

C O S U M N E S R I V E R C O L L E G E

GLOBUS MUNDI

DEPARTMENT OF
**POLITICAL SCIENCE &
GLOBAL STUDIES**
JOURNAL – VOL. 4



DEDICATION

CRC President Debbie Travis has constantly shown her support for the activities, events and special projects undertaken by this department. Despite the effects the financial crisis years had on higher education in California, her support and encouragement never ceased. Thanks to her, our classrooms have never lacked resources and our events have always been supported. Globus Mundi continues to be funded and our first Model UN team had the opportunity to attend its first conference. This is just a short list of what could have never been possible if it weren't for her leadership.

Thank you, Debbie!

MARTIN F. MORALES

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



This year marks the second major transfer of students from our program to the University of California, the California State University System and to The American University in Rome and Washington, DC. Yet, the numbers in Valeté tell another story. What’s going on here?

True, we celebrate the achievements of our transferees **Emily Bills, Bruna Cunha, David Cuoto, Brendan Glapion, Joseph Johnson, Yuleima Lozano, Taylor Martin, Roberto Rizzo, Diego Rodriguez, Nimra Syed, Genesis Tang** and **Samantha Whitt**. But do these departures leave us with no students in the Dept. of Global Studies? Obviously not. What is left, however, is a vacuum. We have been blessed by having an unusually large cohort of students, indeed a “Friends of Global Studies”—who are either done taking major classes and must now complete their GE requirements (**Clarissa Bailey, Hana El-Khayat, Cecilia Gonzalez, Cynthia Mesa, Leni Gonzalez, Noelle and Danielle Walsh, Julio Muniz** and **Julian Ramos**) or they were taking classes as electives with their friends. The point is this: it seems as if everybody is leaving. The challenge for next year, like it was in 2012, is to create another strong cohort and continue to build this program.

Premised Nihilistic Dissidence: One of the highlights of this year was being able to teach our newest course, “**Revolutionary Ideology**.” This course fascinated me as

a student and a lot of the ideas I studied found their way into lectures and discussion over the years. The course progressed chronologically and covered major revolutions and ideologies. I am thankful to alumnus **Ryan Neach** for his contributions to what became two lectures, one on “Religious Thought as Revolution” and the other “Non-Violence as a Tool of Protest: Mohandas Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King.”

The newest addition to our program came in the form of an extra-curricular activity: **Model United Nations**. We had planned to create a course and proceed academically. To my delight, students took the initiative and chartered a club. They met from the beginning of the academic year through the conference and worked diligently on drafting background studies, issues briefs, position papers and resolutions. They requested a lecture on their country over Christmas break and, accordingly, on January 4th, we met on an almost empty campus to study Morocco together. Their work at the conference was nothing short of spectacular as our team represented Morocco in the Security Council, General Assembly and in every committee. They were prepared and did quite well in debate. They’ve set the bar high for their successors and leave with a unique set of skills that will benefit them in upper division courses. They also leave with the Slanczka Award in Diplomacy—an accomplishment for a first year team. The Model UN was led

by its President, **Taylor Martin**. Together with **Emily Bills** (VP) and **Clarissa Bailey** (Secretary), they made sure that the work was done on time and that everyone was prepared. They also wrote a funding request to the Associated Students and appeared before them to both present it and answer questions. Their commitment, dedication and organizational skills merit acknowledgement as does their leadership at the MUNFW Conference in April. Well done, team!

This year marks a return to hosting on-campus events. My colleague, Beth Huffman, invited photo-journalist Micah Albert to campus during the fall semester and he exhibited “**Documenting the Forgotten**,” a photography exhibit showing people in crisis throughout the world. Our students, numbering approximately 200, were visually wowed by the photographs and thoroughly enjoyed Micah’s anecdotes. I hosted “**Brave Miss World**,” a documentary by Cecilia Peck focused on Linor Arbargil. Linor was crowned Miss World 1998 after having been brutally raped only seven weeks prior to the competition. Her journey as an advocate for rape victims worldwide takes her from her native Israel to South Africa and the US and serves as a lesson in both awareness and empowerment. A panel discussion followed this March 5th showing and it consisted of LRCCD-PD Captain John McPeck, CSUS Victim’s Rights Advocate Jessica Heskin, WEAVE Prevention & Education Coordinator Brenna Lammerding and CRC Counselor Alex Kagan. Over 250 students attended this very emotional event; many others were able to join through a live-stream set up by Jim Lovett in Media Services. Later in March, alumni Marius Iordache and Ryan Neach presented at the department’s inaugural colloquium on “**Internships and Networking**” and “**Paternal Alliances: How Hegemonic States are Losing Control Over Their Smaller Allies**,” respectively. Marius discussed his internship at the Commission on European Security and Cooperation through the UCDC program (UC Davis, fall 2013 semester) and Ryan showed transferring IR students the type and level of work they will be expected to do next year. Mentorship at its best!

This year, our department was fortunate enough to be able to place several students into internships. **Yuleima Lozano** interned at the California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce and also for the California Democratic Party. Joining her at the Cal-Dems was **Emily Bills**, **Bruna Cunha** and **Nimra Syed**. The highlight of their internship was the California Democratic State Convention in March. Nimra was a lead for volunteers, checking them in and delegating where they needed to be. Yuli helped with communications—including press coverage. Bruna worked registration, helped staff the general session and assisted with event organization. Emily worked endorsements, over-seeing how different districts planned to vote, delegating where and what volunteers needed to be doing in endorsement caucuses. She also assisted with counting ballots.

This year’s edition of *Globus Mundi* marks **Emily Bills**’ debut as Editor. Her article, “Islamic Feminism: Its Importance and Influence in Muslim Societies” discusses how feminism is taking root in traditionally male dominated societies in the Middle East and is slowly making positive changes in policy and society. Emily leaves CRC for UC Santa Barbara to continue her studies in International Relations.

My colleague **Beth Huffman** contributes “Scotland: Land of the Brave and Proud Land of the Free” to this volume. In it, she discusses the Scottish referendum and its consequences for the UK and EU.

Alumnus **Rich Floyd** contextualizes historic changes in modern Iran in “The US and Iran: A Twisted History from the Time of the Hostage Crisis.” Rich attended CRC 2009-2011 and transferred to Cal State Bakersfield from where he graduated with a BA in Political Science. He attends CSUS in pursuit of a Master’s Degree in California Government.

Julian Ramos wrote “Cyber Executive: Thought on Robotic Warfare, the Surveillance State and Technique.” His article, inspired by readings from Jacques Ellul in *Revolutionary Ideology*, focuses on the role of technology and what Ellul refers to as “technique” vis. man’s ability to wage a

new style of technological war. Julian continues at CRC next year to complete his required coursework for transfer.

Julio Muñiz, Diego Rodriguez and Roberto Rizzo, in *Globus Mundi's* first multi-authored article, "An Analysis of the Current Mexican State," discuss how conditions in Mexico seem to indicate a readiness for revolution. The focal point of the article is not advocacy for revolution but, rather, an evaluation of recent policy initiatives. Both Diego and Roberto leave CRC for UC Davis where they will study International Relations; Julio will continue at CRC next year to complete his required coursework for transfer.

Can Venezuela continue down the road Chavez started it on? What impact has his death had on Venezuela? **Yuli Lozano** examines the impact and legacy of Hugo Chavez in "The Bolivarean Legacy." Yuli will be attending UC Berkeley next year to study International Relations. She plans to pursue a law degree after she graduates from Cal with the goal of prosecuting human rights violators.

Taylor Martin, my TA and Associate Editor for *Globus Mundi*, wrote "Mafia Politics." Her article focuses on Russia's recent foreign policy initiatives and provides case studies filtered through the prism of the psychology of organized criminal syndicates. Taylor leaves CRC for American University where, as Honors student, she will continue her studies in International Relations.

Amir Terovic writes of genocide in "Never Again or Inevitable? A Modern Take on Genocide." His article commences with a review of the conditions and political psychology necessary for genocide to take place and thereafter examines the genocides in Rwandan and Bosnia & Herzegovina. Amir will continue at CRC next year to complete his required coursework for transfer.

Nimra Syed examines the issues Pakistan has faced in its short sixty six year history in "Pakistan's Paradox: Identity Crisis and Geopolitical Conflict Threatens the Future." Nimra leaves CRC for UC Berkeley where she will continue her studies in International Relations.

This is the first time in *Globus Mundi's* short history that

we've had too many articles to publish in our printed format. Accordingly, we present our first dual platform issue (print and on-line) and include articles on the DRC, political Islam and thoughts on US foreign policy exclusively on-line.

The situation in DRC is complex and fraught with disturbing details. **Nicole Cameron's** article, "The Democratic Republic of Congo: Africa's World War and its Aftermath" examines many of the factors involved in understanding the seemingly endless issues African states face. Nicole continues on at CRC next year studying IR and will be my Teaching Assistant.

Daniel Lumbang examines the role religion plays in nation-states' policy. His article, "The Force of Religion," focuses on the role of Islam across the Middle East and Turkey. Daniel will continue at CRC next year to complete his required coursework for transfer.

Matt Akin, in his second submission to *Globus Mundi*, looks down the road at future US foreign and military policy in the aftermath of the war in Afghanistan. His article, "Analyzing the Afghanistan War to Determine America's Next Foreign Policy" has insights of continued study and military service.

The initial plan for *Globus Mundi* was to have two unique editions: the 5th and 10th. The fifth will be an alumni edition and the tenth will be an all faculty issue; **Emily Bills** will be Editor for Volume V. Emily has given so much to this department in the two years she's been here. I remember meeting her in my IR class and being impressed by the depth of her answers on the first midterm. Since then she has taken a multitude of IR classes—doing very well in each—and has maintained a perfect grade point average (4.0) while at CRC. Emily was instrumental in getting "Brave Miss World" to CRC and this level of commitment to both the department and college was recognized with Emily being awarded the 2014 Associated Students' Outstanding Contribution and Service Award. She leaves us for UC Santa Barbara. I look forward to collaborating with her in the future and to her visits.

The Department of Global Studies has a dedicated alumni chapter that has been led by **Marius Iordache** since its creation. Marius is leaving California and turns the chapter over to **Yuli Lozano**. Faculty, students and alumni are grateful to Marius for his extensive mentoring efforts, his willingness to come back to help staff events and his efforts at coordinating activities. I will miss my friend and wish him well.

The last two years have been quite busy. We finished building our curriculum, devoted extensive time to our clubs (Model UN and Informed Thinkers), hosted several events on and off campus and held a departmental orientation for incoming international relations and political science students. We've built up our internship offerings and successfully placed students. We've continued to work on *Globus Mundi* and our alumni chapter and, of course, prepped, taught, graded and advised students. I could not have done any of it were it not for the tremendous support **Taylor Martin** provided these last two years. Taylor, like Emily, stood out early in her first semester. Last year, she stepped in to help with editing this journal and has, since then, been a key contributor to the department. Taylor has taught section, assisted with curriculum development, helped create and ultimately led the Model United Nations team, organized and staffed events, served as Associate Editor to *Globus Mundi* and guest-lectured in history and political science courses. Her constant presence in my office and classes will be missed. Taylor is the first recipient of the prestigious Chris Corona Model Leadership & Service Award and the 2014 Associated Students' Outstanding Contribution & Service Award. She will, undoubtedly, shine as an Honors Student at AU.

This transfer class, like the class of 2012, consists of amazing people. The sense of community we shared over the last two years—in class, at our standing Wednesday night dinners and other campus/off-campus events—was truly special. I am privileged to have had these students in my classes and to share a small portion of their academic lives. I

will miss them all and hope that they return for visits.

Future editions of *Globus Mundi* will follow, yearly. Alumni, students and faculty will be asked to submit papers and literature reviews for consideration on topics from international relations, economics, history and theoretical issues as they concern global affairs.

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

We look forward to your continued readership.

ALUMNI NEWS

MARIUS IORDACHE

WELCOME TO VOLUME IV'S ALUMNI NEWS!

This year will see a large addition of membership to the Global Studies Alumni Chapter. There are thirteen students transferring in May, all of whom are going to the University of California (at Berkeley, Davis and Santa Barbara). The exception is Taylor Martin: she will be attending The American University in Washington, DC. To them all I say “Congratulations!” and encourage them to stay in touch with each other and, of course, Professors Morales and Huffman.

I'm happy to see that faculty is once again hosting events at CRC. It has been two long years without any events - this is in sharp contrast to my years at CRC when the department hosted an event every third week. These events, as much as the time we spent in classrooms and reading, really made a difference in informing us: they made our major real. I hope that Professors Morales and Huffman continue to host events and that the college supports them. This year, Professor Huffman invited Micah Albert, a renowned photographer who has taken photographs in very dangerous places to show his work and discuss his working environments. Micah's presentation, “Documenting the Forgotten,” was a collection of very rich photographs showing people around the world that have been left behind by conflict or crisis. He was invitingly informal and provided great context for his images. Professor Morales showed “Brave Miss World” in March. The subject of this documentary was the rape and subsequent advocacy work by former Ms. World Linor Arbargil. Both events were full beyond capacity and generated great

discussions. I'm happy that I was able to staff the “Brave Miss World” screening for Professor Morales.

Alumni had a few events this year. Professor Morales held his annual student dinner at his Elk Grove home and those of us who were able to attend got to meet and talk about IR with incoming students. Over Christmas vacation, alumni met in Mid-Town for a holiday dinner and a night on the town. A few of us attended the Russian Festival in San Francisco (February). At the end of the semester, Professor Morales will be hosting a goodbye party for those students who are transferring. Lastly, a couple of students are looking to travel to Argentina with Professor Morales in January. I hope the tradition of getting together continues.

As an alum, I'm jealous of two things that took place this year—things that weren't possible while I was at CRC. First, Professor Morales was able to teach “Revolutionary Ideology,” a class he discussed and wrote while I was here as a student. I was able to sit in for the first few weeks and wished the class had been offered while I was here: the content was equivalent to what I got at UC Davis. I was really happy to hear that my classmate Ryan Neach helped with the lecture design for a couple of classes (“Religious Thought as Revolution” and “Non-Violence as a tool of Protest: Gandhi and Dr. King”). The other thing that we did not have while I was here was a Model United Nations. The conference was held in April and I know the team did well in representing their assigned country (Morocco) and CRC. Ryan Neach and I guest-spoke for Professor Morales' Latin American Politics class on two different subjects. Ryan presented his work on “Paternal Alliances” to show

transferring IR students what lies ahead for them and I spoke about my internship for the Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe to stress how important internships and networking are in this field.

This is the fourth edition of *Globus Mundi*. I remember sitting in BS 129 with my classmates discussing the original idea that led to the journal, watching our editor outline what she wanted and seeing my classmates research and write about their topics. I'm happy to see it continue! Next year will be an all alumni issue and I hope both my classmates and this new group of transfers send in their work for publication.

The news for alumni is tremendous this year. In no particular order, I'm pleased to report the following:

Ryan Neach graduated from San Francisco State University with a BA in International Relations December, 2013. He started graduate school in his last semester of study as an undergraduate and will be continuing on through his Master's Degree. He was named Managing Editor for the SFSU IR Graduate Journal.

Rich Floyd, also my classmate, will be starting his Master's program in California Politics at CSUS this fall. He wishes to work at the State Capitol.

Gabi Castillo interns in Senator Diane Feinstein's Los Angeles Office while attending UCLA.

Michelle Nolan, currently attending UC Santa Cruz, is going to Washington DC through the UCDC program. Her internship will be for the University of California Federal Governmental Relations. She will be attending committee meetings pertaining to higher education while attending events and doing research.

Ashley Torres, one of my classmates at both CRC and UC Davis, will be going to Washington, DC through the UCDC Program. (We don't know what her internship will be at press time.)

Monique Matar was admitted to USC Law School. Her undergraduate work at UCSB (IR and German) will make her a formidable human rights attorney.

Ryan King, Professor Morales' former TA, left his position on Nancy Pelosi's staff for a position in the Senate Majority Leader's Office. Ryan serves on Senator Harry Reid's staff as Communications Operations Manager.

Lena Brewster was hired on as Adjunct Faculty at Blinn College in Texas; she teaches US Government and Texas State Government. She was Professor Morales' first TA at CRC (2003-2005).

Giovanni Martinez, my classmate, will start graduate school at Loyola Marymount University this fall (MA in Directing).

Genesis Tang, transferring this year, won a fully funded scholarship to the Summer Program for Research and Cultural Immersion at Universidad de Guanajuato en Mexico.

Ally Hergenraeder, Executive Director for the San Francisco Democratic Party, facilitated a temporary communications position with CalBike for her former classmate Josh Sharyar.

Myles White, my classmate at CRC and UC Davis, is graduating with his BA in Political Science and plans to attend Harvard University to pursue a joint JD/MBA degree after he takes a year off.

One of my favorite questions to ask Professor Morales is "Who came back to see you?" This year, he was visited by: Kevin Woldhagen, Rich Floyd, Julian Harris, Vania Klee, Chris Zraggen, Alex Hays, Frank Smiley, Ryan Neach, Giovanni Martinez, Matt MacAuley, Candi Moreno, Angie Torres, Ryan King, Myles White, Gabi Castillo, Kathleen Soriano, Amanda Domingues and Jacob Velazquez. Come visit—he loves it and it allows him to show you off to his current students.

This year is a lot like the year my class transferred for Professors Morales and Huffman. A large group of students is transferring and they have to create another successful cohort. I know they will. Taylor Martin will be succeeded by Nicole Cameron as TA. Judging from what I saw at "Brave Miss World," Professor Morales is in good hands. His current TA, Taylor Martin won the Chris Corona Model Leadership & Service Award and the 2014 AS Outstanding Contribution & Service Award. Congratulations!

