growing stars as the 'face' of Korea by making them ambassadors of tourism and having them film advertisements to promote the country¹⁵. This strategy appears to be beneficial with tourist arrivals reaching 1.19 million in 2015 alone an increase from previous years¹⁶. Along with tourism rates raising, so has revenue. Pop culture exports totaled \$5 billion in 2014 and has only continued to rise as popularity grows¹⁷.

In order to invest in their future as a possible cultural powerhouse the government has created the Korean Creative Content Agency (KOCCA)¹⁸ which supervises and supports the creation of Korean content worldwide. Containing 3 branches, KOCCA has the Content Korea Lab (CKL), Creative Economic Leader (CEL) Academy, and CEL Venture Complex, each branch having a select purpose¹⁹. CKL²⁰ is meant for start-ups, providing a working space

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for people that want to create but don't have the space or means to in the forms of studio, meeting, and recording rooms as well as necessary basic equipment. Future creators who need guidance find that in CEL Academy²¹, a 2-year long program that only requires a high school diploma and will teach people various forms of entertainment, such as writing, animating, designing and even acting. Lastly CEL, Venture Center²² provides training to people or groups as well as 2 years of rent and utility costs paid for by the government, with a promise to help them find investors or market their product. KOCCA is not just open in South Korea, but also in the United States, London, Japan, and China where they offer assistance to Koreans located there free of charge. Offices open in other countries also serve to foster ties between domestic and international companies, gathering information that might be of use to Korean companies back home²³. There they're also tasked with promoting Korean culture through the use of seminars, conferences, and showcases in order to create an understanding between local and Korean culture.

The reasoning behind South Korea's investment in their entertainment industry isn't a mere whim. Their entertainment industry is all together a unique one, with the ability to create immeasurable talent. And that's what they do; Entertainment agencies don't just find talent, they find,



Students at Def Dance Skool in Seoul.

train, and mold it until it becomes something completely different than what they found. Entertainment agencies run

the industry, and it is rare to find a successful entertainer, be it actor, artist, or model, without an agency that represents and backs them. The most popularly known are YG, S.M., and JYP Entertainment, dubbed 'the big three'²⁴ for being all encompassing agencies with notable acts, popularity, and financial success. The creation of all three agencies share similar stories, started in the 1990s by men who were previously entertainers themselves. Respectively, each agency contains some of the biggest music acts in in South Korea, as well as notable actors²⁵. The model with which they use to 'build acts' begins with recruitment usually geared towards younger teens, sometimes including 10 year olds. After recruitment begins training. Deemed 'trainees', they stay in training until the company thinks they're ready to 'debut' or until they have found a place that 'fits' the trainee in a group²⁷. Often lasting years, training includes rigorous dancing, singing, language, and speaking lessons. Depending on where a trainee comes from they're bound to have accents which agencies work to 'correct'. Additionally, trainees are taught new languages so that they can communicate with fans internationally. Not to mention, depending on their age trainees are also required to continue to attend school and take lessons in regards to those subjects as well²⁸. Through this method, agencies are able to churn out many talented people, sort them into groups, and effectively create new acts that will meet immense success.

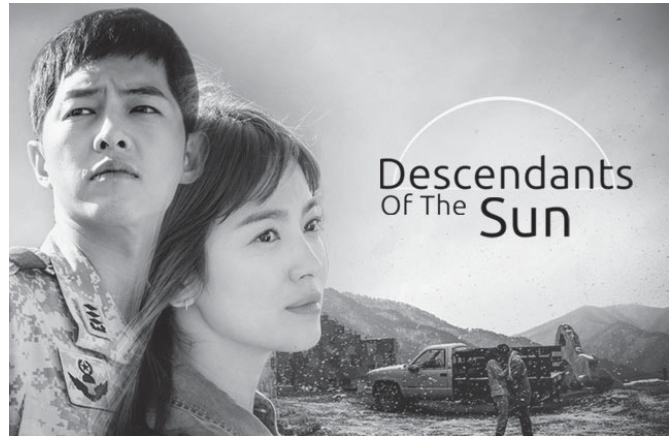
Groups filled with talented people are then ready to enter the world of K-Pop specifically Korean hip hop, a genre of music that has its basis in American hip hop, but taking the idea of boy bands and girl groups to another level. Groups consisting of upwards of four members, teemed with choreography matching every beat of their songs, as well as music videos that artistically depict beautiful backgrounds, combined with their acting and dancing make for mesmerizing spectacles. The process is followed almost to a fault and has led to criticism relating to K-Pop's rigidity. To quote Daniel Tudor, author of "*Korea: The Impossible Country*", "They try too hard, they are too rigid... I feel that K-Pop is too controlled; the big companies see music too much as a product." As Tudor implies, the issue of too

much control is at the heart of the problem: once people get tired of the formulaic process that K-Pop relies on, the industry will be at a loss. Large companies are known for hiring people to write the lyrics, compose, and produce the songs as well as create the choreography for the groups. By stripping artists of the most personal aspects regarding their talents they essentially become nothing more than performers which can lead to a loss of satisfaction from audiences when they feel there's a disconnect.

Despite criticisms, K-Pop has only increased in popularity with no indications that it will falter. Groups are beginning to enjoy international attention and popularity, which has quickly been taken advantage of by agencies and countries alike, with agencies launching world tours and countries going so far as to create conventions to get illustrious acts into their countries. A main source of entry for the groups is KCON USA which began in 2012, serving only one location in Irvine, California as a daylong event. The convention, meant as a place to experience the Hallyu world of “pop music, TV dramas, movies, fashion, food, and beauty,” has exponentially expanded in just four years. 2016 brought KCON to the United Arab Emirates, Japan, France, and two events in the U.S, with the event in France marking the 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries garnering a visit from former South Korean president, Park Geun-Hye.

To combat the general criticism of control and music being seen as a product, a new group has emerged that can be seen as the opposite of most groups or perhaps as the future of what K-Pop will become. Debuting in 2013, a 7-member group named “BTS”, under the BigHit Entertainment label has gained fame through their authentic artistic sincerity as emphasized through their involvement with the writing, producing, and choreographing every album they've ever produced. Other groups should take note of their success since their “WINGS” album debuted October 10, 2016 on the Billboard 200 chart at No. 26; this is the highest K-pop debut to date. In June 2016, tickets for BTS concerts in Taipei and Macau, sold out in 5 seconds, speaking to their notable international popularity. The group is also known to openly discuss social issues, mental

health, and even female empowerment in their lyrics which is often seen as taboo in Korean society but increases the band's appeal to international audiences. Only active for three years the group has achieved many things of note, breaking multiple records that other longstanding K-Pop groups had held onto for years and being the only group not part of the ‘big three’ to do so and garnering international



Descendants of the Sun

attention. These boys are perfect examples of what the future of K-Pop can accomplish for South Korea if they continue to utilize globalization correctly. An increase in international attention and admiration in South Korean music industry could turn K-pop into a new norm around the world that would then elevate Korean culture as a whole

Korean Dramas are gaining traction right alongside K-Pop, with many crossovers including artists becoming actors and writing and singing the soundtracks of the dramas in which they appear. In 2015, one of South Korea's most popular dramas was *Descendants of the Sun*, a love story wrapped in a military setting with underlying tensions between North and South Korea present throughout the drama. The significance is marked in viewership, specifically who and in what country. China became the largest consumer for the drama, with the drama even reportedly having some Chinese investors. The importance of North and South tensions are noted due to China being North Korea's long standing ally, with the drama containing a unifying tone leaning more towards the democratic South.

Being so watched and loved, it could mark a shifting public stance. It wasn't only China who loved the drama: North Koreans who had access to it fell in love with it. Border patrol guards risked their lives to smuggle in new episodes for persistent viewers inside the isolated country. Marked as one of their most popular dramas it's no surprise that it was sold to over 27 countries and translated in over 32 different languages, expanding viewership while offering a glimpse into the values of South Korean military, doctors, and people. With just one drama, South Korea was able to quietly flex their soft power to viewers in terms of cultural influence, political views, and foreign policies effectively using globalization for a mass consumed product.

Before *Descendants of the Sun* became a drama of note, predecessors garnered a variety of success. *Jewel in the Palace*, a period drama, was released in 2003, gaining popularity in over 90 international countries including Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. Period dramas have been known to bring further interest into the country's history, culture, landmarks, and food, inevitably bringing in more tourists and interest from around the world. Through their dramas views into cultural identity, society, and values are easily expressed which many people from traditional hierarchical societies can empathize with and understand. To fully take advantage of the popularity of their dramas South Korea includes locations from dramas in tourist advertisements and even includes locations categorized according to the drama they were in on an official government tourist page titled 'Imagine your Korea,' further emphasizing the point that Korea is for everyone.

In 2016, Corea Image Communication Institute (CICI) organized a 3-day stay in the country for 20 cultural representatives from different countries in order to advance the conversation of how to continue promoting Korean culture. The 7th Culture Communication Forum that CICI held consisted of 2 days of travel around the country in order to experience South Korean culture as a whole, with the third day dedicated to discussion. One of the most notable quotes from the experience came from Yoshido Junko, "senior staff writer at the Japanese daily Asahi Shimbun" who stated that "Koreans did not forget their

core. There has been a very quick change in Korea and the nation knew how to change while preserving the important elements." In cases like South Korea, who has found a market and popular product that only they can create in their unique style, globalization is boosting them on an international scale by increasing their visibility and soft power worldwide. As long as the government continues to efficiently use globalization as a means to promote and export their pop culture, Seoul, South Korea could truly become the new Hollywood and mark the beginning of a new era of cultural distribution. But this time, one that originates from the other side of the world.

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AFWERKI AVERTS THE WEST: AN APPEAL FOR SOVEREIGNTY

LYONNA YOHANNES

In the face of blatant crimes against humanity in Africa, the World's response has for centuries been silence. A deafening silence. Silence as 12 million were enslaved, mutilated, and eventually perished in Leopold's Congo. Silence as 800,000 were brutally hacked to death in Rwanda. Silence as the notorious Nyayo House torture chambers haunted Kenyans for a decade-long era of horror. Silence as the torments of many Africans were kept classified. Racist undertones combined with the prioritization of alliances and resources has justified the West's blatant neglect of government-sanctioned violence. Saddam's Iraq, Gaddafi's Libya, and Assad's Syria have all fallen victim to the West's geo-political and strategic use of humanitarian intervention to combat mass atrocities by inciting regime change. Is Afwerki's Eritrea next?

A relatively tiny nation in the Horn of Africa, Eritrea has dominated both regional and international news as border tensions with neighboring Ethiopia resurfaced following a recent UN-sponsored report concluding human rights violations were clearly government-sanctioned. For over 25 years, President Isaias Afwerki has presided over the State of Eritrea as an iron-fist dictator, crushing any dissent to him or the ruling party, the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ). Though drafted in 1997, Eritrea currently has no functioning constitution, independent judiciary, or national assembly as all aspects of government have been infiltrated by pro-Afwerki members of the PFDJ^{1, 2}.

Consequently, an exodus of Eritreans are pouring into neighboring Ethiopia, Sudan, and Djibouti, as well as Europe and the United States in an attempt to escape the unbearable

conditions at home. The regime blatantly denies its people natural and inalienable rights and on June 8th 2016, the Commission of Inquiry on Eritrea (COIE) released yet another report documenting a multitude of human rights violations including "forced military conscription, enslavement, rape, murder, torture, and also religious persecution"³. Following Syrians, Eritreans constitute the second largest group of asylum seekers in Europe, whereby in 2014 the European Union estimated around 47,000 Eritreans were seeking asylum status⁴. The 2016 report alleges President Isaias Afwerki, Eritrean diplomats, and other high ranking government officials to be either complicit or outright responsible for such crimes against the Eritrean citizenry. As such, the UN Security Council (UNSC) may refer the findings of the COIE's report to the International Criminal Court as a basis to bring Isaias Afwerki and his PFDJ party accountable for their crimes. If the UNSC refers Afwerki to the ICC for a criminal investigation and deposition, would the lives of the Eritrean people improve? Is PFDJ control the sole basis for Eritrean suffering?

In June 2015, a 500-page United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) report accused Eritrea's government of extrajudicial executions, widespread torture, indefinite prolonged national servitude, and forced labor⁵. The report also indicated women and children were not exempt from national service or forced labor, and were subjected to trafficking, rape, and sexual slavery. The bulk of the report alleges Eritrea effectively enslaves people by a system known as "national service" that involves "arbitrary detention, torture, sexual torture, forced labor, absence

of leave”⁶. Eritrea's Proclamation on National Service 82 of 1995 requires persons "aged 18 to 40 years to perform compulsory active national service for a period of 18 months – six months of military training followed by 12 months of active military and development tasks in military forces in a government-run work unit”⁷, including the Eritrean Defense Forces. A concurrent Labor Proclamation passed in 2001 specifically excludes national and military service or other civic obligations from the definition of forced labor and existing labor protections were "not applicable to persons engaged in compulsory national service”⁸. Afwerki's gross violation and devaluation of liberty deliberately invades human rights and defiles Articles IV through XI of UN Resolution 217A-3, establishing the International Bill of Human Rights. These articles declare that “no one shall be held in slavery or servitude”⁹, that “no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment”¹⁰, and that “no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence”¹¹.

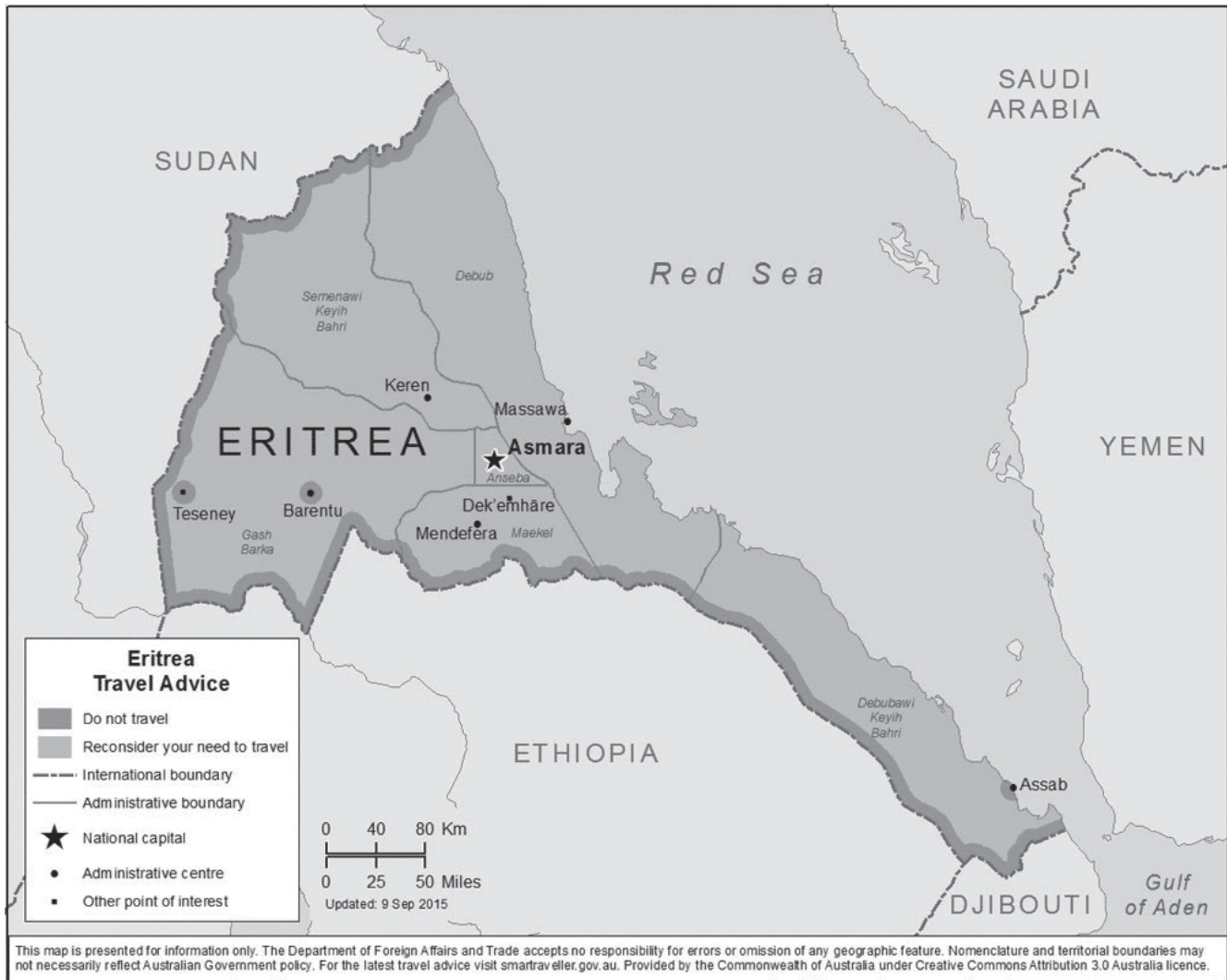
Do outside governments bear a responsibility to protect the human rights of a commonwealth aside from their own? What constitutes a disaster worthy of outside intervention? In Iraq, Saddam Hussein's blatant use of torture and chemical weapons against fellow Iraqis and the Kurdish people warranted outside intervention. In Libya's case, NATO hastily went from strict protection of civilians to broadening their military mission to include Muammar Gaddafi's immediate deposal for his extreme rhetoric against a rebelling group. At first, Gaddafi's Libya had a thriving relationship with Western nations, including France, its former colonizer. Rich in oil and gold, it was economically smarter for Western nations to remain on good terms with Gaddafi although he nationalized a majority of Libya, essentially banning capitalism. His quickly developing African nation navigated towards a more socialist form of governance. Though the West preferred a democratic system to emerge in Libya, international precedence requires states to respect each state's sovereignty. An outside state infringing upon the sovereignty of another flagrantly defiles the Treaty of Westphalia, which established a precedent of world order by recognizing a state's "exclusive sovereignty”¹².