The other big change coming to the Professors is my resignation as President of the Alumni Association. I was lucky to intern in Washington, DC last fall for the CSCE. I loved my time in Washington and am anxious to return. I was able to secure a position in the Foreign Relations Section of the US Department of State where I hope to be posted to South America (Buenos Aires) or Eastern Europe (Moldova) and represent our country's policies overseas. I am thrilled by the challenges that are ahead of me and know that without what I got here at CRC—I would not be where I am today or even able to contemplate where I am going. My replacement as President is Yuli Lozano. I know she will be able to take this Chapter to the next level and look forward to reading her "Update" in subsequent volumes.

I want to thank my classmates and Professors Morales and Huffman for getting me to this point. I want to wish this transfer class every success in their futures and remind them to do as my class has tried to do: mentor your successors, give back to the Department of Global Studies and always work to keep the network intact.

VALETE

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

EMILY BILLS	GLOBAL STUDIES; MINOR IN WOMEN, CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT: UCSB
DAVID CUOTO	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, ROME
BRUNA CUNHA	POLITICAL SCIENCE – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MAJOR: UC BERKELEY
BRENDAN GLAPION	POLITICAL SCIENCE: UC BERKELEY
OSSAMA KEMAL	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; BUSINESS MANAGEMENT: UC SAN DIEGO
YULEIMA LOZANO	POLITICAL SCIENCE – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MAJOR: UC BERKELEY
JOSEPH L. JOHNSON	GOVERNMENT: CSU SACRAMENTO
TAYLOR MARTIN	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HONORS SCHOLAR AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, DC
JOSE MORENO	SOCIOLOGY; GOVERNMENT MINOR: CSU SACRAMENTO
ROBERTO RIZZO	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS – DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: UC DAVIS
DIEGO RODRIGUEZ	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS – DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: UC DAVIS
NIMRA SYED	POLITICAL SCIENCE – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MAJOR: UC BERKELEY
GENESIS TANG	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS – DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: UC DAVIS
SAMANTHA WHITT	GLOBAL STUDIES: UCSB

SCOTLAND: LAND OF THE BRAVE AND PROUD LAND OF THE FREE

BETH HUFFMAN

Here among my mountains wild I have serenely smiled
When armies and empires against me were hurled
Firm as my native rock I have withstood the shock
Of England, of Denmark, or Rome and the world¹

INTRO

In the year 1314, Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, defeated the English army at the Battle of Bannockburn, during the Scottish wars of independence. Almost 700 years later, in 2014, the Scots may reclaim this victory, this time using ballots instead of swords. On September 18, 2014, all residents of Scotland over the age of 16 will be asked, “Should Scotland be an independent country?” A simple “Yes” vote of “50% plus one” will be enough to start negotiations for Scotland’s succession from the United Kingdom.² What happens after that, however, is anyone’s guess.

The Scottish quest for independence is, on the one hand, a surprising occurrence. While nationalist sentiments have long brewed in the country, Scotland is, for all intents and purposes, a well-integrated and integral part of the United Kingdom and the European Union. Its laws and policies are standardized with those of Europe and its economy is integrated with the world. Theories of globalization would suggest that nationalist yearnings

would be dampened in favor of European or even global notions of citizenship.

On the other hand, Scottish independence is also consistent with modern devolutionist trends. Scottish independence takes place against a backdrop of a declining modern nation state in an increasingly interdependent, globalized world. With power and influence shifting away from sovereign nation states in favor of global corporations and supranational organizations, the need for larger state units may have simply expired. In this interdependent world characterized by multiple, overlapping networks, tiny states, particularly within the European Union, may thrive in the network of nations.

As an industrialized, modern nation, Scotland presents an interesting test case for the creation of a small state in the much larger world. But upon closer examination, it becomes clear that even if Scottish independence is possible, it will not be easy. While the overview of this voyage may promise smooth sailing, the details of this venture suggest unknown and murky waters.

UNION AND DIS-UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

While the English kings Edward I and Edward II had long sought to add Scotland to their territories, it was actually the Scottish King, James the IV, who united the countries. In 1603, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth I, James the IV inherited the English throne, joining the two territories under one crown. He declared himself James I, King of Great Britain. Despite honoring the same king, England and Scotland still retained independent parliaments. In 1707, under the Treaty of the Union, England and Scotland merged their two legislatures into a single parliament in London.³

In a strange twist of fate, independence, should it occur, would follow much the same path in reverse. In 1997 the Scottish National Party realized it has long held the goal of reestablishing a Scottish parliament. Under British Prime Minister Tony Blair's devolution campaign, a regional parliament (Holyrood) was (re) created in Edinburgh, Scotland. The new Scottish parliament was granted the power to make laws, collect taxes, and establish policy in the areas of health, education, and welfare. Westminster retained power over foreign policy, defense, and monetary policy. In essence, two parliaments were integrated under one crown.

In 2007 the Scottish National Party won an overall majority in the Scottish regional parliament, and immediately began calls for a referendum on Scottish independence. Greater autonomy had increased, rather than curbed, Scottish appetite for sovereignty. Under the Edinburgh agreement of 2012, the British government and the Scottish parliament agreed to a legal referendum as a basis for Scottish independence. In the event of a "yes" vote, the terms of independence would then be negotiated between England and Scotland. The final step, moving from two parliaments under one crown, to two separate nations, could be complete as early as March 2016.

Will the Scots take this final step? That much is not clear. Public opinion polls show uncertainty among the Scots. 47% of the populace reported that they would likely vote "no" to independence. 38% reported they would vote yes. Still another 15% appear to be undecided.⁴

This hesitancy is hardly surprising, given the lack of concrete detail about a future independent Scottish state.

The Scottish nationalists have presented independence as a matter of planning. To that end the Scottish parliament has issued a White Paper outlining their proposals for an independent Scotland. While this outline is comprehensive, it still leaves many important questions unanswered. Moreover, it glosses over the fact that Scottish independence will be subject to a negotiated settlement in which Scotland will not be granted its entire wish

list. There are serious areas of disagreement between the UK and the Scottish nationalists that are unlikely to be settled to Scotland's liking. Some of the most important issues concern currency, defense and oil. Beyond that, there is also the looming question of Scotland's position in the European Union.

DEFENSE

An independent Scotland would clearly need to be able to defend itself. From the Scottish national party's perspective, the solution is straightforward. The Scottish White Paper calls for the development of a Scottish Defense force, with 15,000 full time personnel carved out of existing UK regiments, and a budget of £2.5bn. Scotland would claim its share of British military equipment, including the naval base in Faslane, Scotland, but it would return all nuclear weapons back to Britain. Scotland would remain part of NATO.⁵

In practice, the idea of dividing the British military is nowhere near as simple. There are serious obstacles to separating components of the British military and reallocating them to Scotland. UK forces are among the most highly integrated in the world. Units are trained to work in conjunction with each other. Dividing them leaves gaps in the effectiveness of each. Higher ranking military officers, in particular, may be reluctant to leave the high-profile, well-respected British military for a scaled down defensive force in Scotland.⁶ To complicate matters, the UK argues that Scotland could not simply lay claim to British units, equipment and personnel. They would need to develop their own forces using their own resources.⁷ In this instance, a budget of 2.5 billion pounds would hardly suffice.

Then there is the question of Scotland's role in NATO. Membership is hardly negotiable.

A decision not to join NATO would alarm Europe and the US alike, and would make Scottish membership in other critical supranational organizations, such as the EU, much more difficult. The Scottish White Paper envisions Scotland as a nuclear-free NATO member. Scotland argues that as a non-nuclear nation, its membership would be cost effective. Scotland's defense would be insured by its membership in the umbrella alliance.

While it is true that Scotland's defense needs would be lower, such budget reductions may come at the expense of Britain, which would then have borne the entire cost of its nuclear commitment. Scotland would also be expected to maintain a significant force to contribute to joint NATO missions. Again, a force of 15000 and a budget of £2.5 billion is considered inadequate to fulfill Scotland's commitments to its neighbors. It also does not provide adequate defense for Scotland's most valuable resource, the North Sea oil rigs.

OIL

The North Sea oil may be the most contentious issue of Scottish independence. There are significant oil and natural gas reserves located in the North Sea just off the UK's coast. Current reserves are estimated to be between 15 billion and 24 billion barrels of oil equivalent, which would ensure at least another 30 to 40 years of production. These oil and natural gas reserves have provided Britain with a tax windfall of about £300bn (adjusted for inflation) over the last 40 years. About 90% of those revenues come from oil reserves off of Scotland.⁸

The Scottish national party is certainly banking on the use of those reserves to bolster an independent Scottish economy. But how would these reserves be divided? Scotland favors a “median line” division, which would essentially extend the geographic line dividing England and Scotland out over the coastal water. A geographic divide would award Scotland 90% of the oil reserves. The UK favors a “per capita” division of the reserves. Dividing the oil reserves according to the number of inhabitants in Scotland and the UK would leave the UK with 92% of the reserves, thus preserving British tax revenues.⁹

Scotland is unlikely to agree to a per capita division. With the decline of manufacturing and shipbuilding, oil is an increasingly central component of the Scottish economy.¹⁰ A geographic division of oil would provide Scotland an additional 10.5 billion pounds of tax revenue per year. This money would be essential to maintain Scotland's budget and pay off Scotland's estimated 65 billion pound share of the British national debt.¹¹ Some claim that with oil reserves, they could pay off this debt within 5 years.

At the same time this would leave the Scottish economy extremely reliant on the oil and natural gas sector and its notorious price volatility. Scotland's current oil “booms and busts” are largely buffered by its integration into the UK economy as a whole. While the Scottish nationalists optimistically focus on the potential revenue of the boom years, the UK government focuses on the potential instability of the energy market. Energy market volatility can have a profound effect on one's national currency. Therefore, the UK insists that an independent, oil-dependent Scotland, would need to devise its own currency, because Scotland would certainly not be allowed to use the British pound.

THE POUND £

Perhaps the “crown jewel” of the British government has been the strength of its currency, the British pound. As an international reserve currency, other governments have long recognized the

value of the British pound as a stable source of wealth. It is perhaps the one legacy of its union with Britain that Scotland is eager to keep, and the one that Britain is least likely to share.

The Scottish Nationalist Party has indicated its preference for entering into a currency union with Britain. Under such an agreement, Scotland would continue to use the British pound and the services of the Bank of England as before. Such a move, the Scottish government has argued, would cause the least disruption in the British and Scottish economies.¹²

Britain, however, has clearly indicated that a vote for Scottish independence would mean walking away from the pound. In addition to the fact that there is no legal reason why the UK would need to share its currency, a shared currency poses several risks for the UK.¹³ In effect, Britain would be responsible for maintaining a currency whose value would be determined, in part, by the actions of Scotland. This would weaken Britain's use of monetary policy to control its own economic problems. With the value of the pound out of alignment with the British economy, Britain could end up in a situation similar to Greece's position in the European Union: trapped in a currency that is out of synch with its economic status.

When the Scottish oil industry is booming, Britain would face a stronger currency, which would undermine its exports. When the Scottish oil industry was in a bust cycle, Britain would face a devalued pound, making it harder for Britain to import. Britain would have to absorb these costs without enjoying the tax benefits or other perks of growth. The fluctuation itself would undermine the value of the pound as a stable reserve currency. This, argues Britain, would be contrary to the interests of a still-united England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

From the British perspective, there is no reason to subject the pound to such uncertainties. From the Scottish perspective, there is no reason to assume a share of the UK debts without it. The Scottish government has asserted that they will not pay off British debt using a new, weak currency, which would make that debt all the more expensive. Any assumption of “their fair share” of the debt is dependent on “their fair share” of the pound.¹⁴

THE EUROPEAN UNION

Even if Scotland could resolve these differences with the UK, there is still the question of its status within the European Union. Membership in the European Union would be essential to Scotland's future economic status. It could not survive without it. Yet the terms of that membership remain unclear.

The Scottish government has argued that as an existing EU member, Scotland's laws, policies and procedures are compatible

with, and in compliance with existing EU directives. Therefore, Scotland's status as an independent EU member could be resolved by an agreed amendment under Article 48 of the Lisbon Treaty. Article 48 provides for amendment through an "ordinary revision procedure."¹⁵ A simple revision would allow Scotland to join by 26 March 2016—the day the Scottish Nationalists want to formally declare Scotland's independence.

The Spanish European Commission President, Jose Manuel Barroso, has cast doubt on this aspiration. He has stated that it would be "extremely difficult, if not impossible" for an independent Scotland to join immediately. Instead, Scotland would be forced to go through the same process that all other new members have had to complete. Scotland would have to apply for membership and get the approval of all current member states, which is a process that can take up to 10 years.¹⁶

The Scottish nationalists have rejected his comments entirely. They have gone so far as to suggest that Barroso's position is compromised by the fact that Spain has several ethnic minorities seeking autonomy.¹⁷ An independent Scottish state within the European Union would undoubtedly strengthen secessionist movements within Spain, particularly Catalonia and the Basque homeland. In effect, the Scottish government has dismissed the Spanish Commissioner's comments as pure politics.

And yet, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that Scotland's position in the European Union would be more than a matter of routine paperwork. It would cause disruption on multiple levels. An independent Scotland would be eligible for more money from the Common Agricultural Program (CAP), for example. However, because the CAP budget ceiling has been negotiated, any additional funds that came to Scotland would come at the expense of other member states, all of which would need to agree to Scottish accession.¹⁸ Therefore the entire system of payments would need to be renegotiated. Beyond this, Europeans would have to deal with a second potential currency union. Currently, the EU is structured around a single currency union, the Euro, as well as several national currencies. An independent Scotland using the British pound would, however, add another layer of financial complexity, as well as a precedent for other members to develop their own currency unions.

Finally, the truth is that Scottish referendum may shape other debates on independence within Europe. Europe is host to 16 member states and over 25 different stateless minorities. The specter of contagion is ever-present. For example, in 2012, the local Catalanian government within Spain called for the creation of a Catalan state within federal Spain and larger Europe. An independent Scotland would undoubtedly fuel their efforts. Prospects for independent homelands for all European

nationalities hardly seem possible. This begs the question: even if other members could amend the treaty, would they be willing to? Or does an independent Scotland resemble a European Pandora's box, full of complex and perhaps unwelcome surprises?

TODAY SCOTLAND. TOMORROW THE WORLD?

Scotland's independence may well shape debates beyond Europe's borders. Argentina, for example, has watched the Scottish quest closely, weighing its own prospects for the eventual reclamation of the British Falklands through referendum.¹⁹ Scottish independence may prompt Quebec nationalists, currently stuck in an endless cycle of inconclusive referendums, dubbed the "Neverendum," to finally take concrete action. Even the US has witnessed renewed calls for succession, not only from successionist regulars in Texas, but also nullification movements in Colorado and Maryland.

The quest for Scottish independence, and the questions it raises, is indeed interesting. But what is most interesting is the big picture: the constellation of forces it represents. History has witnessed the creation of empires and the building of states. It has witnessed dissolution and devolution as states and empires fell apart. Today, however, as Robert Teitelman argues, we are witnessing a unique combination of both centrifugal and centripetal forces.²⁰ We see simultaneous movements toward units both much larger and much smaller than we have seen in the past. The political geography is becoming larger and smaller at once. A small Scottish state in an expanded European Union would be a significant step toward a new configuration, but it is unlikely to be the last.

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ISLAMIC FEMINISM: ITS IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES

EMILY BILLS

“No country can be developed and can prosper without the full participation from half of the population.”

— Sima Samar

INTRODUCTION

Islamic feminism may seem contradictory to many in the West and offensive to Islamic conservatives in the Middle East, but there is a movement occurring that has been years in the making. The fight for equal treatment and the inclusion of women in patriarchal societies has been repressed by traditional discourse for far too long. Islamic feminism is key to winning this fight. The term, “Islamic feminism,” is simply defined by Isobel Coleman, a senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council of Foreign Relations, as “The promotion of women’s rights through Islamic discourse.”¹ This is not to say that this concept is a simple one. In fact, the various methodologies used in promoting and defining Islamic feminism have led to multiple ideologies and approaches. The tool that is practiced by many of these women and men is *ijtihad*, which, again, is defined and discussed by Coleman in her book, *Paradise Beneath Her Feet: How Women Are Transforming the Middle East*. In short, *Ijtihad* “literally means self exertion and refers to a process of applying independent reasoning to interpret Islamic texts.”² Fighting traditional sharia law with Islamic feminist modern interpretations of the religion’s holy books has shown to be rather influential. This method has also proven to be more effective than

using Western secular feminism to accomplish the same objective. These feminists, both men and women, are able to demonstrate that Islam supports the change they are seeking, which theoretically forces the traditionalists to question their own authority.

Secular feminism in the Middle East does exist but has been found to not have the same impact on Islamic societies, at least at this point of time. An Iranian anthropologist and strong activist for Islamic feminism, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, states that “Secular feminism has fulfilled its historical role, but it has nothing more to give to us... the challenge we face now is theological.”³ The Islamic feminism movement had been gaining traction as a part of a larger reform movement in Muslim societies, but in an article put out by the New York Times in 2009, Ms. Mir-Hosseini argues “that in Iran reformers were gaining ground, but that President Bush’s antagonism toward the country ended up strengthening hard-liners there.”⁴ The term “feminism” has grown to be closely tied to Western thought, but the two are not mutually exclusive; however, feminism is often frowned upon in conservative Middle Eastern societies because of the strong association between the two, and many activists are choosing to avoid the term altogether. Fighting for marriage, custody, education and more, by and through the Quran, Islamic feminists do not pose the same threat of what

secularism does to the authority in the conservative Muslim dominated countries.