In 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) clarified the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine by shifting the focus away from "the rights of [external] states to intervene... to the rights of the victims to survive”¹³. The UN endorsed idea calls upon sovereign states to protect and respect the human rights of its citizens as the foremost duty of the state. With the exposure of multiple government's failures to protect their civilians in countries like Iraq and Libya, the international community has assumed the responsibility to protect the innocent population. The West however, more

notably the United States, has repeatedly made a mess in their implementation of the R2P doctrine, abusing its intentions to address human-induced and government-sanctioned atrocities as a façade for neo-imperialist objectives. Again looking at Libya: Western relations with Libya declined during the Libyan Civil War when all European Union (EU) members and North Atlantic Trade Organization (NATO) member states withdrew their ambassadors and staff from the Libyan capital, Tripoli. By removing the diplomatic personnel, these nations effectively shut down their embassies and severed ties with Gaddafi's regime. In a speech denouncing the West, Gaddafi also dismissed rebelling factions against his regime as renegades, “rats”¹⁴, and “cockroaches”¹⁵. After claiming his men would hunt opponents in their homes, the international community, with the U.S., France, and United Kingdom leading the way, adopted Resolution 1973 (2011) authorizing “regional organizations or arrangements... to take all necessary measures... to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack”.

Before we understand Afwerki's aversion to the west, we must understand the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict that has kept both nations anxious and prepared for the other side to attack at any moment. Though neighboring states like South Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, and Yemen are ravaged by either civil war or are subjected to various extremist rebel groups, Eritrea remains relatively peaceful. The success of dictatorial governments relies on the suppression of individual will, and even Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau concedes "in rare cases, dictatorship may be necessary to save a state from collapse”¹⁷. Instability in the Horn of Africa is associated with Eritrea's president, Isaias Afwerki, as his "hot temper" and unpredictability warrants regional political tensions; however, his insanity also holds responsibility for a relative balance of power in Africa's Horn. Post-colonial African nations were exhausted of their own resources, and even today, participation in Western trade leaves them with two choices: grow dependent on foreign aid for necessities, or allow for an authoritarian to assume unmitigated power.

Ethiopia's ties to the U.S. and the West roots back to the early 20th century. As U.S. involvement in the world increased, Ethiopia's geographic situation placed great importance on colonial Eritrea both during and after the Second World War. Since the 1940s, the Pentagon and the private industries set up major enterprises in the colony through a lend-lease program granted to Ethiopia. During the 1950s, the U.S. intelligence services would establish Kagnew Station in Eritrea's now-capital, Asmara. Kagnew Station existed at a time satellite surveillance was still being developed, making Kagnew the most important overseas telecommunications



base. From Eritrea, one was able to tap in and listen to what was happening in Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf, and even certain parts of the Eastern Bloc. The US therefore argued for Eritrea to be reattached to Ethiopia which was allied to Washington. John Foster Dulles, former Secretary of State under D. Eisenhower, admitted, “from the point of view of justice, the opinions of the Eritrean people ought to be taken into account. Nevertheless, the strategic interests of the United States in the Red Sea area, and considerations of security and world peace, make it necessary for the country to be reattached to our ally, Ethiopia”¹⁸.

Economic participation with Western trade institutions, as it concerns African countries, generally restrict the ability of countries to protect national interests. Ethiopia has been receiving aid from affluent Western nations since the end of World War II following the fall of Italian ally Mussolini. A large famine in the 1960s continued the flow of aid, in the form of food and money, for decades. Another Ethiopian famine from 1983 to 1986 and

subsequent relief efforts foreshadow the course of Ethiopian economic development as the state followed a pattern of foreign dependency fostered by the alliances formed with the Soviet Union and with the role of food aid donated by the West, notably the United States. In turn, Ethiopia sold massive amounts of land in recent years land or leased to investors.

Selling or leasing lands to investors whether they are indigenous or foreign is not a problem as long as it benefits the country and its citizens. Unfortunately, what we are experiencing in Ethiopia is quite the opposite. People are militarily forced to leave their land, which is the main, and most of the time only source of income, so that the government can sell the land to investors. The people would not get enough compensation for the land that is forcefully taken from them. In order to make such huge areas available for foreign investors to grow foodstuffs and bio-fuels for export – and in direct contravention of Ethiopia’s

obligations under international law – authorities are displacing hundreds of thousands of indigenous peoples, abusing their human rights, destroying their traditions, trashing the environment, and making these groups more dependent on food aid than ever before.

Following the civil war which split Eritrea from Ethiopia, Afwerki utilized Eritrea's newfound independence to pursue protectionist policies, choosing to develop Eritrea absent of Western ideals and commercial institutions. Right from the very beginning, Afwerki was not simply interested in national independence from Ethiopia, but also in a social revolution which would lay the political, social, and economic foundations

“The root of this border crisis stems from a historical lingering animosity between the two nations as subsequent annexation into Ethiopia in 1962 led to a gruesome 30 year civil war and the eventual establishment of an independent Eritrean state in 1993. ”

for a sovereign Eritrea. Eritrea in general prefers private-sector investments over official aid programs and actually declines all forms of foreign aid. Eritrea's refusal of aid has made it difficult for them to establish relations with aid-dispensing nations and international institutions.

With this history in mind, when the COIE released its findings, Eritrea expectedly rejected them and denounced the report as another smear campaign on the regime. The UN has long expressed disdain for Afwerki's socialist regime, constantly reaffirming economic sanctions as well as an arms embargo on the Red Sea state. As embargoes and economic sanctions failed to bring Afwerki cowering to the West, humanitarian intervention appears to be the West's next move in this geo-political chessboard. As far as the West is concerned, Eritrea is a rotten apple in the Horn and poses a serious threat to the regional stability, thus the West, led by the U.S., decided this threat must be removed. In reality, the true threat to stability in the Horn is U.S. imperialism. Eritrea has persistently encouraged neighboring countries in the Horn of Africa to get rid of neo-colonial interference and attempt unification through a common project. If the countries of this region were to free themselves of neo-colonialism and unify their efforts, they would be able to escape from poverty and pursue sovereign interests. This vision Eritrea wants for the Horn of Africa proposes a direct challenge to Washington's access to this strategic region. Notice Eritrea's geographic location: strategically

positioned along the Red Sea immersed in oil and mineral rich mines. Both the United States and Soviet Russia were involved in the Eritrean-Ethiopian civil war, apprehensive about the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and its access to the Red Sea. Control of Eritrea meant control over the entrance to the Suez Canal, the Indian Ocean, and the oil fields of Arabia. If not contained, Afwerki must be removed.

In 2009, the UNSC labelled Eritrea a "destabilizing influence" on the region despite the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea found no evidence of "direct Eritrean support" for rebel groups in the region, specifically al-Shabaab in Somalia¹⁹. Washington nonetheless pushed for UN sanctions against Eritrea, charging Afwerki for demonstrating "political, financial, and logistical support" to Islamist Shabaab rebel fighters in Somalia²⁰. The UN Human Rights Council conceded there was no evidence of Eritrean aid to the Islamic jihadi militant group, yet economic sanctions continued.

Afwerki's primary advisor, Ghebreab Yemane, warned this continual harassment of Eritrea will result in "grave consequences not limited to Eritrea but will engulf the entire region" foreshadowing the resolution will "be used and abused to fan the flames of war" (Miles). On June 12th, 2016, immediately following the release of the COIE's findings, Afwerki's PFDJ and the Ethiopian Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) engaged in an exchange of fire as tensions at the border resurfaced between Eritrea and its old colonial power. The root of this border crisis stems from a historical lingering animosity between the two nations as subsequent annexation into Ethiopia in 1962 led to a gruesome 30 year civil war and the eventual establishment of an independent Eritrean state in 1993. For the next 5 years, relations between the two sister countries remained tense as the TPLF constantly provoked the infant Eritrean government along the border. The massacre of several Eritrean officials was Afwerki's final provocation, resulting in another war from 1998-2000 claiming the lives of nearly 80,000 Eritreans and Ethiopians²¹. As part of the Algiers Agreement signed by both parties in 2000, an independent boundary commission took charge to rule the location of the Eritrean-Ethiopian frontier. The Eritrean-Ethiopian Boundary Commission (EEBC) ended the war and demarcated the boundary only in principle. Ethiopia's failure to accept the disputed town of Badme and the significant port of Asaab were Eritrean territories continues to foster hostilities as a stalemate of "no war, no peace" leaves both nations indefinitely mobilized for war.