SECULAR VS. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

One of the most successful religious based organizations that is empowering Islamic women today is Sisters in Islam (SIS), formally founded in 1990. It started a few years before this date as a group of women within the Association of the Women Lawyers, which came together to discuss and create solutions based on the then new Islamic Family Laws and its consequences. Because many Muslim women live in a culture where they are constantly told and treated as though they are inferior to men with the justification that Islam supports such practices, "...some within the group felt the urgent need to reread the Quran to discover if the Text truly supported the oppression and ill-treatment of women."⁵ After carefully studying the Quran and taking a closer look at society, they came to the conclusion that "...it was not Islam that oppressed women, but male-centered interpretations of the Quran."⁶ Because Malaysia is the country SIS is based in, it has seen the strongest presence and felt the biggest impact of the group. Sisters in Islam has "successfully marshaled resistance to the government's implementation of Saudi-style 'moral-policing' and is deeply engaged in reviewing Malaysian family law."⁷ Though there has still been fierce resistance, and the individuals within SIS have faced many enemies over the years, but their success is incredibly promising as they continue to advocate for women's rights.

Although the Muslim feminist's effort against certain laws or traditional beliefs have been deemed essential, there are also secular feminists throughout the Middle East who are fighting for women's rights within Muslim societies. For example, the organization, Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), formed in 1984, is a secular network "that provides information, support and a collective space for women whose lives are shaped, conditioned or governed by laws and customs said to derive from Islam."⁸ The organization is involved in more than 70 countries and has been a key player in providing communication and building coalitions within the complex and heterogeneous Muslim world. Taking what is at the forefront of the Islamic feminist's core, they often use religious discourse in order to fight for the mutual advancement of women's equality and rights. WLUML focuses on the effects that these laws, which are said to originate from Islam, have on the women living beneath them, but not the effects it may have on the religion itself. These two organizations, SIS and WLUML, have worked closely together over the years, proving that promoting women's rights is not solely a religious or a secular

one and, above all, that the equality and full inclusion of women is beneficial to all aspects of society.

INDIVIDUAL WOMEN MAKING A DIFFERENCE

The key players of feminism within Islam date back to the beginning of Islam's history itself. Many women today find their inspiration from a few particular women who were related to the Prophet Muhammad. This includes his first wife, Khadijah, who is known to have been a successful businesswoman, and his granddaughter, Zainab, who "is revered for her courage, her eloquence, and the learned ways she fought oppression with words instead of swords."⁹ One of Mohammad's daughters and Zainab's mother, Fatima, is also significantly admired by Muslims today and revered for her strength and is still known as an influential role model for Muslim women. These women in the religion's history give strength to Islamic feminists today as they utilize their historical positions and accomplishments to argue for their own independence and intellect.

There is no way of mentioning every woman who is making a difference in the name of Islamic feminism, as there are so many worthy of such recognition, but the following women are two that have made a significant impact on this movement. Regardless of any backlash or threats, these women have shown an immense amount of courage and integrity. For example, a Moroccan woman named Fatima Mernissi, author of multiple texts, including *The Veil and the Male Elite: a Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*, which has been argued to bring "a new way of doing feminism, one which does not stigmatize Islam,"¹⁰ has paved the way for Islamic feminism in the Muslim world. Born in 1940, Mernissi was inspired by her mother, who asserted, "male superiority was 'non-sense.' 'Allah made us all equal,' she frequently reminded her daughter."¹¹ She went on to receive a master's and a doctorate degree, and in the 1970s began to publish her writings in regards to the strict sharia-based laws in Morocco at the time. Her work continues to be an influence for women's rights. Mernissi focuses on "challenging the dominant Muslim male discourse concerning women and their sexuality and, second, by providing the 'silent' woman with a 'voice' to tell her own story."¹² Despite being condemned by her own country and other Islamists, she has made a significant impact on up-and-coming Muslim feminists.

Conservative Muslim men have dominated the government systems in the Middle East, and largely still do, but history was made in 1988 when Benazir Bhutto became Pakistan's first elected female prime minister. She faced tremendous adversity, and unfortunately, Bhutto was dismissed within two years. But after two

more years of battling with the conservative Pakistani government, she was able to persevere and was reelected. However, the president dismissed her once again after three years as the country's head of government. She spent much of the following years in self-exile as her native country was attempting to charge her with receiving kickbacks while she was in office, charges she fully denied. The government was also denying Bhutto the right to run for office, but this was overturned in an amnesty agreement in 2007. Later that year, after a ruthless personal and political battle, "Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan vowing to take on Islamic extremism, restore democracy, and return stability to her troubled country."¹³

Resembling many other countries in the late 2000s, Pakistan faced a wave of political Islamic extremism, marginalizing the moderate Muslim population. Bhutto understood the effects that this extremism had on society, particularly on women, and she addressed this issue in her book "Reconciliation," having completed it only days before her devastating assassination in 2007 after an impassioned campaign speech. She writes, "Islam prohibited the killing of girls and gave women the right to divorce, child custody, alimony and inheritance long before Western societies adopted these principles... Thus, the message of Islam is pro-women's rights."¹⁴ The late prime minister and activist shed light on Samuel Huntington's notion of the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West, a concept Bhutto believed was an unnecessary outcome and could be prevented.¹⁵ Hopefully, with her courageous work and other activist's, Bhutto's ideals will prevail.

IRAN: THE REVOLUTION THAT SPARKED A MOVEMENT

Many countries in the Middle East have been met with strong feminist movements and individuals that are changing the conventional way of life in the region. The term "Islamic feminism" gained momentum in the 1990s, but the struggle for women's rights has been around for much longer. Before the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran, secularization and the westernization of society were making progress, specifically when it came to gender relations. Nevertheless, after the revolution, the sociopolitical structure began to shift. At first, Ayatollah Khomeini, the charismatic leader of the revolution, gave women hope, as "he understood that women's mobilization was important for deepening and consolidating revolution."¹⁶ Although the strict conservative policies he imposed on women "made formal girls' schooling acceptable to even the most conservative families," it was only due to the fact that girls were covered by the *hijab* and public places were segregated based on sex, making it acceptable in their minds

through Islam for the inclusion of girls in school and in public.¹⁷ However, tradition and religion, combined with the stagnating state of the newly formed Islamic Republic of Iran, led to what Westerners would perceive as backwards thought, including the oppression of women down to a substandard status compared to men, which was then continued throughout the reign of President Ahmadinejad and Ayatollah Khamenei. By doing so, it set fire to a new wave of revolution by the name of feminism.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, multiple journals and magazines were created in Iran "to counter the repressive regime of the Islamic fundamentalists,"¹⁸ and began "openly questioning women's position in society and demanding the rights owed to them in the Quran."¹⁹ The magazine that paved the way for the rest was titled *Payam-i-Hajar* and edited by Azam Taleghani, who once supported the Islamic regime's policies, but soon "began to resent the regime's restrictive attitudes toward women, its enforced gender segregation and its institutionalization of women's inequality."²⁰ Taleghani went on to declare herself as a presidential candidate in 1997, despite existing laws that are customarily interpreted to exclude women from the position.

Other women's magazines followed Taleghani's example. Perhaps the most influential and significant to the Islamic feminist movement is *Zanan*, which is translated to "Women." The magazine "respected and celebrated Iranian women by offering articles on health, parenting, legal issues, literature and women's achievements,"²¹ but after 16 years the fearful government of Ahmadinejad shut the magazine down, claiming that it was a "threat to the psychological security of the society."²² This action by the government only suggests their fear of modernization and social change, something that will hopefully show promise under current President Rouhani's government, though there has been no concrete proof to support such claims as of today.

PATRIARCHY OR ISLAM?

Islam and the religion's holy texts are said to, by those with power, be the reason behind different policies and laws that are implemented in traditional Muslim societies. However, it seems that this religious argument meant to justify oppressive laws is merely the veil of patriarchy. It is no secret that men hold almost all power in these regions and that women do not feel the same equality and freedom under the law, and it is Islam that is used to justify such actions. This has led to a male-dominated extremism, along with a hatred and judgment towards Islam by foreign cultures, including the United States. However, it is time to realize that it is not the religion that is at the core of the problem, but the patriarchal

interpretations of Islam, many of them far-fetched and outlandish.

The Middle East is not the first to be plagued with patriarchal ignorance and most likely will not be the last, but as many cultures have fought against policies derived from religion to advance women's rights, Islamic feminists are doing the same. It is in these last few decades that women on a larger scale are beginning to read the Quran and other religious texts for themselves, extracting their interpretations of the holy words, instead of what they have been told. This is mirrored with the Christian Reformation and "the sea of change that occurred when average Christians began to read the Bible directly."²³ Hopefully, over time a similar reform will be ignited in strict Muslim societies that will break the barriers of patriarchy and lead to a future that encourages women to advance and eventually be seen as equal to their male counterparts. And just as the Christian Reformation in the 16th century paved the way for the Enlightenment, the Islamic feminist movement has the potential to spark a period of innovative thought based on science and freedoms that will lead to the true separation between religion and the state. This movement is still in its infancy, and there is over 1,000 years of oppressive premised Islamic law to battle against. The consequences will vary amongst all impacted countries, and it will take time, but the future is bright for the many Muslim feminists who are fighting today and those that will rise up in the future.

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THE UNITED STATES AND IRAN: A TWISTED HISTORY FROM THE TIME OF THE HOSTAGE CRISIS

RICHARD FLOYD

INTRODUCTION

The revolution in Iran took years to develop. Generations of Iranian citizens went through drastic changes in the landscape of the nation following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The Iranian narrative goes back to times far before the Ottoman Empire and the root of the conflict and Islamic revolution are much deeper than is revealed. Dating back to the days of Cyrus the people of Persia, modern day Iran, the empire was ruled by a religious hierarchy. This engrained element of Iranian culture made the transition to an Islamic state easier. During the reign of the first two Reza Shahs, following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the fledgling nation of Iran made a quick connection to the United States because of the American's need for oil. Following this phase of the relationship, Khomeini came to power and forced the former Shah out of Iran. The shah was protected by the United States and removed safely. As the revolution took place under the watchful eye of Khomeini, the relationship between the United States and Iran took a turn for the worse. With the capturing of the Embassy in Tehran the relationship between the two nations would never be the same. The revolution started in the late 1970's and the lasting effects continue to today with unstable relations between the nations. This instability is not just felt between the United States and Iran but also in the region following the Iranian Revolution.

BACK TO THE BEGINNING

As Iran moved throughout the history after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire it ushered in multiple phases of revolution over the years that lead up to the hostage crisis. Following the collapse the Pahlavi state took over and established a dynasty in 1925. This went through a four part evolution that would last until the revolution that was led by Khomeini in 1979. This was articulated in Mehran Kamrava's book *The Modern Middle East*.

The first two phases of the revolution can be put under the rule of the Shahs Reza I and Reza II and lasted from 1925 through 1953. The first phase can be described as the foundation of the new state with an expanding bureaucracy, governmental structure that was a rubber stamp to his rule, and the shah's attempt to secularize the people of Iran. This lasted until the British overthrew the Shah in 1941.¹ The second phase took place under Reza I's son Reza II and lasted until 1953. The second phase was dominated by outsiders attempting to project their spheres of influence over the Iranian State during the Second World War. The second phase was riddled with instability with changing prime ministers almost yearly and cabinets lasting only 8 months.² The most notable moments of the second phase are the rise of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq to the forefront of the opposition of the shah. Musaddiq's strongest power play was his attempt to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company

and transform it into the National Iranian Oil Company which would remove the British control of the Oil Production.³ With assistance from the CIA, Reza Shah removed Musaddiq who was confined and lived out his life on the outskirts of Tehran.

Following the overthrow of Musaddiq in 1953, the shah worked with the United States and CIA to build the SAVAK, an intelligence system within Iran.⁴ This ushered in the third phase of the revolution as described by Kamrava. In 1962 the Shah presented a land reform that would address the needs of all the classes within Iran. With this land reform the Shah attempted to usher in a capitalistic approach to government that included increased education and the selling of government facilities to the private sector.⁵ This further drove the wedge between the conservative clergy and the Western supporting Shah in Iran. The opposition was led by a clergy member named Rouhollah Khomeini who had gained support through the more conservative believers of Iran. Khomeini was exiled to Turkey following a riot where he would take homage in Najaf a Shi'ite holy city. In the last few years of the third phase the Shah thought that there was little descent among his people. The shah did not see the end because of the lucrative oil bubble that had been created through United States consumption. This bubble collapsed in 1975 and signaled the end for the shah.

By 1979 the Iranian government had gone from an annual surplus of almost two billion to a deficit of almost the same number annually.⁶ In addition to the economic decline there was also rampant corruption and panic began to take hold of the nation. Opposition for the shah came from many angles, these included the National Front that had been started by Musaddiq, guerrilla units like the Mujahedeen, the academics, and the clerics which were led by the Ayatollah Khomeini. With the leadership and urging by the Ayatollah, the Shah had little choice but to relinquish control of Iran. The Shah left Iran for medical treatment to America in early 1979 and within a few weeks the new leader of Iran came back from his exile to usher in the new Islamic Republic of Iran.

THE NEW MAN IN IRAN

As the Ayatollah comes to power in Iran there are many things that take place in the nation. The nation goes through a three phase transition that includes consolidation, construction, and reformation. During the first phase is when the most telling incident takes place, the United States Embassy in Tehran is captured and the staff is taken hostage. During this time Khomeini took the opportunity to continue to take control of the government and to rid him of those who opposed his political views. Through

the first phase the Ayatollah faced not only the hostage crisis with the United States but also war with their neighbor Iraq. At the end of this first phase the Ayatollah passed away and passed on the vision for the nation to his successors.

During the first phase of the post-revolutionary Iran Khomeini worked to implement a new direction for Iran, one that was a strict conservative direction based along the lines of the Koran. In the early time following the revolution and the capturing of the embassy, the Iranian government, as appointed by Khomeini, drafted a new constitution that solidified his absolute power. In article five of the constitution it states the *Faqih* (Khomeini) is accepted leader.⁷ Khomeini used the hostage crisis to further cement his standing in the eyes of his people. Many of the policies that Iran implemented were directly presented by Khomeini himself. The elected officials though democratically elected were puppet officials to Khomeini's power. Ayatollah Khomeini sought to rid the nation of outside influences that had played a role in the history of Iran. This included the CIA which had extracted the Shah, which the Ayatollah believed should be held on trial because of his actions before the revolution. In addition to this in his work *Velayat-e Faqeeh* the Imam says that the imposition of the outside has caused on Iran numerous difficulties.⁸ Khomeini also wanted the government to be guided by the Imam but the laws were to be described by the Koran as seen in his section of the *Velayat-e Faqeeh* titled the form of the Islamic government which outlines the differences of an Islamic government to that of other government types.⁹ The Ayatollah was focused on returning Iran back to its roots and that is Islam and he would stop at nothing to do that. The most notable event was the Hostage crisis that took place in Tehran in 1979.

EMBASSY... IN TEHRAN... GONE

On November 4th 1979, the United States Embassy in Tehran was attacked by Iranian rebels to remove the personnel viewed as spies because of some of the clandestine operations that the CIA had conducted in the region; the removal of the shah was one such CIA operation. The rebels stormed the doors of the embassy and took captive sixty six of those who worked in side. Robert Ode was one of the Americans that were captured that day. He kept a journal that is now in the Carter Library. The story of his time in captivity is told in 115 pages. The second firsthand account is taken from Henry Perchet, who worked at a desk in the State Department throughout the event.

The revolution began to accelerate in Iran and the Shah began to feel more pressure for the outside. The United States believed

that things would settle down because over the years there had been many uprisings that were quelled. Henry Perchet believed that the Shah was in trouble but the State Department believed that the threat would pass.¹⁰ These miscalculations would have drastic effects on the ability to secure the Embassy in Tehran. Perchet believed that because of the lack of reasonable reports from the Embassy in Tehran, it was impossible for the States Department to make any real evaluations on what was happening in Iran. These poor reports were because the State Department did not want to upset the Shah, who believed that his position was not in danger at the time, because of the favorable position that he had allowed the United States to hold.¹¹ These misconceptions would be one that would haunt the State Department moving forward.

As the Embassy fell, there were 500 or more rebels that stormed the gates to topple the American presence in Iran. In total there were sixty six Americans that were held captive in the Embassy in Tehran. Frantically, the staff of the Embassy attempted to destroy all the sensitive material such as the Visa plates and any classified documents as the rebels stormed the embassy.¹² The revolutionaries gathered the American staff binding their hands and feet and containing them in rooms. The staff had done what they could to protect America's secrets but their effort was not fully successful. After being captured the hostages were not allowed to communicate with their fellow captives and Robert Ode and his fellow Americans would spend the first night of many, as captives to the Iranian revolutionaries in Tehran.¹³

On November 5th the revolutionaries also captured the British Embassy of five hours. The capturing of the embassy was praised by Khomeini, and he demanded that the shah be returned to Iran in order for the captives to be released. Khomeini also cancelled all treaties with the United States and U.S.S.R. as well.¹⁴ This event prompted the United Nations to also demand the release of the hostages from Iran. On November the 9th the United Nations unanimously requested the release of the hostages from Iran. President Carter sent a direct letter to the Ayatollah requesting the release of the captives and agreeing to meet with Khomeini to discuss the events and the objections that Iran had with the United States.¹⁵ The President of the United States is forced to take drastic actions. With the pressure from the United Nation not being effective, the President of the United States calls to stop the importation of Iranian oil. At this time the Ayatollah threatens to charge the captives as spies and put them on trial. This would result in an immediate conviction and the punishment for this would most likely be death. On November 19, Iran released some of the hostages because Islam had respect for women and the underprivileged.¹⁶ Islam throughout history has been a very accepting people and has sought for inclusion of all people.

Islam has a tradition of respect for women and those who are under privileged, because of this, five women and eight African Americans were released to return to the United States.