For the reasons detailed so far, Western intervention in the form of regime change appears inevitable. Eritrea clearly follows a template known to warrant intervention and in doing so the West will secure invaluable resources and lay to rest the opposition to

their “golden child” Ethiopia. Noam Chomsky warned in 2011 that unfortunately for the West, there comes a point where they can no longer support their favorite dictator ²². As tensions stir between the people and the regime, this is precisely where Western intervention is made clear. As far as the West is concerned,



Isaias Afwerki, President of Eritrea

Eritrea is a rotten apple in the Horn and poses a serious threat to the regional stability, thus the West has decided this threat must be removed. Eritrea has persistently encouraged neighboring countries to get rid of neo-colonial interference and attempt unification through a common project. The Horn of Africa has a very favourable geographic position: it is both connected to the countries of the Gulf and of the Indian Ocean, which is where the greater part of world maritime trade is effected. Besides which it has considerable natural resources including minerals, gas, oil and biodiversity. If the countries of this region were to free themselves of neo-colonialism and unify their efforts, they would be able to escape from poverty and pursue sovereign interests. This vision Eritrea wants for the Horn of Africa proposes a direct challenge to Washington's access to this strategic region. This is precisely where Western states “come out with ringing declarations about their love for freedom and democracy”.

The international community's failures to hold Ethiopia accountable for an illegal occupation of Eritrean sovereign land and impasse on implementing the “final and binding” demarcation decision warrants Afwerki's diplomatic dissociation from the West and their institutions. Rather than international condemnation of Ethiopia's blatant refusal to implement the EEBC decision and illegal occupation of Eritrean territories, the United States focused its efforts to rebuild diplomatic relations with Ethiopia. Nonetheless, previous investment in Ethiopia and continuous aid highlights its position as the regional power and the West's

favorable chess piece in the Horn. Currently, the PFDJ and the TPLF both continue have their guns drawn at the border. If the West decided to intervene on a humanitarian basis and remove Afwerki from his position, the PFDJ is effectively disarmed, leaving Eritrea vulnerable to the Ethiopian TPLF. Promoting democracy directly translates to regime change, a coup d'état, an ousting of the current government and an imposition of another. One that perhaps in friendlier to your interests and are in favor of liberalism, specifically capitalism. With Afwerki deposed, the Horn's balance of power dramatically shifts in Ethiopia's favor. From there, the ending result is unclear.

Authoritarian regimes commit gross injustices towards their commonwealth, ranging from revoking civil liberties to blatant crimes against humanity. The COIE report made Afwerki's humanitarian crimes evident and undeniable. As Afwerki continues to distance Eritrea from the West, what is next for the state? Saddam and Gaddafi perpetrated indiscriminate war crimes against their own people including the use of torture, mass rape, chemical weapons, floggings, among other atrocities. The haste removal of Gaddafi began with expressed disdain from the international community, an increase in negative press on Gaddafi's regime, and economic sanctions on Libya aimed to “deter” Gaddafi from committing mass atrocities against his civilians ²³. The Responsibility to Protect doctrine was adopted to combat Gaddafi's rhetoric. Lamentably, the current chaos of the Middle East and the Maghreb emanates from the removal of these two authoritarians, whose ousting resulted in a race between various ethnic and religious extremist rebel groups to fill the power vacuum. Rather than liberty and democracy, Iraq now has ISIS, a fundamentalist Sunni Islamist militant group responsible for brutal beheadings, bombing and killing without regard to human rights. ISIS is quickly expanding as they take advantage of the uncertainty in the region. Founded in 1999, ISIS' accumulation of power results from the absence of Saddam. A desire for some form of a functioning government gave the militant group legitimacy among the desperate Iraqi people. Similar patterns of domestic instability followed Gaddafi's peculiar death in 2011. Libya is left destroyed and mass numbers of civilians have perished in the West's quest to protect the victims of Gaddafi's unhinged oppression. Libya today continues to be fractured, drowning in multiple ethnic conflicts as ISIS and affiliate groups eyeball another unstable region that is desperate for any kind of security.

In this new-age scramble for Africa, the West's altruistic intentions to combat mass human rights atrocities are overshadowed by a predestined thirst for natural resources that cannot be quenched. The fate of the Eritrean people if the UNSC decides to act on the COIE report and refer Afwerki to the ICC

is already written. Why should the US and its affiliates want to continue this marginalization campaign of Eritrea? The Eritrean government has demonstrated a vision for its country and for the region where it is possible to develop economically and resolve intersectional conflicts by dialogue, provided one gets rid of interference on the part of foreign powers. Considering the amount of money "darling of the West" Ethiopia receives, the equally-repressive regime will maintain its role as a central figure to Western diplomacy in the Horn and continue to terrorize Eritreans. Humanitarian intervention in the form of regime change in Eritrea's case would be counterproductive, as it was in Iraq and Libya. The R2P doctrine clearly labels protection of citizens by prevention of mass atrocities as fundamental instead of redressing another tragedy. Humanitarian intervention has routinely produced worse outcomes for the people as violence, chaos, and an overall increase in suffering are perilous consequences of regime change. Removing Afwerki from power will not by extension remove the human rights violations occurring. Isaias Afwerki's regime provides a slim shred of stability in the region as he protects his people and its resources from foreign intervention. A deplorable fact. By toppling him, a race to fill the power void places the issue of human rights in Eritrea at an even greater risk. The best way for the West to prevent a humanitarian crisis and protect a civilian population from atrocities on a mass scale is to remove this self-inflicted obligation to protect those outside their own domain.

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PLAGUES OF POLICY: APARTHEID AND AIDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

ZACH HOLETZ

The country of South Africa is one whose history is rife with conflict, discrimination, and violence. Of its considerable hardships the policy of apartheid, instituted by the Afrikaner National Party from 1948 to 1994, still haunts the nation to this day. While the human rights violations of systemic racism are obvious, the political and economic implications of apartheid have themselves been an understated disadvantage to the nation. Currently South Africa faces another dilemma: it currently hosts the world's largest HIV epidemic. HIV/AIDS is one of the few diseases which targets young relatively healthy adults rather than children or the elderly. With that said, the combination of both segregation policy and a previously unknown and deadly disease set the stage for a long and devastating road of medical setbacks, political missteps and economic stagnation for South Africa.

The policy of apartheid exacerbated the HIV/AIDS epidemic within South Africa and by proxy the rest of the world. South Africa currently has more than seven million people living with HIV, with more than 19% prevalence in the adult population.¹ In 2015 alone there were 380,000 new infections and over 180,000 AIDS related deaths.² It should also be noted that the concentration of individuals infected with HIV/AIDS is significantly higher in rural areas, about 40%, whereas the urban regions of the Northern and Western Cape have approximately an 18% prevalence.³ Sadly in South Africa there is still a strong stigma against homosexuals. Violence against homosexuals is not uncommon, and so many people in the LGBT community refrain from disclosing their sexualities to health workers and limit their

own access to medical help.⁴

The laws of the apartheid regime targeted black South Africans and forced them to live in areas know as townships or Bantustans. These areas consisted of approximately 13% of South Africa's size but held more than 80% of the population.⁵ These Bantustans were located in rural areas often hard to reach and far from urban centers where the minority white population lived. The government left the responsibility of providing health services up to the individual Bantustans which had to rely primarily on missionary hospitals. While these rural townships did receive funding from the apartheid government it was a measly .23% of the GNP, whereas the urban centers were allotted 2.3% of the GNP.⁶ This means the black majority in the country received one-tenth of the same healthcare funding as the white minority. This, of course, caused doctors working in the public sector to move into private practices within urban centers, and due to pass book restrictions at the time many blacks were not even capable of entering these areas to access care. Between the 1980's and 1990's the number of healthcare professionals working in the private sector rose from 40% to 66%.⁷

This disparity in access to healthcare during the apartheid era has carried nightmarish effects into the modern age. For example, as of 2008, nearly twenty years later, infant mortality among blacks is ten times higher than their white counterparts. The life expectancy of black South Africans is 55 years while whites in the same region have a life expectancy of 70 years.⁸ The white population still has superior access to health services: there is

one doctor for every 330 whites yet only one for every 91,000 blacks.⁹ This disparity in access stems from social perceptions which then served to reinforce the stereotypes they represented. Thus the idea that Africans were dirty and more suited to squalid conditions was perpetuated by the fact that they had no access to any other lifestyle. In that same vein those with access to proper medical services were not willing to share them with their black counterparts. In the rare instances where black South Africans could reach more modern medical facilities they were unable to afford the services they needed. Segregation in the Bantustans and horrid working conditions kept blacks poor and isolated.

Now compound the racial segregation of whites and blacks with the ethnic conflicts that existed within these Bantustans.

“The white population still has superior access to health services: there is one doctor for every 330 whites yet only one for every 91,000 blacks.”

When the black populous of South Africa was sent into the townships the land and peoples there were divided up without concern for relationships between tribes and other such groups. This caused turmoil and infighting amongst the different ethnic and tribal sub-divisions which ultimately acted as a divide and conquer tactic. The elites within townships who controlled access to healthcare services would often reserve quality treatment for those who aligned with their sub-ethnic identity at the expense of all others in the region.¹⁰ Elitism within cultures and sub-cultures provided a perfect scaffolding from which policy could be constructed.