Not all of the captives were as fortunate as those that were released on the 19th of November. They were only in captivity of the first two weeks of what would become an almost eighteen month ordeal. The rest of the captives were continually handcuffed moved and questioned over the next year as the Iranian rebels attempted to extract information from them. The Iranian government was holding he captives not a prisoner of war but as a statement to the United States that they were not welcome in the new Iran. These captives were not treated in the same respect as previous captives like those taken in the Korean or Vietnam War. The captives in Hanoi, which were beat and electrocuted time and time again had life much tougher than those who were in Iran. That being said it does not make the experience any less frightening for those involved. Showing the humanity of the Islamic capture, the hostages were afforded the ability to mail things to the United States and occasionally able to make monitored phone calls back home to conduct family business. Robert Ode recalls the first Easter in captivity he and the other captives we able to go worship for the holiday.¹⁷ Even Islamic fundamentalists show the same respect for other religions that the religion teaches. Robert Ode recalls his feeling about the final flight out of Iran, 444 days after being captured, the jubilation and cheers that rang out when they heard the overhead intercom on the plane say that they were out of Iran. The sense of freedom and the new found respect for liberty.¹⁸ The captives were eventually released with the signing of the Algiers Accords which addressed the release of the hostages and the terms for restitution.¹⁹ In it the Accords there was also a tribunal set up for the United States and Iran to address grievances against each other. This was designed to ideally work as a way for the two governments to peacefully work on disagreements in a civil manor.

There were another group of United States members that were in Iran at the time of the embassy takeover. These members made the decision to leave the embassy and flee into the streets of Tehran. They made their way to the Canadian Ambassador's house where they sought refuge. The story that took place thereafter was presented in the recent motion picture *Argo*. During these events the United States CIA and the State Department attempted to find a way to extract the six rouge Americans that were in hiding. With assistance from the Canadian government, the CIA devised a plan to put together a production company, Studio Six, and a movie to act as a cover to assist in the extraction of the six.²⁰ With a CIA escort, who covered as a production manager, the six were removed from Iran under false identities, Canadian citizens, back

to the United States safely. This operation took place in 1980 and the “Canadian Six” ended their time in Iran much sooner than their counter parts who would not be released until early in 1981.²¹

The end of the crisis did not spell the end of the hostilities between the nations. The death of the Ayatollah did not end the conservative Islamic trend in the nation of Iran. Islamic revolution in Iran is not something that was ushered in by Khomeini alone but is something that dates back to the earliest days of Iran. Under the Persian ruler Cyrus the people of Iran flourished and prospered in a theocratic based governmental system. Iranian history has shown the people of Iran are comfortable in a system that is religious based and not oppressive of religion. The new Supreme Leader of Iran is Ayatollah Khomeini, who shares many of the nationalistic views of his predecessor. The current President of Iran, Muhammad Ahmadinejad, is a Shia Islamic leader who took office in 2005 and has had a problematic time with international relation with most of the world.

THE REGIONAL AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION

The aftermath from Islamic revolution and hostage crisis in Iran was felt not only in Iran and the United States but also regionally. There is lasting negativity that resonates around the Iranian government because of their role in the hostage crisis. At the regional level there were the effects of the Iran-Iraq War, the Saudi-Iranian relations, and hostilities with Israel. All of these have continued to cause lasting instability in the region.

Immediately following the beginning of the hostage crisis, the effects of the Shia movement in Iran could be felt in Iraq. This conflict, like many in the Middle East, predates modern time by many years. A historical conflict that has taken place as the Persians and the Mesopotamians waged war centuries ago. The ongoing land disputes are still an issue today and are a continuation of the Persian-Arab conflicts of yesteryear. In September 1980 the Iraqi forces laid siege on the Shatt al Arab area of Iran that was an Arab inhabited portion of Iran that both had claimed as their territory for years. Iraq planned for there to be a revolt of the Arab peoples against Iran in support of their Arab brethren from Iraq. This did not materialize because the Arabs in Iran were Shia and did not support the Sunni leadership of Iraq.²² The Iraqi forces invaded deep into the Iranian western front but stalled when they reached Abadan in November 1980. The Iraqi forces were not able to capture the city even though it was surrounded on three sides.²³ Along with the defense of Abadan the Iranian forces gained crucial victories over the next

few years and by 1982 the Iraqi forces began to retreat. Following this the Iraqi forces began to retreat but the Iranian forces would not allow them to retreat peacefully. Iran countered and began the offensive in 1982 and this would last until 1984. In the end the war would continue until 1988 in various forms and the death tolls are estimated to be over a million between the two nations.²⁴ This war ended with more than territory being gained and lost. The Iranian people have established themselves in the Middle East as a force and it also proved that the influence of Shia Islam cross cut the cultural divisions of Persia and Arab.

In addition the Iranian revolution also caused tension between Saudi Arabia and the new Republic of Iran because the Saudi's support and favor to the Western powers including America. Iran viewed the West as infiltrating the ways of Islam because of the actions of not only American CIA operations, but the British influences over the Iranian oil production. This tension has led to extreme stances by some of the leadership on both sides. Ariel Jahner examines this relationship in her article *Saudi Arabia and Iran: The Struggle for Power and Influence in the Gulf*. Before the revolution in Iran the relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia was a good one because they both were heavily influenced by the United States need for oil. The successful revolution in Iran was the opposite of what the leadership of Saudi Arabia wanted because it brought instability to the region.²⁵ Saudi Arabia backed the Iraqis during the Iran Iraq War because of the fear that the revolutionary nature of the Islamic revolution would continue from Iran threatening the stability of Saudi Arabia.²⁶ The distrust and noncooperation between these nations continue to cause instability to the region and are a direct result of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979.

Another regional instability in the Middle East is the tension between Iran and Israel. Ayatollah Khomeini has very strict views when it comes to the Jewish state of Israel. Khomeini believes that the insertion of a Jewish state in the Middle East is something that was caused by the Western powers and is holding the people of Palestine captive. In addition to this Israel is surrounded mainly by Shia Islamic people whom the leadership of Iran has proxy control over because of the religious power that the Iranian clerical leadership possesses. The leadership of Iran has many times protested against Israel at the highest level of international compliance court, the United Nations. The Iranian leadership has called the Israeli state a cancer. Khomeini has even referred to Israel as a “cancerous tumor” in 2000.²⁷ Current Iranian President Ahmadinejad has gone as far as stating that Israel needs to be wiped off the map.²⁸ The President of Iran has multiple times made anti-Semitic statements. During a UN general assembly meeting in 2009, Ahmadinejad demanded that the people of Israel stop

ruling over the oppressed in Palestine. The speech by the President of Iran prompted a walk out by the United States and pro-Israeli supporters.²⁹ The animosity towards Israel is another thing that brings instability to the region following the Revolution in Iran.

FROM THEN TO NOW: IRAN AND UNITED STATES RELATIONS

The hostage crisis was the most prominent event in the history of Iranian and United States relations but it was not the final chapter of the saga. The United States and Iran still today have a very tense relationship because of various international proceedings. In addition to this the United States continued support of Israel³⁰ has also caused tension between the two nations. Currently the main issue between the two nations is Iran's nuclear program that the United States believes is designed to produce weapons grade material. The President of the United States has addressed this issue time and again. President Obama used his State of the Union speech in 2012 to galvanize the fact that the United States will not allow Iran to get nuclear weapons under any circumstances.³¹ The United States has used its global power to enforce strict sanctions against Iran that are designed to force the leadership to do as the United States would like. These sanctions from the United States treasury have evolved over the years from 1987 to the last revision in 2010. They include United States citizens to not buy or trade Iranian products, importation restrictions on Iranian goods, and the use of Iranian Oil.³² These sanctions have over time become more ridged to force Iran into becoming more cooperative with the United Nations, especially in regards to the nuclear program. The United States State Department state that these sanctions are in place to prevent Iran from:

“(1) to block the transfer of weapons, components, technology, and dual-use items to Iran's prohibited nuclear and missile programs; (2) to target select sectors of the Iranian economy relevant to its proliferation activities; and (3) to induce Iran to engage constructively, through discussions with the United States, China, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Russia in the “E3+3 process,” to fulfill its nonproliferation obligations.”³³

With these sanctions in place it is difficult for the United States and Iran to negotiate because of the complete difference of fundamental beliefs over the issues of Israel and the nuclear program. The leadership from both sides needs to make concessions in order for there to be any chance of settling the disagreement in policy peacefully.

THE CURRENT MEN IN CHARGE AND ISSUES

Following the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran faced an issue of who to elect as supreme leader. The leader that was chosen is Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khomeini who still stands as Iran's second Supreme Leader. Khomeini also served as President of Iran from 1981 to 1989 following the death of Khomeini. The two Ayatollahs share many of the same views on Iranian nationality. Khomeini is a strict observer of Islam and rarely does any work with those outside of the religion, especially the west. The current Supreme Leader, as Hooman Majd states, “speaks only at special gatherings, such as an occasional Friday prayer or commemoration ceremonies of one sort or another. The Leader meets with foreign dignitaries (almost exclusively Muslim) but limits any televised and public words to generalities.”³⁴ This makes it very difficult for the rest of the world to interact with Iran.

The Ayatollah is against the state of Israel, the United States number one ally in the region. In addition to this Khomeini is an advocate for the Iranian nuclear program for civilian use.³⁵ This issue is addressed multiple times by the President of the United States.³⁶ Khomeini also accused the American people of terrorism, in June of 2011, in a letter.³⁷ With all of these disagreements between Iran and the rest of the West it is no wonder there is little cooperation between the two sides.

President Ahmadinejad has made serious strides in Iran to modernize the country. He has focused on the economic stability of the nation to some success.³⁸ However, not everything has been perfect domestically in Iran under Ahmadinejad. There have been instances that the President and the Supreme leader have disagreed on throughout his time in office. Examples of this are the Supreme Leader reinstating an advisor that we released by Ahmadinejad.³⁹ Also there have been many ruling that have been made by the President that have been overturned by Khomeini. The Ayatollah overturned women's rights to view soccer games in Iran in 2006.⁴⁰ These internal rifts that are created by slightly different interpretation of Islam have caused major fissures within the governmental structure of Iran. The Supreme Leader is still the final say in the Iranian governmental structure.

In international politics President Ahmadinejad has also had a difficult time. Much like Ayatollah Khomeini, Ahmadinejad opposes the nation of Israel. President Obama and President Ahmadinejad have also had disagreements in regards to accusations from Iran saying that 9/11 was an inside job by the United States. Obama described these accusations as hateful in an interview with BBC.⁴¹ The relationship between the two ruling figures in Iran and the United States is something that seems destined to carry on because of the fundamental differences that the two sides have on core issues of nuclear program and Israel.

June 14, 2013, the Iranian people elected Hassan Rouhani as President to replace Ahmadinejad. Rouhani has been described as a reformist. His goal is to improve access to information and to improve Iran's standing with the other nations in the world.⁴² These are ambitious plans for the new President but a plan that is needed. The growth of Iran is dependent of cooperation with the international community. Like his predecessors Rouhani opposes the nation of Israel.

THE NUCLEAR DEAL

Through the continued work of the United States and the United Nations the beginning of the end is near for Iran's proposed nuclear program. Dedication shown by the US State Department and continued pressures through international sanctions seem to have caused Iran to agree to terms on a nuclear enrichment deal. With help of the of the United Nations' P5, Secretary of State John Kerry, and Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammad Javad Zarif, all sides have completed a deal to discontinue Iran's nuclear weapons program.

Early 2013, leaders sat down in three cities to negotiate the contraction of the nuclear program in Iran. Outlined in the agreement there were seven major agreements reached. All uranium enriched to weapons grade would be reduced to fuel stock levels; it stopped the creation of centrifuges; reduced the number of active centrifuges; Iran agreed not to enrich any new uranium; no fuel was to be transferred to the Arak power plant; daily access was granted to inspection teams; and Iran will answer questions about the military aspect of the program.⁴³ In return for these agreed terms, Iran would receive a lift on \$7 billion of US imposed sanctions with no further sanctions.⁴⁴

Localized reactions to the nuclear agreement were mixed. Many in the Middle East were pleased to see that more military action was not needed to come to an agreement. Others were not as welcoming to the deal. Israel was one that was not as enthusiastic of the agreement because they believed it could put the nation in jeopardy. Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, called it a "historic mistake" as reported by William Booth.⁴⁵

Time will tell if the deal that was made in 2013 will be a success or if it will fail. Early indications are that Iran has begun to scale back nuclear activity.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of Iran since the fall of the Ottoman Empire has been a time of continuous change. Interaction with the United

States in international discourse is something that has always been present and will continue into the foreseeable future. In the beginning the relationship between the two nations was something that benefited the elites of both nations but from the time of the Islamic Revolution and the hostage crisis, that relationship has been strained. Moving forward, the relationship—an uneasy one at best—will depend on both nations being able to compromise and see the others' point of view. Both nations are steadfast in their beliefs about certain issues and this makes negotiations between them difficult. The increased sanctions on Iran have proven to deter the nuclear program—for now. If history is any indicator, it may not last.

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CYBER POLICY: CONSEQUENCES OF ROBOTIC WARFARE AND THE SURVEILLANCE STATE

JULIAN RAMOS

*“Beware of the man who works hard to learn something,
learns it, and finds himself no wiser than before”*

— Kurt Vonnegut

DOCTRINE OF THE REVOLUTION

Executive power and the growth of such is traditionally synonymous with monumental trends or events in American history. Abraham Lincoln and his administration pushed the bounds of the powers given by Constitution to its most outer limits to preserve the Union. Teddy Roosevelt would do the same by seeking to establish America's status as an international super power. Also the nephew of Teddy Roosevelt, Franklin, would intervene in the American market like no other president before or after him. America and its president are currently living in a crucial moment in history: the technological society. Within President Obama's second term the necessity for the general public's engagement on what it means to live in a technological society has been explicitly illustrated through two examples. One matter occurs in the fields of robotics and warfare involving the heightened use of Unmanned Combat Ariel Vehicles (UCAV). The practice of robotic warfare is predominately associated with “drone warfare”, which was acknowledged officially by President Obama for the first time in March, 2013.¹ The second example encompasses the global surveillance disclosures concerning the National Intelligence Agency's extensive data collecting programs

first brought to light by journalists Glenn Greenwald and former NSA analyst Edward Snowden.² The “Digital Revolution's” consequences on warfare, communications and privacy are not over the horizon: they have already occurred. This paper will discuss the consequences of this revolution, illustrated through two cyber based programs created by the United States government's advancement in technology proving regulatory limitations on presidential power are irrelevant and dually undermining democratic ideals.

President Obama is only the latest actor in an extensive tradition of power growth within the executive branch. Regardless of the historic trend, one cannot over emphasize the pivotal role President Obama and his administration have played in this narrative. Technology has been at the core of Obama's national security policy including the war on terrorism. While both drone warfare and cyber surveillance have been developed and used in previous administrations, one of the lasting legacies of President Obama will be the consolidation of these two resources into a reinforcing power. UCAV's use a military doctrine known “Operational Preparation of the Battle Space”, perceives the entire globe as an ongoing potential battlefield.³ Respectively, experts state the intent of the NSA surveillance programs can be epitomized by the phrase “collect it

all”.⁴ Both programs exhibit an embrace of political maximalism under the guise of national security. Similarities between the two programs are not in any way coincidental as both programs share a common lineage. The September 11, 2001 attacks, served as a catalyst that led a bipartisan acceleration of both programs.⁵ On an intelligence level, the NSA was dealt an embarrassing blow which reciprocated in the heightened use of cyber data collection. Dually, to respond to the attacks of 9/11, President Bush would give sweeping authorizations for the use of “enhanced interrogation” and lethal force, eventually leading to the current drone program.⁶ Washington officials have embraced this doctrine of technology; one senior State Department leader stated mechanized solutions “...Plays to our strength. The thing that scares people is our technology.” The pervasiveness of cyber solutions of the Obama administration in regards to national policy demonstrates critical precedence with proportional repercussions.

UNDERSTANDING U.S. CYBER MILITANCY

Two basic pieces of vocabulary are essential to comprehending cyber surveillance as executed by the NSA: metadata and data mining. Metadata is information that is generated by electronic communications that does not include content.⁷ The exact kind of information in such metadata depends also on the mode of communication (e-mail, social network, cell phones, digital camera etc).⁸ Examples of metadata include, but are not limited to, numbers and identity of call participants, duration of call, location of call, frequently contacted numbers, email address and subject, IP address, frequently visited pages, duration of time on web pages, activity date, etc.⁹ As mobile forms of communication have come to utterly dominate in the past few decades, metadata has become proportionally more vital, eclipsing the level of transparency given by content.¹⁰ Essentially, metadata is the contextualization of our technological society’s communication. Greater insights on a person can be made with a vision of what they do, not necessarily what they say. Data analysis experts and crypto-mathematicians have stated the metadata analysis is far more revealing than deciphering the content of communications.¹¹

Data mining refers to techniques and software programs that take part in gathering and analyzing data from different perspectives summarizing said data into useful information. Associated NSA programs leaked by Edward Snowden, including Stellar Wind, XKeyscore, Prism, Upstream, Boundless Informant and others either handle logistical hacking or directly siphon raw metadata from internet company servers and telecommunication fiber optic cables, taking nearly every piece of data communicated

through the internet or through telephones globally.¹² William Binney, former senior NSA administrator turned whistle blower and creator of the algorithm for contemporary data mining, has confirmed on numerous occasions the unimaginable breadth of information gathered by such programs.¹³ Through the amalgam of data mining programs by the NSA not only is there a capacity to surveil any individual, domestically or internationally, at any given time, but more importantly these programs collectively access and store terabytes of information indiscriminately on a daily basis.¹⁴

Cyber warfare is beginning to dominate the physical battle field as well. The technical naming of Drones is misleading because they are not currently unmanned: they are remotely controlled by a pilot. UCAV robotics in terms of lethal force operations usually refers to the “Reaper” and “Predator” models with Reaper drones being more heavily equipped in terms of fire power.¹⁵ Drones deploy various missiles but focus usually with the Hellfire missiles carrying a limit of 500 pounds of ammunition in some models.¹⁶ These UCAV’s offer two premier advantages in that they increase the persistence of engagement and secondly increase the level of responsiveness given.¹⁷ PW Singer, an authority in combat robotics, has keenly pointed out the true importance at hand: “They (Drones) do not just affect the how of war fighting but they affect the who at its most fundamental level... Mans 5,000 year monopoly on war is breaking down in our lifetime”.¹⁸ Rapid, cutting edge developments in this field are developing fully autonomous machines as a not so distant goal for increased efficiency.¹⁹ As of 2011 the US Air Force has more drone pilots than traditional fighter and bomb pilots combined.²⁰

Drones, during the Bush administration, were deployed in relatively low amounts in countries such as Iraq, Yemen, Pakistan and Afghanistan.²¹ Additionally, the strikes during this era were known as “personality strikes” meaning there would have to be definite direct intelligence about an individual terrorist being targeted.²² Toward the end of the Bush administration, lethal drone attacks started to become a primary tactic as a step away from the highly criticized torture and detainment policy.²³ As the Obama Administration took power, it immediately instated a new focus on the expanded use of drones.²⁴ By doing so the Obama Administration increased “signature strikes” operations—attacks based off behavioral data analysis of a suspected terrorist.²⁵ Currently operations include two main areas- Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as two increasing areas of interest on the Arabian Peninsula; Somalia and Yemen.²⁶

HAVE BOTH PROGRAMS PROVEN TO BE NOTICEABLY EFFECTIVE?