South Africa has experienced great political change in recent decades, particularly concerning the way policy has addressed the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The apartheid government made minimal efforts to contain the situation or set in place appropriate health care measures to slow the rate of infections. Initially AIDS was considered to be exclusive to homosexual men, or a “gay disease”, a notion which went unchallenged until 1991 when the rate of contraction was deemed to be the same between both heterosexuals and homosexuals. White leaders within the apartheid regime claimed that the promiscuity of blacks was to blame for these high contraction rates. Some members of parliament even viewed the disease as a good thing as it would reduce the black population of South Africa. This notion was in line with previous apartheid ideas that biological weapons and sterilization should be used against the black populous.

The political view on AIDS sadly was not much improved with the removal of the apartheid government. In 1994 the African National Congress won South Africa’s first democratic elections. Under this administration, Nelson Mandela made combatting HIV/AIDS one of the new government top priorities for reconstruction. The first major effort came to fruition in Sarafina II, a play which was designed to educate people about the dangers of HIV. The play was considered a failure as critics deemed the plot confusing and unclear, but only after more than \$14 million dollars had been invested as aid from the European Union. These efforts on the new governments’ part to combat the spread of the epidemic were considered by many to be underwhelming and monumental waste of money. Mandela’s administration has also been accused of treating a pandemic as a public health issue rather than a major crisis. It’s been suggested that in an effort to reduce racial tensions that Mandela and his administration placed a lack of emphasis on the AIDS crisis to reconcile ethnic conflicts.

As Nelson Mandela left office he was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki, a man who ultimately caused more harm than good to the efforts to educate people about the risk of AIDS. Mbeki held the opinion that HIV was not the cause of AIDS but rather that socioeconomic conditions caused the disease to proliferate. Mbeki went so far as to collect a panel of scientists who agreed with his position and then wrote many world leaders urging them to reevaluate their stance on the subject. While Mbeki’s views on HIV/AIDS were contrary to the official South African policy, not even his Health Minister Tshabalala-Msimang would contest these claims. Mbeki’s administration took a strong stance on making efforts to combat HIV/AIDS however his actions and statements on the matter contributed to nearly a decade of active government denialism.

In 2008 Mbeki resigned as president after losing the support of the ANC and in 2009 Jacob Zuma replaced him as president. There was some deep skepticism of Zuma’s presidency as Zuma’s Health Minister Aaron Mokoale Oledi had previously been accused of the rape of an HIV-positive woman. Following his trial, after being found not-guilty, Mokoale Oledi claimed that after having intercourse with the woman he showered as it would, “...minimize the risk of contracting the disease”, a statement which is objectively false. While initially Zuma had a rocky start due to this incident it quickly became clear that Mbeki’s policy of denialism would not be carried on into the future. By the end of 2009 Zuma’s administration had committed to testing all children exposed to HIV as well as provide them with antiretroviral drugs to combat the disease. Under the Zuma administration by 2011 nearly 12 million South Africans were being tested for HIV each year, a number which is significantly ahead of the prior administration. According to an interview given



Prevention Programs Curb New HIV Infections In South Africa

by the head of the HIV and AIDS program in 2004 only 47,000 people were actively receiving treatment in South Africa but by mid-2011 that number had increased to 1.79 million.

When considering the industries that HIV/AIDS affects, there are some clear connections that can be drawn to the impact of HIV on the South African economy. As of 2015 South Africa had a labor force of 21.09 million people, and of those, approximately 15% were living with HIV.¹¹ Of that 15%, 11% were estimated to be suffering from AIDS as well.¹² In 2002 a major company within the country reported that costs due to HIV/AIDS equated to about 4% of the regional income of the area.¹³ With the population of South Africa already bringing in a relatively low GDP per capita 4% of income equates to about \$528 dollars per year, with per capita income at approximately \$13,200 USD.¹⁴ The economic sectors of agriculture, transportation and mining are disproportionately affected by HIV and it was speculated that by 2005, 27% of the countries miners accompanied by 22% of the transportation and storage workers would die of HIV/AIDS. Agriculture alone is projected to suffer losses of up to 19.9% by the year 2020 due to losses in the work force. Total estimates suggest that by 2010 over 4.8 million South Africans had died from AIDS since its first reported cases.

Due to a lack of effort on the part of the apartheid regime, the spread of HIV was relatively unmitigated and left behind a generation of orphans. Parents who fall ill from HIV/AIDS must often be cared for by their children and families typically lose half of their income or more when the family bread winner has HIV/AIDS. More than 2.3 million South African children have been orphaned by HIV/AIDS and many of them are left to be raised by

grandparents or supplementary households. This not only takes a significant financial toll on those left to care for orphaned children, but it also adversely effects education. The children exposed to these hardships have a lower attendance in the education system and as a result fewer opportunities in the future. Education helps mitigate the spread of HIV through increasing awareness and providing access to resources including contraception and protection. Protecting the younger generation is paramount to rebuilding South Africa's crippled work force. If the next wave of South African youth is not better prepared than their predecessors they are doomed to perpetuate their history of economic failings.

HIV/AIDS has had several key impacts on the South African economy by effecting key demographics within the country. About 15% of the labor force is suffering from HIV and this high prevalence greatly reduces labor productivity. 35% of South African's live below the poverty line, and South Africa as a nation has one of the worlds' highest unemployment rates. This high unemployment is in part due to the effects of HIV/AIDS as many people who become infected are forced out of the labor force. Unemployment in people ages 15 to 24 is 51.3%. This age group is also the group most affected by HIV/AIDS; individuals who have contracted HIV by the time they are 24 often die of AIDS or related complications by the age of 35. Illness and absenteeism substantially increase pressures within the economy to provide health benefits as well as replace workers when necessary. Due to necessary medical expenses, the purchasing power of individuals is decreasing as well as the population which makes expenditures within the economy. Estimations suggest that in 2010 the South African economy was 22% smaller than it would have been in

a non-HIV scenario. The effects of HIV/AIDS cascade into all aspects of national development and on a larger scale it even effects development on the African continent as a whole. In income lost from the burden of HIV equates to \$17 billion dollars USD or about 5% of the countries' current GDP.

Overall, HIV/AIDS has done catastrophic damage to the nation of South Africa. The apartheid regime and their policy has left scars which are still obvious today. The 7 million South Africans who currently live with HIV/AIDS do so because of the neglect placed on them from the apartheid regime. A lack of understanding, care, and access to health services has facilitated the deaths of more than 5 million people in South Africa alone. The new government has made great strides to continuously improve health standards and bring that quality of care to the disenfranchised rural masses who are most greatly affected by the disease. Had greater action been taken sooner South Africa could have enjoyed a net growth of 2 to 4% per year, yet denialism has left them suffering both politically and economically.

All facets of South African life in regards to the HIV epidemic can be traced back to the establishment of the Bantustans. The Apartheid regime and its practices laid the foundation for continuing economic and medical disparities in South Africa between blacks and whites. Furthermore, the infighting between black sub-cultures within the Bantustans fostered a sense of mistrust and animosity, compounded with the overarching struggle due to white monopolization of medical access and economic resources. Current policy in South Africa is working to correct the disparity of access to healthcare however the number of individuals with HIV continues to rise. Thanks to these new efforts the rate at which HIV is contracted and spread has been decreasing in recent years and the Zuma administration has continued to make it clear that they have every intention of reaching their healthcare goals.

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THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL ASIA: FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO THE PRESENT

PAUL FREDERICI

Ariel Cohen- “the people of Kyrgyzstan have spoken – and acted’ and a ‘wave of democracy is sweeping the former Soviet Union”

The idea to spread democracy globally is not new. Since the early 1940’s, with the rise of communism, the mission of the United States, along with other western countries, has been to aid in the creation of new democratic states. However, as history has shown, western countries have not been successful in influencing fully functioning democracies in non-western states. Rather in some areas, democracy has been strongest where it has originated internally, as a result of domestic pressures. The fall of the Soviet Union in 1992 resulted in a massive wave of newly democratized states, some of them successful, others not so much. While much attention has been paid to newly emergent states such as Poland or Ukraine, little attention has been paid to former Soviet States of Central Asia.

Though it is a little known area of the globe, Central Asia is actually a region of considerable size, made up of countries that border China, India, and Russia. The five countries include Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. Why is Central Asia such an attractive piece of real estate? There is an abundance of oil and natural gas that can be harvested along with other resources that can potentially be exploited.¹ Another reason is that Central Asia is strategically located in proximity to the Middle East in the Western countries “War on Terrorism”. These two factors make Central Asia a region of interest.

While Central Asia has been largely spared from US attempts to

create a democracy, other world powers, particularly Russia, have long tried to influence it. As part of the Silk Road, Central Asia was a prime location for trade routes. As an ancient civilization, Central Asia has been part of several different empires. For most of its history, however, the region was a unique place where many different cultures and races were able to peacefully live amongst each other, whether they were settlers or nomads. Eventually, its geostrategic location attracted the attention of world powers. In the mid to late 1800’s, Tsarist Russia started to gradually conquer Central Asia, bringing the regional powers of the Emirates of Bukhara and Kokand, along with the Khanate of Kokand into the Russian sphere of influence.² The invasion of the Soviet Union in the 1920s solidified Russian control.

Under Soviet rule, Central Asia was subject to national and territorial state delimitation and divided into the five nations that are in place today.³ As a result of the Bolshevik delimitation, many number of peoples found that they were outside of the boundaries of their state. An example of this is the 433,000 Uzbeks that found themselves outside of Uzbekistan, with 82% of Uzbeks living within their country. Tajikistan had an even bleaker number with having only 75% of Tajiks living in Tajikistan. The Soviet Union needed to attempt to corral a people that were majority nomadic into national republics. The Communist Party leadership decided that it was necessary for Central Asia to have administrative centers, or cities, that were formed by sedentary populations. With this transition, it was expected that cities, along with capital cities would be under discussion and dispute. An example of this was the city of Tashkent

was given to Uzbekistan, which was the largest city in Turkestan, however Kazakhstan wanted to make Tashkent into their capital. Kazakhstan was motivated to act because of their understanding that Uzbekistan was to take Samarkand as their capital city. Ultimately, the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan awarded Tashkent to Uzbekistan as a city with an absolute majority of Uzbek population.⁴ The purpose of this haphazard division was to weaken the ethnic and linguistic identity of the region, making Central Asia easier to control.

“The post- Stalin Soviets wanted the illusion of some independence while remaining in constant control. The goal was still to keep Central Asia as a secular region.”

Under the leadership of Soviet Premier Vladimir Lenin, it was a long term goal to eradicate religion not only in the Soviet Union, but also its territories including Central Asia. However, Lenin did not push hard on this issue as he was attempting to establish a communist governmental structure. He thought that the establishment of government was more important than the social structure of a communist society. When Josef Stalin eventually became premier, he pushed harder to eradicate religion, especially Islam in Central Asia.⁵ Under Joseph Stalin, his successor, Nikita Khrushchev, the process of de-Stalinization started and the mass repression imposed by Stalin was officially condemned. Throughout, the ethos of Soviet ideology remained unchanged.⁶ One major deal that Khrushchev gave to the Central Asian region was the allowance and re-emergence of Islam. However, it was a modified Islam that was controlled and managed by Moscow. The post- Stalin Soviets wanted the illusion of some independence while remaining in constant control. The goal was still to keep Central Asia as a secular region.⁷

With the fall of the Soviet Union came the birth of five new nations that had no history of statehood prior to Soviet rule, drawing the attention of democratic nations. These five nations were forced to create new governments, with clearly defined governmental powers. The United States, along with other western nations, had a vested interest in ensuring these new states were democratic. US policymakers strongly believe that in order to have a more secure world there needs to be more democracy. That belief escalated after the attacks on the World Trade Centers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. U.S. President George W. Bush believed that fragile democracies are the roots of terrorism and tyranny. With the attacks so fresh in the mind, and the fear

of another attack, even President Bush’s most vocal opponents supported U.S. efforts at democratization with the sole idea that it would make the U.S. safer. However, the U.S. does not want just any kind of democracy, but one that is beholden and has a regional alliance with the U.S.⁸

The question is with U.S. insistence on democracy world-wide, has the Central Asian region become a democratic region? On paper, the answer is a simple yes. They regularly hold elections in which people vote. In reality, however, they largely continue to be like most other Post-Soviet authoritarian regimes. After gaining independence from Soviet Russia all Central Asian countries except for Tajikistan were able to successfully hold their first elections. But these elections were conducted under questionable circumstances.⁹

Central Asian elections did feature political parties. The former Communist leaders of these countries could not outlaw opposition parties outright, since that would instantly delegitimize the “democratic” elections of the new presidents. So instead, former Party leaders minimized opposing parties by creating obstacles to prevent opponents from running. The majority of the obstacles were administrative or bureaucratic, which allowed for opponents in theory but not in practice.¹⁰ Political campaigns were strictly regulated. For example, in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan political rallies are not allowed. There is limited election material with little to no visual reminders except for the occasional billboard stating that an election is even taking place. This keeps turnout low and loyalties high.¹¹ The sole purpose was to make sure that anyone attaining office would be beholden to the government and party.¹² Formation of loyalty pyramids were further encouraged by the Soviet imposed ethnic diversity of these countries. Western style political parties, centered on ideology, were simply not a feature of Central Asian political life.

All five of the Central Asian countries featured semi-presidential systems with strong authority placed in the office of the president. Presidential powers in Central Asia have devolved from leaders of their parties to individual cults of personality. They now act more as the head of a network of elites, whose only goal is to remain in power and keep strict control over their countries in a way that benefits their own personal interests. Unfortunately, their means of consolidating their power has only hurt their citizens and hindered their economic development.¹³ Furthermore, elites in Central Asian countries have realized that they, too may act in their own interests as long as they satisfy the demands of the president. If the elite stop supporting their president or act in a way that their president disapproves of, they can be stripped of their position within government and lose all the benefits gained from that position. Elites will not be able to make any further gains

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and might lose anything and everything that they have attained in the past. Presidents are able to rule the elites through greed and fear. Greed and fear takes away the ability to turn against their president. The idea of possibly losing everything tends to keep people loyal. The rivalry between the elites makes it possible for the president to find allies to squash any possible following of the opposition.¹⁴ None of these practices satisfy US definitions of a functioning democracy.

Capitalism is thought to be an important co-requisite for democracy. In the case of Central Asia, its prospects for capitalism looked as almost as dim as its prospects for democracy. As part of the Soviet Union, Central Asian states functioned as specialized component of a highly integrated whole. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asian states were left with economies whose narrow focus lacked the diversity or the ability to produce goods for the local populace. Central Asia continued to use Russian currency until they were forced by Russia to create their own currency in 1993. In order to build the economy, Central Asia opened up to foreign investors.¹⁵ In 1992, with an opportunity to help develop the five new countries, the United States government quickly became the primary investor with the passing of the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets (FREEDOM) Support Act.¹⁶ As a primary investor the US would be in a position to greatly influence Central Asia. This hope was short lived.

In 2000 Russia elected Vladimir Putin President. Putin's aim was to put Russia back on the world stage and restore Russia's super power status. The Putin administration went on an ideological crusade against any and all western influence, including the idea of a democratic Central Asia.¹⁷ The United States wanted to have complete access and the opportunities to harness the natural resources from Central Asia. Under President Putin, Russia took complete control over Central Asia's natural resources and has become a major developer and purchaser of hydroelectricity, oil and gas. Russia has even been open to paying more for extracted oil and gas in Central Asia to maintain control of the region.¹⁸ Russia needs to keep Central Asia as an authoritarian region to maintain their political and economic influence in the region.

So why is there hope for democracy in Central Asia when all factors go against the idea? It is because there have already been movements towards democracy. Kyrgyzstan is the leading example for the idea of democracy. While Kyrgyzstan started off as a typical Post-Soviet state, in recent years there have been attempts at greater democratization. The people themselves have instigated revolutions to overthrow their authoritarian leaders. In 2005 the people of Kyrgyzstan started the Tulip Revolution and overthrew their leader, President Askar Akayev. President Akayev

had come to power promising democratic reforms but once elected became just another autocratic leader.¹⁹ The successful overthrow of Akayev emboldened hopes of democratic reform among the Kyrgyzs. The revolution was quick which shocked the rest of Central Asia's leaders. Other Central Asian leaders became fearful that they could be overthrown just as quickly.²⁰

Ultimately, the Tulip Revolution was unsuccessful at establishing true democracy in Kyrgyzstan. Theodor Tudoroiu



Kyrgyzstan, 2005

suggested that what looked like a democratic revolution only proved to be a limited rotation of ruling elites, while Scott Radnitz saw the same events as nothing more than a transfer of power.²¹ None-the-less, there are two factors that contributed to the idea that the Tulip Revolution was still a democratic movement. The first factor was the timing of the event. The revolution took place during a wave of similar events that have occurred in other post-Soviet countries like Georgia and Ukraine. Because of the timing of events, Kyrgyzstan was automatically put in the same wave that created an idea that there was sweeping democratization in the region.²² The second piece of evidence in favor of a democratic movement was Kyrgyzstan's own pre-2005 political history. In the 1990's, Kyrgyzstan demonstrated several democratic principles, including a relatively free media, the existence of secular and active opposition and an openness in the political system. With these factors, Kyrgyzstan has been ranked as a front runner among the other Central Asian countries for democracy. While the immediate outcome of the 2005 revolution led to more restrictions, like restrictions on the right to protest, the long term outcome is less established.²³ Some observers have noted major achievements in freedom of speech, freedom of the press and having a vibrant civil society and an active political opposition.²⁴ These are the building blocks of liberal democracy. More importantly, the revolution

was a democratic movement from within, rather than the result of Western influences in the region.

With all of these factors is it possible to have a more democratic region? Yes it is possible, but it will take a lot of work and diplomacy between nations. The largest factor in Central Asia not becoming a democracy appears to be Russia, with their stronghold on the regions' political and economic systems. As an economically dependent, landlocked region surrounded by unfriendly nations, there does not seem to be an immediate path towards a stable democracy. When and if democracy should occur, however, it will likely be established upon a firmly entrenched principles from within the population itself.