This question, like many others surrounding the drone programs, are varied largely depending whom is considered a targetable combatant and upon the country in question.²⁷ “Signature strikes” resulted in a troubling practice of lowering intelligence standards needed to target an enemy combatant.²⁸ One clear example of this effect appears in Pakistan where the majority of drone strikes have taken place. In Pakistan, an enemy combatant is defined as any male from the age of 16-65.²⁹ Official definitions that do not distinguish between civilian from combatants are adopted by journalists and researchers alike.³⁰ Therefore, the Obama Administration’s verbiage inhibits the ability for anyone to attribute accurate figures to civilian deaths. As for technical accuracy, UCAV’s have been championed as ideals of precision.³¹ Mechanization, however, is not a synonym for precision. Drone attacks still largely depend on gathered intelligence submitted by CIA operatives, a skill that is being lost as the CIA becomes more militarized.³² One researcher had the rare opportunity to study classified military data, which found that in Afghanistan drones were ten times more likely to be danger to civilians than jet fighters.³³ Official numbers of drone operations, while inaccurate and conservative, illustrate the dramatic increase of drone operation between the previous two administrations: 50 under the Bush Administration and 350 under the Obama Administration.³⁴ Although President Obama may attempt to distance himself from his predecessor’s use of aggressive unilateral force, his administration holds lethality to a much a higher value.

The feasibility of data mining operations contributing to terrorist apprehension has been shamelessly over exaggerated at the expense of a productive debate. Comprehensive analysis by the National Research Committee, consisting of notable academics with interdisciplinary expertise, have long ago dismissed such programs concluding that they are not effective in terms of apprehending suspected terrorists.³⁵ Chiefly, the sheer quantities of information given data streams are not desirable.³⁶ As William Perry the committee chair stated, “more data does not mean better data.”³⁷ Instead, the disposition of the programs are more akin to civil liberty violation engines. Leaks of an internal intelligence review verify the description, as a NSA post in Washington DC reported 2,756 cases of abuse in its own office in 2012 alone.³⁸ This is a staggering number when considering the report only counted cases and not how many people were affected. Also, terrorist organizations, despite contrary comments by Washington officials, are not only well aware of cyber surveillance programs but they are actively corrupting their data input into the data pool in order to

thwart analysis.³⁹ Equally as important, reports also recommend a larger oversight apparatus to lessen the possible threats posed by data mining programs.⁴⁰ Disturbingly enough from what has been released about ongoing programs, the most intrusive of them were, in fact, created to overcome the then contemporary restraints.

WHAT CAN BE OFFERED IN TERMS OF A SUSTAINABLE STRATEGY?

If cyber security is even a marginal goal of the US government, then the NSA is a Trojan horse. One of the most astounding revelations from the information leaked by Edward Snowden are reports of collaboration between the NSA and GCHQ, a British counterpart, and major tech companies to circumvent the fabric of the internet’s entire security-encryption.⁴¹ Encryption protects a user’s privacy and security potential not just from cyber attacks but from any data intrusion. NSA operations have persisted in infiltrating tech companies using nefarious means to co-opt product designs and security. Weakness in encryption makes everything from social security numbers, credit card information, medical records, and infrastructure security keys inherently more vulnerable to any individual or group. The rationale employed would be laughable if the reality wasn’t so disappointingly absurd. In effect, the NSA wishes to protect civilians/innocent parties by sabotaging the most important and intrinsic means of protection available. Though full disclosures have not been released, the NSA indicated this tactic is not targeted: it is systemic. A telling response from the Office of the Director of National Intelligence stated that people should be “hardly surprised” at the tactics detailed in said disclosures, affirming the state “seeks ways to counteract our adversaries.”⁴² If decryption infringes on the foundational safety apparatus of the internet then it may be reasonable to assume that the U.S. sees the entire globe as an enemy.

A major issue in regards to signature strikes is the ramifications it has on foreign nationals by creating “anti-American” attitudes.⁴³ While there is not a way to possibly quantify the extent of radicalization, policy makers, academics, journalists and even the military general who pioneered the use of drones, Stanley McChrystal, have expressed very deep concerns over the message these weapons send to foreign nations. Some experts have challenged the idea of radicalization of foreign civilians by citing studies that show no direct correlation between increased terrorist violence and frequent drone strikes.⁴⁴ However, this view misses the point entirely. Reducing radicalization to immediate violence or even increased terrorist membership is an extremely limiting perspective. American policy is creating hostile sentiments with

foreign civilians by fostering instability in areas which will nurture opposition to American influence in the future.

Displacing thousands of families across borders, increasing cooperation between terrorist and native communities out of necessity and causing terrorist cells to migrate into urban settings are only a few examples of the myriad of issues that will need to be addressed in years to come. Contemplate Afghanistan in 2014: it is an incredibly sensitive and volatile area plagued by internal violence, bearing resemblance to three decades ago.⁴⁵ This year the nation will not only see the beginning stages of US ground troop removal and hold national elections. It is naive to think that the aggressive drone campaigns will not be on the minds of Afghans as well as Pakistani families displaced in the region. American forces continue to grapple with understanding the complexities of tribal culture even after a decade of occupation; they now complicate matters by adding another degree of separation as robotic warriors. Drone pilots have been falsely described as being removed from the physiological repercussions of war.⁴⁶ Indeed, drone pilots are not as removed from warfare as some may believe. Reports show that drone pilots actually demonstrate higher cases of post traumatic syndrome than soldiers physically occupying the battlefield.⁴⁷ Policy makers are another matter. By removing the factor of American casualties, perhaps the largest political obstacle to war, combat is taken with considerably less gravity.⁴⁸ Libya, spring 2011, was exemplified as new precedence when President Obama indicated that a six month long campaign of 156 drone strikes was permissible because of the lack of physical troops on the ground.⁴⁹

CONGRESSIONAL AND JUDICIAL UNDERSIGHT

A trivialization of what constitutes warfare inevitably leads to misjudgments in legal justifications and the drone program is no exception. While the Obama Administration has yet to release an official judicial opinion on the parameters of drone warfare, Obama along with other leading Washington officials such as Attorney General Eric Holder and former Legal Adviser for the Department of State Harold Koh, have articulated the legal rationale used.⁵⁰ On the domestic side the administration has chiefly affirmed that the Authorization of Military Force (AUMF) is the primary basis for the legality of drone strikes in Afghanistan, an official battle zone.⁵¹ This legislation states the president has congressional consent to use “all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations

or persons.” By taking advantage of the vague, non technical language of the AUMF, presidents have embraced acts of lethal force never before seen. Yet, Obama has ironically contradicted himself and previous statements made by his administration in the spring of 2013: while Obama continued his assertion that the administration was acting in accordance with domestic law, he advocated for the repeal of the AUMF without citing any alternative domestic statute or piece of legislation.⁵² Furthermore, drone use in Afghanistan dramatically increased over all other uses of the military power. There is a second tier of justification that the Obama administration references: the domain of international law.

The State Department is incorrect in at least three ways for its fallacious invocation of international law.⁵³ First, the United States is a regular outlier in regards to international law having little to no respect for it especially compared with the global community. Secondly, there is no tradition in international law that permits such wide definitions of preemptive attacks and self defense as described by the Obama administration’s National Security Strategy. Even the broadest perspective of international law, known as customary international law, lacks congruence with the NSS.⁵⁴ Finally, the State Department attempts to interject a non-sequitor in international law as it indicates that only “weak” states are legally acceptable use cites for UCAVs. As legal expert Mary Ellen O’Connell notes, this is a clear indication of aggressive power politics principles found in realist theory, not international law, or any law for that matter.⁵⁵ Legal justifications for strikes are written by non-legal experts who simply provide their approximation of law to adapt to policy makers preference for continued drone use.⁵⁶ In this case law becomes submissive to the wishes of policy makers. What is truly troubling about this trend is that it occurs in battle-zones like Afghanistan. Other drone programs in the areas of Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen are joint operations between the CIA and covert operation groups in the military, with the CIA taking a notable leadership role. Overly convoluted military operations provide excessive freedoms of engagement that are not a part of the chain of command since CIA operatives are non combatants and only the president may dictate these operations.⁵⁷

The Federal Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 a piece of federal legislation meant to provide a schema for gathering foreign intelligence has been compromised to facilitate a surveillance state. An amendment found in Section 702 of the FISA allows for electronic surveillance when “(1) the person targeted by the order is a foreign power or its agent, and (2) the subject of the search (i.e., the telecommunications or place to be searched) is owned, possessed, or will be used by the target.”⁵⁸ The decision making on whether information is classified as foreign power happens internally rather externally in the Department of Justice and Office

of the Director of National Intelligence without “a warrant or court order”.⁵⁹ The NSA’s authority is, only in theory, regulated by special court bodies including the Federal Intelligence Security Courts (FISC) and Federal Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review (FISCR). President Obama has repeatedly stated the function of the courts is to mirror how criminal warrants are obtained in order to conduct surveillance yet National Security warrants have much lower standards of obtainability than criminal warrants. This differentiation is due to the fact that the FISC does not adhere to the standard of probable cause. Minimization procedures which are bound to Section 702 to help safeguard domestic information from being accessed were found by FISC to be insufficiently executed on a systemic level and while the NSA also mislead the courts about the depth of surveillance.⁶⁰ William Banks, Director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University, in an interview with NPR, remarked that the FISC was “less a court than an administrative entity or ministerial clerk”.⁶¹ Surely, some members of Congress should have been informed. Indeed a relatively small number of members did have knowledge about unlawful practices but were barred from disclosing that information by law.⁶² Greenwald keenly points out that “Committee Chairs—Democrat Dianne Feinstein in the Senate and Republican Mike Rogers in the House” are “steadfast NSA loyalists in Congress” who have relationships that are “notoriously beholden to the NSA and the intelligence community”.⁶³ In the face of disclosures President Obama consistently relied on the argument that maintained all three branches of government were heavily involved in the oversight of these programs, an obvious misstatement of facts.

TECHNOLOGY OR TECHNIQUE?

The Obama administration has indeed nurtured both robotic warfare and global surveillance. Nonetheless both programs were partly inherited from society. The Digital Revolution driven by Silicon Valley has for the past three decades penetrated the globe and innovated far past the wildest imaginations of science fiction. Developing nations that once seemed to have limited access to wireless communication are surging in growth demonstrating a massive upheaval towards cyber communications. Mobile devices are designed to facilitate more facets of life any other object one may possess. Unfortunately, policy makers and citizens alike make the mistake of assuming that cyber technology is merely a tool or extension of one’s self that can maximize efficiency in a given field: there remains a continuous demonstration to the contrary. A database used to seek out dangerous individuals turns into

a Orwellian-State apparatus. A weapon used to reduce remove soldiers from harm while increasing accuracy turns into an instrument of instability by terrorizing foreign civilians.

Philosopher Jacques Ellul possessed keen observations about the given discrepancy. From an Ellulian perspective, technology is driven from a phenomenon called “technique”; “the totality of methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency (for a given stage of development) in every field of human activity”.⁶⁴ Three key implicit conclusions are to be drawn from Ellul’s observation: 1.) Humans do not utilize technology rather the relationship is an interactive 2.) Cyber technology has a nearly autonomous nature that supersedes a user’s ideology 3.) Technique is amoral as it is solely concerned with absolute efficiency. Democratic ideals suffocate under such conditions. If ideology is superfluous to technique, institutional reforms could not realistically solve the dilemmas presented. Furthermore, the American liberal model of democracy relies on a logic rooted in ethical imperatives; democracy is an ethical decision. Technique allows efficient state objectives: “military power, economic growth,” to become primary over democratic principles.⁶⁵ Society and policy makers naively believe the causal relationship between man and technology is uni-directional; man changes technology.⁶⁶ However, the relationship between man and technology is bi-directional: man and technology are mutually transformative.⁶⁷ By maintaining the former perspective America fails to be self aware. Political solutions alone will not alleviate the crisis in the future as they deal with innate queries about the new human experience, namely the “responsibility of freedom”.⁶⁸ Creation of new societal models that reconfigure democratic principles in a manner that is consistent with the historical context of a technological society is a process that must originate in the American psyche and not the Oval Office.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT MEXICAN STATE

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Mexico is ripe for revolution, but revolution in its broadest sense, which is the overthrow and the thorough replacement of the established government or political system, violent or nonviolent. However, multiple elements contribute to Mexico's current state. One issue that persists in Mexico today, that has its roots since Spanish colonization, is the division of Mexico as a nation. The divisions are complex and have different implications; for example, class conflict, cultural origins, and governance. Relating to current events, the government is unable to establish a sense of law and order in multiple aspects. Corruption in all levels of government, the inability to contain the violence in the country, and the ignorance in addressing the needs of its people are key issues in this ordeal. The current state of the economy and the lack of a decent distribution of wealth does very little to relieve the hardships of the common man and his family. Neither is the international economic system absent from the issues there. And conflicts between groups, from students to cartels, to unions to the military, illustrate how issues are touching every aspect of life in Mexico. This paper's goal is not to discuss, nor profess, the coming of a revolution, or any political change for that matter, but simply to elaborate on the vulnerability of the current Mexican state to revolution, starting with its most ancient issue.

Mexico's colonial history, beginning in 1521 to the current date is where the inception of Mexico's issues occurred. Under the Spanish control, the slow attempt at de-Indianizing the true Mexican population transpired, which is one of the basic

characteristics of any colonial society. This is where the invading group dominates all aspects of life and tries to abolish any remnants of past traditions. At the point of Mexico's Independence on September 16, 1810, we saw a country and a populous that was united under the common goal: removing the Spaniards and becoming an independent state. What should have happened during this time was the natural process of decolonization of the population as a whole, to achieve the recognition of a united Mexican peoples, much like the United States did with recognizing themselves as Americans. What happened in Mexico following Independence was quite the opposite. What was created instead was a state that was controlled by the self-proclaimed upper class Creoles and Mestizos, leaving the high number of indigenous population without representation in the future decisions of the country. As the evolutionary process of the country continued, the social gaps became more and more apparent. This missed step in the country's past has evolved into the government we see today in which we see the government acting more in line with the wants of the few, rather than the needs of the many and neglecting the majority of the population.¹

Moving forward, an example of this persisting issue lies with the past dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, which had numerous effects on the Mexican People. Under Diaz, Mexico saw many structural advancements. Railroads were constructed, ports were modernized and telecommunications became commonplace for the wealthy. Although infrastructure was created, the gap between the rich and the poor was alarmingly large and there was no middle class. The

Diaz regime appeased foreign investors and large land owners, seemingly crushing the Mom and Pop ranches and businesses. The straw that broke the camel's back was his unwillingness to giving up power. After he rigged elections so that he was elected for a 6th consecutive term, the people had had enough.² Today, we see that these issues are still here, the only difference being the names have changed. No longer is it the creoles, mestizos and indigenous. Now it is the political parties, corporations and the corruption that exists between them.

The contemporary political system in Mexico has a recognized past of being very corrupt. This fact is known internationally and it became common knowledge while the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) was in power. For 72 years this political party monopolized government and destroyed minority leaders. Also during this time, exploitation and economic misery increased. Such problems were due almost completely to the neoliberal policies and economic globalization that PRI promoted.³ In its beginnings, PRI had a very popular motto: "Create wealth first, distribute it later."⁴ By stating that the creation of wealth comes first, the government isn't afraid to consider austerity measures for economic stability. The second part of the motto, the distribution, was sadly never accomplished. In the 1950s, when the party started, the poorest families owned 19% of the country's wealth; in 1975 that decreased to 13%. On the other hand, the richest families in the 1950s had the 60% of the wealth, and in 1975 that rose to 62%. This unequal wealth distribution continued into the 1990s under President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.⁵

Carlos Salinas de Gortari is the most polemical president in the recent history of Mexico. His policies primarily favored the rich, which resulted in making the poor even poorer. During his presidency, Salinas sold public enterprises to private investors and destroyed the law requiring 51% of the ownership to be under Mexican strategic industries. "Consequently, around 30 people in Mexico became billionaires under the Salinas administration through newly privatized companies."⁷ By 1990 Mexican business groups were able to monopolize the Mexican economy and 2% of the Mexican population controlled over 78.5% of the national income.⁸ For decades, presidents and many PRI officials became rich men by the time their time in office was over.⁹ The Mexican population was able to recognize this corruption and started to doubt their government. Salinas de Gortari was part of one of Mexico's greatest election scandals, in which 30,000 ballots boxes were "lost" and the government did little to recover them.¹⁰ This information is relevant because the current president, and intellectual creator of Mexico's energy reform, Enrique Peña Nieto, is a representative of the PRI. Andres Lopez Obrador, a 2012 presidential candidate, accused him of cheating to win the

presidency, and for that reason, the people fear all of his reforms.