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DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SPHERE

JOHNATHON SKINNER

WHAT ONCE WAS...

When the Founding Fathers of the United States led colonials against the British Crown they were playing with something far more dangerous than fire. They were fighting for an idea in which a government is led by Man, rather than a government led by a King. At the time, the Founding Fathers did not have any concept of what the United States would become. Their only hope was that their fighting and sacrifice would not fail them in the end. Even now, that story has yet to turn its final page. With the draft of the Declaration of Independence, not just the most distinguished Founders, but all the Founding Fathers, politicians, soldiers, and normal colonials, established a new breed of freedom. One in which a monarch does not rule in its preferred flavor of God given tyranny. With the draft of The United States Constitution, a living, breathing document was created with the sole intention of establishing a framework of government for the people, by the people, and one that would evolve and change with the people and their politics.

Politics, however, is complicated. Easily one of the most complicated of the sciences. There are a multitude of variables and quite literally everything must be considered. But this is no strange descriptor for a science. In chemistry, biology, and physics there is an entire world of variables. These natural sciences struggle just as much as the formal and logical sciences such as the laws of arithmetic to derive, calculate, and solve the world's problems and inquiries. However, the social sciences of politics include a

variable that is infinitely more complicated to deal with: the human consciousness. This specific variable has no bounds; it does not stop changing. It can be molded into whatever shape is required and changes as frequently as the date. So, what happens when a capricious variable is placed in an indefinitely dynamic entity?

During the late 18th Century there was a great deal of strife and turmoil as the government began to form – wars and battles clashed, and the people skirmished against enemies from all sides. The people reacted to early established politics, for the most part, positively. The ideas brought forth by Locke and Rousseau a century beforehand were enlightening, to say the least, to what people wanted of their new home and the idea of being withdrawn from the power of the Crown was highly appealing. Soon the people realized without the monarchical system there needed to be something in place to maintain stability. The Founders wanted stability among the chaos as much as the ordinary citizens did. But, with the drafting of the Constitution, what did the Founders really create? They did not create the solid framework of government but instead created a brainless casting mold that can be altered every decade, year, or day if necessary to allow for a fluid framework of government.

The progression and evolution of the Constitution is simple and it did exactly what it was supposed to do: it progressed and evolved. But the complication that arose is that the Constitution was being measured and carried by a variable that was both designed to evolve and, in some ways, remain the same. That variable was the common man. There are, for example, constants



in society such as food and medicine. Food and medicine follow similar histories as they began out of necessity and evolved through devotion and hunger. Farmers and doctors alike share these constants and are the variable to be measured against. These variables have names and identities, dreams and aspirations, friends and families. The desires of these people are the most important things to them, but these desires change over time and simple words on a piece of paper cannot accommodate the constant flux of varying needs and wants. What became necessary for American politics was something both fluid and rigid, something that would hold the constants and the variables.

PUBLIC VS. POLITICS

Whether these constants are farmers, entrepreneurs, soldiers, cooks, teachers, or even scientists, these people are not politicians. Politicians receive a specific educational background and are trained to think in a germane atmosphere, making them well suited to handle politics. While democratic politicians are merely interpreters and surrogates for the common man, this relationship is intended to carry on as symbiotic between the common man and their representative politician. The common man tells the politician what they want and the politician translates it through legislation and policy and makes it happen or, in some situations, prevents something from happening. Many people, it seems, take this process for granted. Some people criticize the party systems that exist and attack the party leaders, committees, and policies. They question the machine and burn its oil without realizing that

they were the ones that supplied the nuts and bolts. The entire purpose of the political system is to create, maintain, and sustain stability and order amid the chaos but, obviously, something is being lost in translation. So, where does the Constitution go wrong in this formula?

It is easy for the average Joe to become blind to politics and corruption when there are more immediate concerns to attend to, such as their families and livelihoods, and sometimes the average Joe can be the one facilitating the corruptions with this blindness. The public is fickle and able to be used as a weapon against itself through the herd mentality and bandwagons in which others follow an idea or belief based upon common ground. When an outlier in a group begins to exert dominant behavior, passive individuals usually follow. This is often done subconsciously and the blindness that follows is seen immediately. Other times, this blindness is far more difficult to detect. All that is necessary is for certain people to lead others to believe that one thing is wrong and another is right and the public will begin to passionately attack legislation. These types of corruptions often target the common man and not the politics themselves.

The public will often initiate blame with the politicians because of the myriad of vulnerabilities to corruption in the political sphere. Corruptions such as closed-door negotiations, bribes, favors, and even threats drive politicians to do things contrary to their script regardless of their favored constituency. And then there are the “benevolent” vulnerabilities, such as generous donations,

campaign contributions, and charitable donations which are essentially alternate forms of bribes. These instances of corruption dwindle down to the brutal and sobering reality that politicians are no different than Joe. That the average Joe and the political Joe are equally foolish, equally brilliant, and equally human.

But not every form of corruption involves the transferal of money. There are times where information is kept from the public to conceal tragedy or scandal in the political sphere. And there are times in which only certain information is revealed to the public or some information is revealed in one place and the rest in another to influence perception of a situation. In these situations, the motive is all that matters. At times, why some things happen is more important than the actual policymaking. A man's motive is subjective based on what that individual wants – whether it be money, power, or influence – and this subjective perspective is what can lead to tragedy.

Even when examining the motives, the political policy that is enacted is not immune to scrutiny. The public often does not realize or acknowledge it, but policy can be a weapon or a shield. Policy carries the strength and fortitude of the entire United States government and can mean disaster or sanctuary for those in its wake. Herein lies another territory for critique, criticism, and danger as policy is presented by politicians. The course outlined by the policy could seem to be exactly what the public wants but in practice it may spell disaster because of the perception of the politician. These political goldbricks are the visage of change for some but the policy can be a harsh destination for others. Policy is also where politicians gain their favor by pushing the policy that a politician's constituents want, increasing the chances that politician can maintain their seat for an extended period.

There is, however, a disillusionment between the people and their politics. The uninformed or uneducated public does not see things the same way that politicians see things. The public wants to see things their own way and even the most benevolent politicians can seem malevolent if their constituents perceive them in this way. This shift from caring to wicked can occur rapidly with the presence of a scandal or a contradiction in policy. This is where the perception and interpretation becomes vital. Taxes, especially increased taxes, are typically considered a negative thing. It is one of the primary reasons the colonials wanted to separate themselves from the British Crown in the first place. The colonies were receiving heavy taxation with no representation in British Parliament. So, when the public suddenly faces heavier taxes for reasons they cannot or do not want to comprehend this causes concern for the people. This concern breeds fear and that fear breeds anger.

As the public places blame on politicians, politicians can use

the party system to shift blame. There were, at first, no parties. Then came the Federalist Party, then the Democratic-Republican Party, which then split unto the dual-party system we have today. These initial parties grew around captivating individual actors. The only variables are the groups that came and went through the years that rolled alongside or against these two parties. These groups, or few independents, served roles exclusive to their goals. This party system serves as a tremendous “out” for politicians whenever there is a scandal, controversy, or dilemma in the political sphere through the simple strategy of shifting perspectives. Though scandals and controversies can be difficult to erase, there simply needs to be a perpetuation of truths, half-truths, or complete falsehoods and the data gets so twisted it is no longer interesting or even trustworthy in the eyes of the public.

While sometimes appearing erratic, blame is typically thrown in calculated directions. The class structure of early American politics is designed to entertain this blame. Class influence towards politics has always been a sharp indicator of what needs to happen in the political sphere. The lower class has always been the loudest and struggled the most while the upper class is always the quietest and, in some measure, struggles the least. This is a simple understanding of where the money and influence lies. But the volume levels of these classes are what's important. The lower class has little money to offer the government and provides the loudest retort. The upper class often offers little to no noise but has the most money to offer the government for policy and favors. This is translated through interest groups and lobbyists. Then lies the class perception, not just from the government but from the other classes. The upper class sees the fault in the lower classes and lower classes sees fault in the upper classes. This juxtaposition is omnipresent in the class structure and will never fade so long as the classes continue. And even if the class structure ceases, it will only be replaced by another structure. A classless society in which all things are communally owned, such as Karl Marx's ideological utopia, Communism, was to be the cure that plagues the socio-economic sphere of a nation – and a staple of American economics – Capitalism. As the former USSR can attest, to abolish the causes of this dysfunction would surely cause chaos, especially if done improperly.

Fortunately, the Founding Fathers were no strangers to the chaos and they knew full well that the public would only tolerate so much dysfunction. The public rebelling against the newfound government became commonplace. Soldiers stood against their commanding officers after being faced with poor conditions and little or no pay. The Founding Fathers had to encompass something very important to their new government: Compromise. This compromise came in many forms, substituting one pleasantry for

another such as offering bread with no butter or butter with no bread. Challenging decisions had to be made at a frequency that almost favored the chaos or counter-revolution, especially when slavery became the topic of debate. The Three-Fifths Compromise arose when attempting to determine to which degree slaves were to be counted for state population and representation. The Missouri Compromise allowed the creation of the free-state Maine after Missouri was to be made into a slave state. The list goes on. In the end, these compromises worked because of the interpretation through the party systems. The presence of the party system and representation through the appropriate system allowed all voices to be heard through the chaos and compromise to be made for all interested and most affected parties, barring the slaves.