Ultimately, the issue associated with corruption is the potential it has to discredit the legitimacy of the government in the eyes of its people. The reasoning for this comes from the six dimensions of governance measured by the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) used by the World Bank. The WGI measures: one, voice and accountability (VA), which is the level of accessibility to participating in democracy as well as freedom of speech, association, and free press; two, political stability and the absence of violence (PV); three, government effectiveness (GE) in addressing the issues of the governed minus political pressure and other restraining influences; four, regulatory quality (RQ), referring to the fluidity of sound policy making; five, rule of law (RL) in all areas, such as property rights, policing, and courts; and six, control of corruption (CC).¹¹ From this measure, where the higher the percentage the better the governance, Mexico's 2010 VA ranking falls at 52%, RL at 34%, and CC at 44%.¹² In 2012 the GE ranked at roughly 60%.¹³ A government's effectiveness to govern is highly important. History shows that a lack in fair representation and execution of public demands by government may lead to future revolt. For example, the republican revolutions in the American colonies, France, and, more recently, the Arab Spring. Nonetheless, there are also foreign influences that affect the livelihood of everyday Mexicans.

NAFTA plays a significant role in the increase of poverty in Mexico. With its signing in 1994, NAFTA caused a 66% decrease in profits to farmers growing corn, forcing many to retire from the industry. The treaty also required a change in the constitution of Mexico, dropping the guarantee of land ownership to those living in rural villages. Evidently, over 2 million people were financially displaced adding to Mexico's poverty and increasing immigration to the United States. The treaty also required a deregulation of prices, which lead to a 279% increase in tortillas, a staple food in Mexico. Within a couple of years of signing, the poverty rate in Mexico dramatically increased. Wages were also affected. Real wages, the real value of one's wage considering increased prices of consumer goods, are significantly below pre-NAFTA levels. The people that experienced the most dramatic decrease in real wage were employed women with basic education and employed men with advanced education. The treaty also ruined many small to medium sized businesses from ever developing; an estimated 28,000 small businesses didn't succeed due to competition from larger US companies. But Mexico was convinced by the promises of greater economic benefits if it joined NAFTA, when in reality, it only made it worse for the common man and further widened the level of disparity between the rich and the poor.¹⁴

The top 20% of the population held almost 53% of Mexico's

total income in 2010 and the bottom 60% shared a little more than half of that.¹⁵ The unemployment rate was last recorded at 5% in 2012, but the underemployment was estimated to be as high as 25%, meaning that many are working less than full employment and wish to work full hours.¹⁶ Plus, it's common for economists to believe unemployment rates are a bit higher than reported due to the absence of including discouraged workers into the statistic, who are people wishing to work but don't seek it due to the inevitability, or other factors, of not finding work. In 2013, the Mexican government released information stating in 2012, 45.5% of the population lives in poverty, 35.7% in moderate poverty and 9.8% in extreme poverty.¹⁷ The southern states tend to be the poorest in Mexico, which coincidentally holds the larger indigenous population in the country. However, poor migrants from other parts of Latin America also pass through Mexico to enter the United States, some of which are recruited by cartels. The poor are essentially getting hired by cartels where and when no one else is hiring.

First, the government's inability to establish order in regards to the violence resulting from the drug war in all corners of Mexico needs to be addressed. More than 60,000 deaths have been recorded from 2006 to 2012, growing from year to year. And sadly, mass graves are commonly found throughout the country. The drug industry is estimated to be worth \$19 to \$29 billion. Mexico having a GDP (official exchange rate) of a little more than \$1 trillion, drugs bring in almost 2 to 3 percent of the total production value of the country's entire economy. Mexico's entire agricultural industry produces 4.1% of the GDP.^{18,19} There are multiple cartels that plague the country, and according to CNN, there are seven major ones to note. They vary in size, strength, and often conflict with each other over territory and influence. The largest two are the Sinaloa Cartel, controlling a majority of the Pacific coast and northwestern Mexico. The other is Los Zetas, controlling a majority of the Gulf coast and stretching inland. The other five, although smaller but no less violent, are the Beltran Leyva Cartel, the Gulf Cartel, the Juarez Cartel, the Michoacán Cartel and the Tijuana Cartel. Their names alone suggest their respective territories and the Beltran Leyva Cartel controls spotted areas along the western mountain ranges of Mexico.²⁰

The vast amounts of wealth the cartels accumulate are primarily due to the never ending desire for narcotics which users in the United States demand. A 2012 report by the United States Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control admitted, "Ultimately, it is drug consumption in the United States that fuels violence throughout Latin America."²¹ As of 2007, Mexico is the largest foreign exporter of marijuana and methamphetamine to the US and is also a major supplier of heroin. It is the second largest producer of opium poppy in the world. From 2008 to 2009

production grew 31% to 19.5 thousand hectares, or 195 million square meters, enough to produce 50 metric tons of pure heroin or 125 metric tons of "black tar" heroin, the more popular of the two in the western United States. Marijuana production also grew by 45% in 2009. The cartels not only gain from what is produced at home, but also from what is produced abroad, primarily from Colombian cocaine. In fact, 95% of the cocaine that ultimately arrives in the US travels through Mexico.²²

The cartels are formidably armed as well. By 2012, Mexican authorities seized 68,000 arms originating from the US.²³ Almost 70% of the guns seized were traced from 2007 to 2011 and came from gun shops in the US; some weapons are military grade.²⁴ With a vast amount of wealth and arms being supplied from the US to the cartels, it is no wonder why the Mexican government has its hands full trying to contain the growing violence, let alone push it back. Additionally, much like the cartels, some Mexican government members value personal gains more than the welfare of their people.

The rise of vigilantism, or self-defense groups, in Mexico is appropriate evidence to show a lack of government effectiveness and illustrates how the police and military forces are unable to provide security for the people, leaving the population to fend for itself. Currently, the reasons why the police and military are unable to defend the people dig deeper than just the strength of the cartels. It is commonly known that high and low ranking personnel in both the police and the military work in junction with the cartels.²⁵ Recently, in August 2013, the US was forced to release 60-year old Rafael Caro Quintero, a founder of one of Mexico's earliest cartels that later split into the Sinaloa and Juarez Cartels, due to a Mexican court ruling. The US, especially the DEA, was outraged by the decision. The Association of Former Federal Narcotics Agents (AFFNA) blamed the corruption in the Mexican justice system and stated that events like these are what strain the United States' cooperation with Mexican authorities.²⁶ Ultimately, if the ones who are supposed to protect you actually work for the ones that hurt you, a justified alternative is to take arms in defense. Of course, there are peaceful ways to confront the issue of a corrupt defense force.²⁷ However, this method is illogical for persons living in the more rural regions of the country. Showing your face in protest in a region where everyone recognizes you puts you and your family in a vulnerable position of being attacked as an example to others. Coincidentally, Mexico has some of the strictest gun laws in the world, and is an expensive and complex process to own one. Though this does not stop Mexicans from arming and defending themselves from the violence.²⁸ Most of these groups are from the southern states, the most popular of which are from Michoacán and Guerrero.²⁹

On top of issues with corruption, the military, however much good it has done against the cartels, has also lost favor from the public because of its abuses against the people, including torture, rape, and murder. For example, in May of 2007, after a military force was attacked by unknown personnel in Michoacan killing five soldiers, the military sent hundreds of soldiers into the nearby municipalities in Michoacan searching for the attackers or at least to gain some information on their identity and/or location. The soldiers ended up committing dozens of abuses, such as illegal entries into homes, beatings, torture, rape and illegal detentions at a military base. During the two days that had followed the attack, soldiers held 36 people, including five minors. There they were beaten and tortured; four of them were girls under the age of 18. The detainees later testified in a federal court against the soldiers that had beaten, sexually abused, and raped them.³⁰ One of the girls told the court how a soldier said to her during a forced ride on a helicopter, “fucking human rights don’t exist, we will throw you in the sea and you will be food for the sharks.”³¹ Also, the soldiers stole cash and jewelry and threatened inhabitants with their guns. Regarding the investigation of the four girls’ abuse, responsibility was handed over to the Military Attorney General’s Office for further investigation. As of 2009, none of the soldiers have been prosecuted. Evidently, two of the girls’ cases have been dropped most likely out of fear or intimidation. This is only one of many injustices performed by the military during recent years³². Killings and disappearances are also methods used by the military and it is ruining their reputation.³³

So, with a country scarred with violence, and with an economy and policies that don’t benefit the people, what has the government done recently, and what has been the people’s reaction? In terms of the violence, Mexico has primarily relied on the military and education, as well as oil, as agents of reform to better Mexico’s current state. The response by the people has been short of ecstatic.

The recent oil and education reforms have upset many and have led to an increase in protests in Mexico. The reason why the protests are mentioned is not to discuss whether the reforms are beneficial or not, but to show how they stir unrest in Mexico. One group that is unhappy about the reforms is the National Education Workers’ Union, or the SNTE. The SNTE also happens to be the largest union of any type in Latin America, accounting for 1.2 million members.³⁴ A more radical union, the National Coordinator of Educational Workers (CNTE), poses a more animated threat to order. The group tends to have a Marxist perception of the situation, supporting its cause by declaring the problem as an issue of class conflict. The “movement,” as members call their union, is “independent of the bourgeoisie and their state.”³⁵ Since August, 2013, they have blocked national highways,

clashed with police, burned cars and blocked access to the entrance of the legislative building. CNTE accused Mexico’s government of being a criminal organization responsible for sinking the country into misery. On December 14, 2013, 500 CNTE members took down a blockade and clashed with police outside of the Ministry of Interior as the protests escalated in Mexico City.³⁶ In a phone interview with an SNTE member from Section 12 in the state of Durango, the SNTE leadership typically supports official decisions because they are usually compensated for their support; however, due to the current situation, the members recognize the corruption of their leadership and are striking on their own accord, including directly supporting the CNTE.³⁷

Mexico’s youth has also played a role in voicing its disapproval in Mexican politics. A popular student lead group called YoSoy 132 began their movement during the presidential elections of 2012 while campaigning against the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) presidential candidate, Enrique Peña Nieto, who has a questionable human rights record.³⁸ They also have a disapproving opinion of the country’s media for showing preference to the PRI candidate over others, Televisa and TV Azteca in particular. They continue to protest even after the presidential election’s conclusion.³⁹ They also supported the teacher’s protests in September and disapprove of the oil reforms, confronting riot police with rocks and Molotov cocktails.⁴⁰ Supporters of the movement have gone as far as declaring this to be equivalent to the Arab Spring movement. Some experts believe this to be an exaggeration, however, there is still time needed to establish the significance of the movement.⁴¹

Several events emerging from Mexico in the last several months suggest Mexico’s further decline as a state. One interesting occurrence is the alleged formation of a new guerilla group in December, 2013, from the state of Guerrero. The group, calling themselves the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Liberation of the People (FAR-LP), has “accuse[d] the government of killing environmental activists, student and rural leaders and other community activists... and demand the release of detained leaders of self-defense groups.”⁴² They later openly declared war on the Mexican government. The group also shares the same concerns over the recent energy and education reforms.

Additionally, different armed rebel groups have been active in the region for decades, including a group called the People’s Revolutionary Army, which shares Marxist ideologies. Their last known attack involved the sabotage of several oil pipelines in 2007.⁴³ In the neighboring state of Michoacán, the self-defense militias have gained a great deal of strength and influence in the western state against the Knights Templar cartel to the point of surrounding the organization in the city of Apatzingan by

controlling neighboring towns. The self-defense militias have gained such strength that they are being considered a security threat to the Mexican government. Some are comparing the rise of the self-defense forces to the rise of the paramilitary militias that scarred Colombia twenty years ago.⁴⁴ The federal government therefore confronted the militias in January, 2014, and asked them to disarm. However, Jose Manuel Mireles, a leader of the Michoacán self-defense militia, stated, “When they re-establish the rule of law in all of Michoacán, then we’ll see how to accommodate all the people who out of necessity have to arm themselves.”⁴⁵ The militias also have support abroad: Mexicans from California can be found fighting alongside them against the cartels.⁴⁶

Today, the canvas of Mexico’s current state is painted with the imagery of a corrupt government, an economy that is unable to provide for the people, and a population that is growing more and more impatient with constant disappointment from their political leaders and institutions. We see the government attempting to reform the country by continuing their involvement in NAFTA and perhaps joining the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership which we can expect will only be a detriment to the people of Mexico and benefit the wealthy that are already in power. Not to mention only furthering the gap between the economic distribution of wealth in the country, adding to the ever growing dark cloud of corruption looming over those making the decisions. Coupling this with the growing drug trafficking issues the people of Mexico are left witnesses. The true lack of centralized power needed to prevent the situation from escalating is opening the opportunity for the people to take matters into their own hands by and through self-defense groups. Such groups’ ideals are in line with those of the people, unlike their governments, creating a possible fuse that need only be sparked. So, is revolution really the answer to the question? What history has taught us is that revolution has the potential to create more chaos as the vacuum of power is unleashed and very rarely does it lead to prosperity. What is for certain, however, is that the current reforms are not working.

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THE BOLIVARIAN LEGACY

YULEIMA LOZANO

The loss of a revolution's leader cannot only destroy the movement, but it can also deteriorate the very fabric that bonded the people to begin with. The death of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in March, 2013 was more than just the death of Venezuela's president, but it was death of the leader of the Bolivarian revolution. After his death, Chavez's Vice President, Nicolas Maduro, was able to successfully win the presidential election amid a strong threat from the opposition. The strong disconnect between Maduro and the Venezuelan population has limited his ability to be an influential leader. While the country's economy continues in a downward spiral, and social unrest at an all-time high, President Maduro has yet to act upon the severity of these issues.¹ Venezuela is dealing with the leftover effect of failing economic and social policies implemented during Chavez's thirteen year presidency. It has been clear that Maduro has failed to appease the pleas of the people. Consequently, protests have intensified since February, 2014 and a collective cry against Maduro has grown regarding his failure to follow through with the legacy of the Bolivarian Revolution.²

Chavez's Bolivarian Revolution was more than a movement, it was a national sentiment of unity and an answer to the issues that had been plaguing the marginalized communities of Venezuela for decades. Essentially, the Bolivarian Revolution was a means for Chavez to reform the entire nation through his social-democratic policies and push for democracy. Chavez laid out the framework to make a drastic changes politically, economically and socially in Venezuela for what he stated would be a people's revolution.

Chavez's visionary movement has only left behind the broken economic and political policies that have consequently resulted in the public disapproval of President Maduro. Due to the simple fact that Maduro is not Chavez, the Bolivarian Revolution is likely to have little to no success, especially if Maduro continues attempting to emulate Chavez.

The Bolivarian Revolution in its inception was Chavez's strategic utilization of all presidential powers and resources to create an entirely new kind of government. President Chavez envisioned the revolution as representing the populist movement in Latin America as well as promoting democratic ideals geared to all citizens, not only the wealthy. Chavez's ascension to leader of the revolution, which was craftily named after the Spanish liberator Simon Bolivar, led to a trajectory of events that caused the entire region to embrace his leadership due to his charismatic spirit that undoubtedly influenced many to believe that all of his objectives were for the greater good.³ The revolution began prior to Chavez's presidency, gaining ground during the Presidency of Carlos Andres Perez. The cause for the revolution has always been focused on the principles of liberal democracy as traditional democracy began to weaken in the 1970s throughout the region.⁴

During Chavez's time in the military, he began to realize that the country's failures were due to deep-rooted corruption within the government. His first effort made in promoting the Bolivarian Revolution was his coup d'état attempt against President Andres Perez in 1992. This coup proved to be a failure, leaving Chavez in jail for a period of time. Yet even though he spent two years

in prison, his Bolivarian movement began to spread throughout the marginalized communities in Venezuela.⁵ Not elected until 1998, Chavez saw that the devastation of Venezuela's economy and government structure had a long lasting effect on the citizens, thus he sought out to obtain some influential assistance from another radical leader, Cuba's Fidel Castro.⁶ As the prime example of a leader that reformed an entire country under a new system of commerce and politics, Castro embodied the idea of what Chavez was striving for, success through a concise revolution. Due to the political decentralization and the mismanagement of the economy, which caused intensified economic problems, Chavez understood that there needed to be major economic change for Venezuela to not only prosper but to also become autonomous. "Chavismo," support for Hugo Chavez and his revolution, took root soon after President Caldera released and pardoned Chavez. Upon release, Chavez advocated for a political movement which would centralize authority, eliminate oligarchical influence and allow the government to manage the country's resources.⁷

As president, Chavez began to swing Venezuela to the left, a trend occurring in many Latin American nations, and in doing so, he built regional alliances, prioritized the economy and made sure that the intentions of the Bolivarian Revolution were at the forefront of every decision.⁸ The populist movement caused the Bolivarian Revolution to truly take flight as there were minimal opposing forces in the region and more countries were making similar political advances—countries like Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia, which solidified Chavez's efforts. The growth of Chavismo intensified as Chavez sought out to create an economic system for Venezuela which would not only reform the fragmented markets and the devastated oil sector, but would allow for a socialist agenda to take hold through the democratization of industries and nationalizing them for what Chavez noted to be beneficial to Venezuela as a whole.⁹ However, even as Chavez was giving voice and providing solutions for people living in poverty, the idealistic vision of Chavismo created social policies that under the construction of the new Bolivarian Republic underwent periods of trial and error before fully solving the issues of poverty and marginalization. Venezuela, like most Latin American countries, is plagued with poverty. In 1998, about twenty percent of households were living in extreme poverty while 50 percent of all households were considered poor.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Bolivarian movement allowed the disenfranchised to have a voice in popular elections, a key element in maintaining support by advocating for full citizen participation.