A population's actions become their voice. The government must listen to that voice and answer in return, often through policy. This reprisal of agent and event causation continues endlessly. Conflict can arise from any direction, whether it starts with the public or starts with the policy. Public opinion, when it comes to conflict management, tends to lean towards the favor of the public. The same concept applies to the government. This is where the compromise previously mentioned comes in. In modern times, the process is immense. Hundreds, if not thousands, of people are responsible for policy to be enacted in the government sector and, likewise, a mirroring number of the public is required to garner attention to particular issues. But this attention is perceived differently depending on how it is portrayed. After all, Government Joe is Average Joe only interpreted from different standpoints. Perception and interpretation is the key ingredient in politics. Just as a policy holds a certain levy of weight depending on how many people are watching, a political scandal is defined in the same manner.

How, and even if, the public sees a scandal can determine the weight of the outcome. The same applies to arrogance, boasting, and show-boating from a political Joe. The more people who see it, the stronger it becomes. These scandals can have a variety of outcomes and depending on how strong the reaction is the outcomes can be night and day. The public could overreact and panic could set in, or the public could just ignore it. The condition is the day. A scandal can make or break a man, more so in politics as the saying "everybody loves a scandal" exists for a reason. Scandals from sex to war flow in an out of political offices as often as the people who hold them. Senators, congressman, and especially presidents are profoundly susceptible to temptation and even simple mistakes while their motives vary from minor indiscretions, to corruption, to profiteering, and sometimes even just a statement in a backroom that gets overheard out of context. These scandals can have antipodean effects on the prestige of

the chair even for the highest level of political Joe. If a Senator or House Representative gets caught up in a scandal it might make the news in some places and shame the person. A Senator or House Republican could resign or be removed from office depending on the severity of the scandal. If the President gets hit with a scandal it garners international attention. Impeachment or withdrawal from office are, it seems, not always a critical aspect to the process, but they are still available options. This is also a point in which the weight of a scandal is measured and repercussions are administered. It is entirely possible for these politicians to suffer a blow to his or her prestige and that's it.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE?

Democracy is, in its core, a people's government as laid out by the Constitution. The choices made are made by the public, whether it is through direct action and voting or through elected representatives. Based on what has already been discussed, is it logical to give power to the people? And based on this question, it becomes possible to second guess whether the people must not have power. If power was given solely to the government, the government would have absolute power with no interference from the public and be it an aristocracy, monarchy, or a dictatorship, something else would replace the former. With the possibility of revolution, this government could be overthrown and replaced and merely be followed by an abominable cycle of tyrannical governments. So, then the people must have the power or at least a metered value of power. This division of power must be approached carefully, so this is where the elected representatives are of vital integration. In a representative democracy or a republic, the people elect representatives to speak on their behalf and push policy that fit the greatest majority of wants and needs for their constituents or the majority as a whole.

Individuals are capable of a great deal of critical thinking, but only when they are individuals. Only when individual thought and understanding are present will a reasonable conclusion be found based upon the sole traits of that individual. If someone is influenced outside of their own thought, it destroys the process. Hence why provision of power to the public is dangerous and must be approached carefully; the public is a mob. Hundreds of thousands of opinions, prejudices, and backgrounds are present at any given moment, and all as fluid as the blood in their veins. This is because, as previously mentioned, the public is fickle and the opinions of individuals can be easily swayed. Combined with the unintelligence of the masses, calculated and logical thinking is profoundly difficult if not entirely impossible to conjure when such a fervor is mustered.

Ultimately, where does the power lie? Politicians and political

elites have tremendous amounts of power. The phrase “money makes the world go around”, while astronomically false, is still entirely well suited. Money is many things: greed, power, influence. Money forces people and things to move; it is a fuel of force. It is compelling against human nature as a necessity for laziness, comfort, and desire, and the only thing stronger than money is humanity. When the sky falls and people are in the way of debris, others will move them and not for the sake of money but for the sake of humanity. Humanity is the fuel of humans. While political elites use their money and influence to buy those who will sell themselves for laziness, comfort, and desire, those who are fueled by humanity stand steadfast. Money lies in the hands of those who think they have power; the minority of the masses. When the will of the majority becomes that which will not tolerate the power of the minority, there will be either a power shift, or a perspective shift. That of which has yet to be seen by either the Founders or the modern public.

WHO TELLS WHO WHAT TO DO?

Children are born as blank slates and feast upon information every second of every moment. And while adults do the same, it is not nearly at the same rate as children. These ideological meals play an important role as to what they become not only 10 or 20 years from then, but 10 or 20 days, or even minutes from then. As a child, it is important to have very little ambition to do things on your own or your own way without the proper meal. Otherwise, it could lead to more than just stomach cramps in the pool. So, who tells a child how to do something, what to think, and what to do? Why, the parent of course! And the parents went through the same process when they were a child and they gorged on ideology and practice. But who tells the parent what to do or what to think as an adult? Information comes from a painfully wide variety of sources. The reason this variety is painful is because a sizeable portion of these sources have motives to reap your attention, and reap they shall.

Political interest groups and advocacy groups serve great and noble purposes. They act as a bullhorn for the public to set the starting point for policy in government by allowing the opportunity for citizens to participate in a democratic political process. Complications can arise when these groups are not primarily controlled by the public. When interest groups are controlled by corporations or other political influencers the meals they serve may not be the healthiest options.

Some, if not most, people feel the need they must be an authority on something. It gives them a little bit of power and influence over others. The most knowledgeable – or simply the loudest – person on a topic is likely the one talking the most.

But more importantly, others are listening. The ideological meals previously mentioned have a few entrées on authority and while some children must be repeatedly fed this meal, one sentiment typically comes across; obey authority. And while this meal generally refers to law enforcement officers, it also translates to just another Joe. But this Joe has been given authority via your attention and the attention of others.

If you're told to take a few steps to the right otherwise a piano will fall on your head, you would more than likely step to the right. It's hard to imagine having a piano fall on your head would improve your day. But when you're told to keep stepping to the right because there will be more pianos falling, eventually you may start to fear the lunatic that's dropping pianos. So, when one person starts talking about falling pianos as though they've been dodging them their entire life, you listen. You start to consider those falling pianos and start moving to the right out of fear of a piano falling on your head. Then you tell your friends and family about the dangers of falling pianos and plead with them to join you or else they could get hit with a falling piano. If someone says the phrase “falling pianos” enough, you're going to look up every now and then and worry.

The public is a mass easily moved and an idea is stronger than any man and can be far more devastating than any degree of artillery or munitions. An idea can move people contrary to what they think is right; it can change anything. So, when you're told to move to one side or another for your safety you just assume that side is safer and better and the fools on the other side are dooming themselves. But those interest groups are clever, far more so than some give them credit, because they can make you think the idea to avoid the pianos by stepping to the other side was yours.

This very same practice is used to influence far more than your skepticism of falling pianos, however. Nearly every single aspect of your life is determined by the actions and opinions of others, but this is not a terrible thing. Remember, some of those people are your parents who, for the most part, had the strongest and most sincere motives at heart when providing your meals. But, as an adult, why buy *that* specific car? Why buy *those* specific shoes? Why read *that* magazine? Chances are someone else's opinion influenced your purchase or perspective, whether it was as direct as a review of the product or as indirect as a judgement of your previous car, shoes, or reading material. Political interest groups do the same thing. When using the media, in any form, you're driven towards certain ideas. Sometimes those ideas are contrary to what you originally believe or contrary to what your parents believed. There is, fortunately, a solution to these problems of forced thought. It is simply to educate and think for yourself. This is a simple challenge that not many can accomplish. But I'm just another Joe. Who am I to tell you what to think?

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Brittany Nicole Cox attended CRC 2015-2017 and transferred to Stanford University to pursue a BS in medical biology. She will attend medical school to become a cardio-thoracic surgeon and pursue a career in the delivery of humanitarian aid throughout the third world as a member of MSF or other global NGO. Her cover, “A Sad State of Affairs,” depicts the Statue of Liberty sitting on the proposed border wall while a sanctuary city burns in the background. Beneath the wall lies the edge of the constitution with a grenade upon it. Brittany’s work reflects the outcome of the 2016 election.

Sorraya Houmani is a CRC student pursuing an AA degree in Social Sciences (Spring, 2017). “Farewell to Freedom” is a multimedia piece featuring two real democratic voters’ reaction to the results of the 2016 US presidential election and elicits a feeling of threat and urgency toward preserving the civil rights Americans have fought so hard to achieve. Sorraya plans to transfer to CSU Sacramento in 2018 and continues to connect with her community by creating original works of art at home.

Greg McCormac rescued this division over the 2016-2017 year as Interim Dean. He gave his time, energy and enthusiasm to our students and they wanted to thank him for all he did. We will miss him.

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