Chavez's efforts toward attaining votes from specific communities have been observed as manipulation of the masses to make them feel as if they are at the core of the movement. Whether that is true or not, Chavez outlined his dedication to the formerly

disenfranchised peoples within the Bolivarian constitution that was promulgated during his presidency.¹¹ It was evident that Chavez had some intention to elevate the people as he advocated and funded new social programs in his government. Also, as a paternalistic figure in this developing nation, Chavez began a transition toward a new structure of government by bringing to light the lack of social consciousness of the state. By 2008, through his social programs and policies, Chavez was able to reduce the poverty rate to nine percent and close to three million people were able to overcome extreme poverty.¹² For a period of time there was a successful transfer of revenue into social programs from the oil company, resulting in substantial advancement for many communities living in poverty, but the longevity of these programs were not properly structured, which is evident in the last few years of Chavez's rule. The economy began to suffer, and consequently, so did the social programs. Today, the success of the oil industry is important for Venezuela as a petro-state in order to continue the Bolivarian Revolution, and just as it was under Chavez, the oil industry is necessary to fund new social programs.¹³

The oil industry itself was more than just an industry in Venezuela, it was the key factor in attaining economic soundness and revamping a market in which oil would dominate on an international level.¹⁴ The anti-interventionist attitude that Chavez had with outside nations, particularly the US and their capitalist allies, allowed him the freedom to institute the government as he wished. The vision Chavez had, which is still attempting to be carried on today, is founded on the concept of an autonomous nation with the ability to gain revenue from resources within the state. Chavez was able to influence legislation to gain control of the newly nationalized Venezuelan oil company, Petroleum of Venezuela (PDVSA), with the help and overwhelming support of his political party who had, at that point, more seats in the Assembly than any other party.¹⁵ Chavez sought to preserve his centralized power in order to avoid influence and oppression by outside powers. No longer having foreign companies operating the Venezuelan oil industry, the state permitted the price of oil to remain at negotiable rates so that the state benefitted monetarily.¹⁶ By 2003, the oil company was an entirely statist industry and its revenue was being used to fund social programs. Chavez noted, "PDVSA now belongs to all of us."¹⁷ Not only was the PDVSA under state control, by implementing another element of the Bolivarian revolution, eliminating all traces of corruption, Chavez fired most of the staff members working for the oil companies and replaced them with Chavistas.¹⁸

The revenue from the oil company was supposed to develop multiple industries such as those that subsidized food for citizens. In doing so, socializing the PDVSA meant Chavez would manage

the oil company and was then able to control the price it would be sold at. Regionally, he built alliances by selling oil at wholesale prices to countries as he did for example, for Argentina.¹⁹ The PDSVA alone has brought in an \$87 billion revenue in 2013; this market has built up the nation's position as having one of the largest and most profitable oil companies in the world as reported by Venezuelan Oil Minister Rafael Ramirez.²⁰ As noted by Ramirez in 2012, the revenue was reported at approximately \$125 billion but profit was only \$4 billion; in 2013, it reached \$87 billion revenue and closed out the year with a profit of \$25 billion.²¹ Domestically, the constitution called for the state to own the oil company and royalties were increased from 16.6 to 30 percent with the income tax reduced from 60 to 50 percent, all toward obtaining a substantial flow of revenue for the state.²² This revenue allowed Venezuela to benefit in terms of ensuring that the community was properly served through instituting preventative health care centers, housing facilities and most pertinently, constituting an equal form of income distribution. In total, by 2008, the PDVSA spent around 23 billion solely in social programs.²³ This level of spending, and the inclusion of all citizens through government efforts, has allowed for the state to maintain the Bolivarian movement. Poverty was reduced greatly but at the same time, while social programs were being funded, so was the militia at extreme rates. Chavez's roots are in the military. In 2002, after the attempted coup, the national militia, which is separate from the traditional military, was propped up with a new disbursement of weapons with the aims of protecting Chavez and his interests.

President Maduro has inherited the legacy of the Bolivarian Revolution, yet even though he was handpicked as successor, Maduro has struggled to carry on that legacy successfully. President Maduro began his relationship with the Bolivarian movement in 1994 when he campaigned to have Chavez released from jail; additionally, his wife was part of the legal defense team working on Chavez's imprisonment case.²⁴ Over time, Maduro worked his way up in the Venezuelan government. He started off as part of the National Assembly and soon became Foreign Minister for Chavez in 2006. However, it wasn't until 2012 during Chavez's last term that Maduro was chosen as Vice President. Chavez noted him to be a revolutionary man with the ability to handle the difficult work ahead of him. After Chavez's death, Maduro has worked hard to keep the revolution alive as he maintains the same public appearances schedule that Chavez did as well as delivering major speeches to draw in masses of people. However, as noted previously, in comparison to Chavez, Maduro has not been able to truly get to the heart of the Revolution. Maduro's struggle may not be the result of shifting the legacy Chavez carried to himself.

Chavez began to move away from the initial legacy of

Bolivarian revolution. The transformation of Chavez as a leader becomes apparent during his thirteen years in power. He was faced with limited opposition and through assuming more powers in the government was eventually able to extend his powers by amending the constitution.²⁵ Initially, Chavez was a man full of enthusiasm, leading the people through his charismatic spirit and heartfelt advocacy of the poor, yet his quest for power led many to wonder whether his initial movement was just a way to manipulate the most desperate communities. Currently, Chavez is still portrayed as savior by the many people who received assistance. Maduro has not been able to sway the people as easily for the simple fact that he is not seen as their leader. Maduro has continued to carry on the economic policies of import substitution, leading to major shortages, as well as maintaining an anti-capitalist rhetoric that Chavez initiated. Chavez saw some of the most economically prosperous years for Venezuela; however, leading up to his untimely death, the economy started to suffer.²⁶ Today, the economy is at one of its highest inflation rates it has been for years, and one of the highest ranked in the world.

Maduro's election was won by a small margin and it was assumed that he would not be able to harness the support necessary to ever mirror the image of Chavez. The opposition, as it was during Chavez's presidency, is adamant about replacing the Chavez agenda; they blame his policies for the nation's economic downturn and social strife which have led to dire and unsafe conditions in Venezuela.²⁷ However, the opposition, in comparison to the period where Chavez was in power, has gained more traction, having built more of a public following and garnering international attention. The simplest reason for Maduro's limited popularity is that he is not the individual who romanced the public to blindly follow the revolution. For one thing, Maduro did not speak to the people as equals like Chavez did, and most of all, he is not Hugo Chavez, he is not the image of the Bolivarian Revolution. The only thing that Maduro has in his favor is his loyalty to Chavismo.²⁸

Comparatively, Venezuela today is suffering more than ever as a result of the mismanagement of the economy and corruption that sprung out of the Revolution in regards to the power structure in the government. Due to the fact that Chavez was able to sustain mutually beneficial relationships with his regional allies, Maduro has had to continue these alliances, but presently, these relationships are in no way minimizing public discontent with Maduro.²⁹ Chavez set the stage for a socialist democratic republic in which he would personally manage Venezuela's resources and needs which many believed to be for the greater good. Through democratizing institutions, Chavez allowed the nation to project the image of people having a voice in government.³⁰ However, Chavez's efforts to push democracy onto a nation that was once

ruled by the elite, like most countries in Latin America, did not prove to be as successful, mainly due to his extreme control over these state institutions. Not only did Chavez become increasingly authoritarian in the last years of his presidency, he made it a normal trend to rule by decree, something Maduro continues to do today.³¹ As for democracy, because of the government's actions, the country has experienced quite the opposite. The people's reactions speak for themselves while they demonstrate their discontent with the Maduro Administration. The strongest criticism from the public is his inability to maneuver the country to economic prosperity and his limited comprehension of what the people need. In comparison, Chavez drew crowds of people that were in favor of his rule whereas Maduro has drawn deadly protests which he blames on the opposition.³² Maduro continues to deny that the ongoing protests are an outcry against the grip the government has over institutions and the government's inability to provide the basic necessities to the public.

March 5th marked the first anniversary of President Hugo Chavez's death. Venezuela endures turbulent uncertainty as the nation's political, economic and social structures continue to unravel. This political unrest has devalued Maduro's position and has affected his to show progress. What the future holds for Venezuela is essentially wrapped around the oil company and whether or not the administration will be able to sustain it or if the unrest will lead to a complete counter-revolution to the Bolivarian movement. Public turmoil is a clear indication that the situation in Venezuela is in shambles, and like most revolutions, there has been an innate evolution of what was once the original perception of the revolution.³³ The people have battled through the problems under Chavez, they have endured the building economic issues, and now they have struggled through the transition of Maduro. It may be unclear what Venezuela will evolve into but there is no indication that Maduro's popularity will increase in the future as he enters his second year as President.

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MAFIA POLITICS

TAYLOR MARTIN

“Russia’s underworld emerged out of a dysfunctional political culture that stretched back several hundred years... the (thieves) are the product of Soviet Authority”

—Comrade Criminal

INTRODUCTION

A group of sharply dressed middle-aged men sit outside Zio Medici’s Barber Shop, discussing the latest sports team victories and gossiping about the neighborhood’s happenings while smoking thick cigars. Their melodic chatter and bellowing laughs enchant the ears of the dark-eyed women in the apartment above as they peel basil leaves from their stems. Across town, a similar group of men sit inside a dark, smoky bar, all congregated around a single table. Two groups on either side of the table intently watch two men battle over a black and red checkered board. One player, more aged as signified by his full grey beard and mustache, with a piercing icy blue stare waits for his opponent to make a move. The other man, dressed in a red track suit, slowly sends his knight into battle. Check. The older man remains unstirred, takes a sip of his vodka and studies the board. His opponent’s grey eyes widen as he is struck with defeat. Check mate. The older man smiles as he claims his latest victory, his layered trap had worked.

Smart, calculating, violent, and efficient: These are mobsters, Russian mafia men.

In America, the association between the Russian government and the mafia is familiar. Vilified in films and dehumanized by television, Americans view the Mafia in a lighter, humoristic light; a group that can be easily defeated by good’ol American justice.

However, the Russian Mafia is not to be taken lightly. Dangerously involved in their country’s politics, mafia men are rather an extension of Putin’s reign, acting as an informal place-holder. What does this mean? Russia’s potential hegemonic status lies within the efficiency of their mafia mentality. Russian foreign policy is not about promoting democracy or ending injustice. On the contrary, organized crime within the country has spilled into Russian international relations- rather advantageous to Putin’s regime. With the Russian people fearfully loyal to the Federation, the mafia and the government have assumed the same identity: the strongman. Backed by intimidation, violence, calculation and coercion, Russia is fearlessly increasing relations with countries like Vietnam, Cyprus, and elements within East Ukraine in a manner that mirrors the preferred game of the Russian mobsters. Each country acts as a pawn in President Putin’s global chess match. In this game of wits, the prize is hegemony.

A STOLEN REVOLUTION: THE RISE OF CRIME WITH THE FALL OF THE UNION

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the fate of the USSR was undoubtedly dim. Fearing that their power was to soon disappear, political leaders of the Soviet Union scrambled to prepare for

the crash of the Union. Understanding their country's political climate and history, the Russian cabinet at the end of the Soviet Union remained primarily unchanged and unchallenged. With the initiation of Glasnost and Perestroika, citizen attitude towards their country was contra-democratic. With the rejection of "demokratizatsiya" within their nation, the legitimacy of the corrupt former Soviet leaders serving in the infant Russian Federation was undeniably strengthened. By 1993, mobsters strengthened by consuming legal figures, for officers had become parallel authorities: employed by the state, paid by the mafia.¹ Concurrently, a blind eye was turned on the legal front and crime skyrocketed. In 1993, Yevgeni Maksimov, deputy head of the Main Department for Economic Crimes of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, recalled, "in the old days, there were rules for everything-but now, with our so-called freedom, it's not clear what is legal and what isn't," commenting on the fact that the old regime's order was consistent and the Federation promoted anarchy.² The number of homicides increased from 21,145 in 1990 to 45,060 in 1993.³ By 2000, an estimated 50% of the country's economy was linked to organized crime.⁴ Naturally, the mafia mentality has become intertwined into the culture and political policies of Russia, its legacy secure due to the efficiency and prosperity accredited to the unorthodox approach.

VIETNAM: CHARITY HAS ITS REWARDS

With China's growing authority within the Southeastern Asia region, Russia frantically searches for geo-political footholds to counteract the Chinese domination. Rather than clash with China directly, Russia is focusing on a former hotspot of communist controversy: Vietnam. China and Russia continue to interact with the small country, battling over influence due to Vietnam's vital sea routes and overall economic potential. Vietnam sits alongside the South China Sea and has access to the Gulf of Thailand and the Strait of Malacca that connects Northeast Asian economies as well as those connecting the northeast to the smaller, dynamic economies, making it an attractive location for potential investments⁵. China seeks to exploit Vietnam's resources and establish hegemonic rule within Asia while Russia aspires to do the same. However, Russia conceals its egotistical desires through cooperation and generosity.

Currently, Russia ranks eighteenth amongst investing and engaged in bilateral trade with Vietnam.⁶ Russo-Vietnamese relations truly began in 2001 when the two officially became "Strategic Partners" with the Vietnamese primarily buying Russian weapons, submarines, and planes.⁷ The partnership was upgraded

in 2012 to a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership" in which Russia invited Vietnam to join its customs union, increased its investments and aided in scientific research and industrialization that resulted in the assisted construction of a nuclear power plant.⁸ More recently, Putin signed twenty-seven bilateral agreements on energy and defense cooperation while in Hanoi. The powerful policy package created a Southeastern Asian market for energy, exports, and countered Chinese influence.⁹

Essentially, the Russian interest aggregation within Vietnam appears to be generous externally, boosting international image and economy and equipping its military. But, Russia is never one for sincere charity. Increased friendship equated in oil sales, energy sales, trade, military bases, access to Southeastern Asian economies and counters Chinese efforts. Arms sales personify the Russian extortion of Vietnam in an attempt to intimidate and curb Chinese intentions in the South China Sea. Specifically, the Russians are signifying that one unfavorable move from China could spark Vietnam to react on the behalf of the Russians. Vietnam's military capacity is now more significant than before. With Vietnam under Putin's thumb, Russia's worries of Chinese competition have become relaxed, allowing the Federation to look West.

CYPRUS: A STRONGMAN ECONOMY

The global recession and economic crisis undoubtedly struck a serious blow to the value to the Euro and such a blow came with consequences for each nation-state's economy. Notably, the small island nation of Cyprus was devastated by the recession, leaving its economy in desperate need of a bailout. The Russian Oligarchs came to the rescue. Commonly referred to as "The Family", the Russian Oligarchy is comprised of a small group of billionaires, a majority of whom serve within the Federation. With a staggering 35% of wealth in Russia being owned by 110 "families", the financial ability of the Russian oligarchs to invest in Cyprus went unquestioned.¹⁰ Why Cyprus? Despite its wobbly condition, the Bank of Cyprus still holds a uniquely influential position in the economic and political affairs of a sun-swept nation that sits on potentially large reserves of natural gas and straddles strategic fault lines between East and West.¹¹ Wealthy Russians optimized the Cyprus crisis to potentially gain control of the island, therefore establishing a financial stronghold within the European Union. Additionally, it is projected that Russians will soon hold a majority of voting shares in the Bank at 53%, giving the Oligarchs the upper hand and the ability to realize their aspirations with little opposition. The Oligarchy's role is key for they are directly associated with the government of the

Russian Federation and are able to serve as a middle man between Russia and the European Union; the level of coercion within Cyprus is increasing. Russians essentially own the island and the financial gap between local Cypriots and foreigners is severe.¹² How does this connect to the mob mentality of foreign policy? Mob organizations typically expand outwards and consume the poor and distraught, recruiting them to do the dirty work for the mafia. The Oligarchs have embraced Cyprus, and despite moral obligations, the county understands that the Russian assistance is hope, but at a price. Cyprus' strategic connections and location make it an attractive destination for investments from Russian oil tycoons, government officials, and mobsters. The more Russian money flooded into the Cyprus economy the more influence within Cyprus and the potential for manipulation of EU affairs. The proximity and affiliation with the European Union is key, as Russia's European presence is minimal. Cyprus, like Vietnam, acts as a foothold that seeks to counteract any unwanted policies that contradict Russian desires in European or the Middle East. Cyprus did not elect to be a pawn in such a game but was strong-armed into it. Understanding that Russians do not deter from violence if threatened, Cypriots remain silent, suffering in fear of the foreign investors. Russians are familiar with this style of business and seek to employ it as necessary, especially when the reward for abuse is an addition to the Russian hegemonic arsenal.

UKRAINE: SAFETY IS SUBMISSION

The historic relationship between The Russian Federation and Ukraine is best classified with an analogy: Russia is the neighborhood mafia boss and Ukraine is the innocent shopkeeper struggling to pay protection money. In recent years, not much has changed. The Ukrainian economy never fully recovered from the fall of the Soviet Union and was left vulnerable and broken both fiscally and socially. Due to their financial situation and historic ties, Russia became Ukraine's only reliable hope. The Federation, understanding the Ukrainian dependency, sought to efficiently exploit the situation, specifically through the monopolization of oil and energy sales. In 2012, CNN reported that "Americans pay \$70 for 1000 cubic meters of gas when Ukraine pays \$550 to Russia for the same amount," an unfortunate reality.¹³ This reversed proportionality was agreed upon by the Russian and Ukrainian governments and is therefore considered to be legitimate. Why would the Ukraine agree to being extorted? In 1999, then Prime Minister Vladimir Putin ordered bombing raids against the Chechen capital, ordering Russian troops to retake the small country. Chechnya had spoken out against Russia and was violently punished for doing so. When

analyzing its current economic crisis and societal corrosion in the post-USSR 1990's, Ukraine understood that Russia could provide it with the stability it so desperately desired but internal corruption, extortion, and fear would be the price. Ukraine essentially sold its independence to Russia becoming highly reminiscent of a Soviet satellite nation. Russia not only seeks to dominate the region by harnessing influence within the various Eastern European nations but also desires to support its status as a growing hegemonic force across the continent. Essentially, Ukraine needs Russian gas while Russia needs Ukraine's transit pipeline to export west.¹⁴ Russia is looking for other ways to get its gas to Europe. Currently, Russia is the world's biggest producer of natural gas and supplies Europe with nearly 40% of its imports, according to the European Commission.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people are not blind to the corruption and injustice. After the Ukrainian government declined the EU's invitation for potential membership December 2013, the country erupted into what has been coined as "The Orange Revolution: Part II". Anti-government and pro-European protests swept the nation as the Ukrainian government struggled to negotiate a new deal with Russia; an ideal opportunity for Ukraine to break its dependency on Russian gas and diversify its sources of energy.¹⁶ However, recent developments suggest something quite opposite. Russia plans to construct another gas pipe to Europe, threatens to strip Ukraine of billions of American dollars worth of revenue and any remaining leverage it might have over future gas prices thus trapping the Ukrainians.¹⁷ Currently, Russian President Vladimir Putin said that the new price for Ukraine will be an estimated \$268.5 per 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas, \$150 cheaper than the current price. However, he also said that the new deal is a temporary solution: "the long-term agreements must and will be achieved. This concerns both the supplies of gas to Ukraine, and uninterrupted transit of Russian gas to the European consumers," meaning that negotiations will ensue at the expense of the Ukraine in the name of Russian sales to Europe.¹⁸ Additionally, Russia intends to purchase \$15 billion worth of Ukrainian sovereign, a bonds a special fund set up to absorb excessive liquidity, reduce inflationary pressure and insulate the economy from volatility of oil and gas export earnings.¹⁹ On the surface, Russia is generously propping its Slavic neighbor but it is truly buying Ukraine's silence and loyalty. Fear of Russia secures the relationship and legitimizes the inequality. By partially appeasing to the Ukrainian protestors' demands, Russia is attempting to silence the opposition peacefully so as to not attract unfavorable attention. Because Moscow's methodical foreign policy agenda includes regional domination, it needs the Ukraine and it needs Europe's trust, therefore the Motherland is willing to negotiate. But, like Vladimir Putin said: it is temporary.

ADDENDUM

With the recent developments in Ukraine and Crimea and the sanctions against the Russian Federation, President Putin has subsumed the identity of a movie villain; counteracting every desire of the West through their defiance and military might. According to Al Jazeera America, leaders of the Group of Eight nations have agreed to meet without Russia. Russia continues to ignore the pleas of the West and has moved forward in their aggressive foreign policies to accumulate more control over the region. Increased Russian ability to levy occupational power worries the European Union and the United States particularly as Russian forces continue to bully Crimea and Ukraine into submission. As for the fate of the involved nations, it is unclear. As we follow the developments of the occupation and the potential for more territorial acquisition by Russia, we are dually witnessing President Vladimir Putin attempt to resurrect the USSR of his youth whilst seeking broad regional hegemony.

CONCLUSION: RUSSIA'S THREE-DIMENSIONAL CHESSBOARD

Russia has established its presence in Asia, Europe, and Eastern Europe through layered generosity, intimidation, force, and manipulation. Vietnam acts as pawn to block the Chinese. Cyprus is a European Union member state turned economic stronghold for Russian elites. Ukraine is the torn, conflicted diplomat that connects the East to the West. And as the Syrian crisis continues to develop and Russian support for the Middle Eastern nation in the public eye increases, the Russians shall exercise their strong connection with the Palestinians to their advantage to upgrade trade relations and negotiate future pipeline constructions within Middle East: another pawn in Putin's hegemonic chess match. From a socio-historical perspective, Russia appears to be employing stereotypes to its advantage; drawing upon the nostalgic pride of the USSR's notorious satellite system, as well as embracing the efficiency of a dark mafia image.

Smart, calculating, violent, and efficient: Russia.

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NEVER AGAIN OR INEVITABLE? A MODERN TAKE ON GENOCIDE

AMIR TEROVIC

“Fear not your enemies, for they can only kill you. Fear not your friends, for they can only betray you. Fear only the indifferent, who permit the killers and betrayers to walk safely on the earth.”

— Edward Yashinsky

Mass murder/extermination is not something that is unique to the modern age. In written history alone it dates back at least two thousand years to the time of Sparta. Before that, at least five thousand years ago, we have evidence of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers who had several dozen trophy skulls of other humans in a cave¹. All this is to say that genocide is most certainly not a modern phenomena. However, as technology evolves, so too, do the means of interactions between peoples as well as their weapons. Conflicts can now escalate far more quickly and dangerously as a result. If one were to ask the average American of genocide, odds are that the first thought to come to mind would be the Holocaust, or the genocide of Jews during World War II². Now this is not necessarily a bad thing in and of itself; as the key to solving an issue is to know of it. The problem arises when that is the only genocide that an individual knows of. Since 1915 there have been at least 38 instances of different peoples who have been subjected to genocide. The least of these 38 resulted in the death of 10,000 Albanians in the short span of 20 years. Despite such a high number, this event doesn't even come close to the staggering minimum of 45 million [though some reports put the count at over 70 million] in China³. Yet the phrase “Never Again” seems to be native only to the Holocaust which is perceived by the general public as an almost unique event⁴.

UNDERSTANDING GENOCIDE

The key to solving this issue, like many others, is first and foremost, being aware of it. Genocide is a relatively new term for something that has been happening for millennia. The legal definition of genocide by the U.N. is as follows:

“Genocide is defined as... any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”⁵

Many genocides plagued with war are backed by the concept of Jus ad Bellum, meaning that a war is fought for just reasons. What has happened several times is that the sister concept, known as Just in Bellum or the just or right conduct of fighting in a war, is discarded⁶. “Seeking justice” turns to radicalism and takes everything to an extreme level; in some cases, the result

has been the systematic killing of a people. A prime example would be Hitler, who set up different peoples to be scapegoats in his justification for war⁷. A recurring theme present in those committing acts of genocide is that it is not simply self-defense though they claim that it is. Before exploding into the mass killing that it is, the “génocidaire” (due to the lack of an English word for one who commits genocide, the French variant, *génocidaire*, will be used) often have an overwhelming influx of nationalism, patriotism, faith, etc. depending on the belligerent⁸. It is important to note it is not always one country against another in these events but more often than not, different groups. This stems from a portion of the population over-identifying with a culture, social group or religion. An interesting consideration is that many of the people who become *génocidaires* are normal individuals suffering from an inundation of zealotry.

Unlike the isolated instance of a murder, in which many believe the murderer to have to have mental health issues, *génocidaires* are, for the majority, quite sane. But what is it that pushes someone to the point of mass killing? The answer lies in two parts: first, in the societal process that builds up into the genocide; second, on an individual's own mental process. An ideology which can come from a variety of sources, usually in the form of “Us versus Them”, is rationalized for the ordinary individual⁹. A powerful symbol, such as a leader (again, using Hitler an example), is used to rally the masses of which the *génocidaire* are a part. These two consist of the base from which things begin to move forward. What follows starts with many small steps, and, as a result, it is often difficult to pinpoint its beginnings, and this is the dehumanization of the target. In order to orchestrate such a large scale killing, the target cannot be perceived as a person that is akin to the *génocidaire*¹⁰. With dehumanization comes discrimination, in which there are visible signs of unjust prejudice¹¹. The transition to the actual killing is the most difficult, and because of this, there are still those who are actively able to protest. It is important to note that there are most certainly going to be people of the same class/group/ethnicity of the soon-to-be *génocidaire*. In order to begin the campaign against the target peoples, dissent amongst the perpetrators must first be minimized. It is at this point that the killing usually begins, slowly at first and only in certain instances, but quickly building up into a broadly enforced action. While all of this is ongoing, it is baffling to an outside spectator that the common people could succumb to the point of becoming *génocidaire*. To understand this, one needs to understand the human psyche to an extent, and glimpse at what is going on in the minds of such people. The brain has been hardwired to certain things for millennia that are in many cases are considered primitive, and in certain instances humans regress to this. First,

is a psychological thirst for obedience¹². There is proof of this in the fact that almost all societies, for as long as human record exists, default to some form of leadership; whether or not this society is an established institution, tribe or religious following is irrelevant. Simply put, people wish to avoid social anxiety and place themselves within a group for protection. Furthermore, there is a tendency of violence and aggression amongst humans¹³.

It could be said that an individual should be intellectually developed enough to understand what he/she is doing when killing another human being in such a manner and is not just acting out of instinct. The problem to this development is that man is able to comprehend morality, and then logically, with the discussed societal process, move past it¹⁴. Whilst in a group of *génocidaire*, things begin to escalate even faster. Paranoia manifests as the fear of not belonging and the danger of being ostracized sets in¹⁵. Out of this evolves the desire to prove or demonstrate one's loyalty. An individual often has a different persona when he is amongst others¹⁶. This is further encouraged by propaganda that is present. Euphemistic language plays a significant role in the maintaining of genocide. In the case of the Nazis, words such as “Relocation” and “Resettlement” were used to mask what was actually occurring¹⁷. By doing this, the *génocidaire* are disassociated from the act and what is clearly a slaughter becomes a hazy idea. After the killing, or displacement to an area of killing, of several people, the *génocidaire* rapidly becomes progressively more and more desensitized to his/her actions and even becomes bored¹⁸¹⁹.

At this point rapes, which are a recognized element in genocides²⁰ and have been described as “... the quintessential act by which [one] demonstrates to [the victim that they are] conquered [sic]”, begin²¹. It is no longer “enough” to simply kill, the desire for more emerges. Rape does not have to be male against female, it can go beyond that. Males have been known to rape other men simply to demonstrate dominance despite their sexual preference. It is important to note that this is not pertinent to one gender alone as some individuals may think. Females have also displayed this act, though this is given far less attention for the reasons that “men always want sex, so women don't have to force themselves upon them”, or “men can't get erections without being aroused”, both of which are scientifically disproved²².

It is important to note that there are what can be called “pseudo-*génocidaire*”, people that are quite literally forced to commit these acts under the threat of death or something similar. They do not fall under the category of *génocidaire* because they are not acting through free will.

Knowing the “theory” behind genocide is unfortunately not enough to halt its occurrence. Expanding upon recent instances in which such progressions are obvious for the general public is crucial

in remedying this. For the sake of brevity, two such genocides will be touched upon: Rwanda and Bosnia & Herzegovina.

RWANDAN GENOCIDE

Modern day Rwanda is filled with different ethnic groups: primarily Tutsi and Hutu. At the center of the country was the Tutsi kingdom, while the self-governed Hutu kingdoms lay in the north, though there were also several groups of Hutu in the southern portion of the country. While not without their own conflicts, there was a period of relative nonviolence during the late 19th century. This began to change as German colonialists came in and colonized the Tutsi kingdom in 1898, and, shortly thereafter, the Hutu kingdoms. Later, when Belgium forces took control of the colony, the previously abstract differences between the groups became tangible as identity cards were issued that required individuals to have a clear statement of ethnic affiliation²³. Comparing this to the theory of a society's process to genocide, it becomes clear that this is simply the first step, as peoples are separated and differences are highlighted. When Rwanda, and its sister colony Burundi to the south, achieved independence, these differences, along with the Hutu feeling that they had been wronged through the colonial favoritism that Tutsi were given (which was/is a common technique to drive a wedge between groups), remained. In Burundi, the Tutsi minority assumed power, while in Rwanda, a Hutu revolution in 1959 led to independence (and included the massacre and displacement of thousands of Tutsi) placed a Hutu as head of state. Further outbreaks of violence the next year would kill even more. Tensions increased in 1972 as some 200,000 Hutu are killed in Burundi. In many ways this would serve as a precursor to the large scale genocide in 1994²⁴.

In 1973 Rwanda's military commander, Juvénal Habyarimana, overthrew the president and ushered in a new era of uncertainty. On one hand, his stated policy was that of ethnic reconciliation and equality. On the other, there were signs that not everything was as it seemed as he referred to himself as a "pure-blooded" Hutu and allowed an anti-Tutsi faction to rise to a position of power amongst his regime's inner councils. Things began to heat up when the mostly Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) started taking back land along the northern border through the use of force in 1990²⁵. A political war between the regime and the RPF ensued with ideologies that became increasingly apparent. The RPF was successful in this war, with its primary message being that the Hutu and Tutsi are all Rwandans. The magazines immediately denied this and began to state that this was simply a fabricated idea by the "Tutsi nomads". They went as far as to say that the RPF was trying

to "re-enslave" the Hutu, as a reference to colonial times. Through back and forth political propaganda, racist dehumanizing terms, such as calling the RPF troops *inyenzi* (cockroaches), evolved²⁶.

These tensions accumulated all the way up until April 6, 1994, when they suddenly exploded. President Habyarimana died when his plane was shot down while en route to the capital, Kigali^{27,28}. The overly zealous Hutu-centric members of his regime immediately seized control of the leadership. Everything came together; the *inyenzi* term was applied to all Tutsi and extermination was encouraged through euphemisms such as getting rid of the "contamination", a "big cleanup", and the advocacy of this through a "final solution to the ethnic problem"²⁹. In the three months that this regime ruled, before it was overthrown by the RPF in July 1990, up to a million people were killed. Around 10% of this number are Hutu that showed signs of opposition or were too moderate in their views of the Tutsi³⁰.

BOSNIAN GENOCIDE

Bosnia & Herzegovina's genocide has a similar history. The génocidaire came not from a distant country but rather from those who were neighbors and countrymen not long before. Ordinary people were, once again, caught up in the extraordinary circumstances and fell into committing heinous acts.

As socialist Yugoslavia began to collapse in the late 1980s, Slobodan Milošević, the head of the Serbian state, remained as one of the last defenders of the communist ideals in Europe. This is particularly important considering the looming demise of the Soviet Union. He had his own twist on these ideals which he blended with a large amount of nationalism³¹. It was this nationalism, along with that of the Croats, the Slovenes, and later Muslims, that culminated in the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Even prior to his time in office, he had given speeches igniting nationalism. On April 24, 1987, he gave a speech in Kosovo during a demonstration that connected both the people's Serbian identity and their right to live in their historic homeland, highlighting all of this with the concept of redemption^{32,33}. This type of ideology had been gaining ground amongst smaller elitist circles, but with Milošević it began to take hold over the people. The idea that the Serbian people and their nation could be restored to their rightful places was captivating. Two reporters, Laura Silber and Allan Little, wrote: "Milošević attained almost divine status among the Serbs.... Serbs loved Milošević for his pledge to protect them [sic]"³⁴. Using symbols such as the Jasenovac concentration camp during World War II, which was run by the Ustaše, an ultraconservative fascist Croatian regime, where the majority of victims were Serbs,

Milošević established himself as a strong leader. Though the other ethnic groups had also developed their nationalism, it was nowhere near as aggressive as Serbia's due to Serbia's size and strength along with the bitterness that was inherent in it. As his efforts to hold Yugoslavia together later failed, he began his attempt at creating a larger Serbia which would encompass as much of former Yugoslavia as possible³⁵.

Things began to heat up as Serb nationalists began to place people into categories. Using a multitude of sources, from state records that specifically identified nationalities to job applications, almost everyone was sorted. This was helped by the fact that very often a person's name could give away what group they belonged to. For example, the Bosniaks, or Bosnian Muslims, often had Arabic roots in their names. By using fixed categories, a plethora of groups were trivialized to one broad definition. This bears astounding similarity to the treatment of Jews by the Nazis, who were similarly persecuted due to their religion. In one case, with great similarity to the Jews, Muslims were forced to mark their homes with white sheets and to wear white armbands³⁶.

In August 1990, the Yugoslav wars began to break out in earnest with the conflict between the increasingly radical Croats and Serbs who lived in the region. As the situation fell into deeper chaos, Croatia officially seceded from Yugoslavia on May 19, 1991, followed by Slovenia on June 25, 1991³⁷. This only served to enflame the situation and fighting spread throughout Croatia. Under the pretense of preserving Yugoslavia, Serbia used the Yugoslavian People's Army (JNA) to wage war in Croatia. All of this would soon spread over to Bosnia where the JNA had large amounts of troops stationed. Instead of "preserving Yugoslavia" here, it opted instead to transfer non-Serb officers out of the army to be replaced by Serbs. This effectively transformed the JNA into the Serbian army³⁸. Within Bosnia itself, the Serbs nationalists, who already resided there, began seizing villages and other territories, which lead up to the Bosnian Serbs convening for their own parliament and creating the Serb Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina. This left Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, two choices: either declare Bosnia's independence or dissolve into a dependency of Serbia. Seeing the large threat that this would pose to the daily life of the citizens due to hostility from Serbs towards them, Bosnia claimed its independence in April 1992³⁹.

This began the genocide that would take place over the next three years. Serbian forces invaded and quickly imposed measures against non-Serbs by placing curfews, dismissing Croats and Muslims from work, and not allowing their children to go to school. Religious and cultural institutions were destroyed and soon thereafter it expanded into a true genocide. Men were separated from the women and children, many of whom were killed on the

spot or at camps, whilst the younger women were hauled off and raped. To add to this, many were forced to sell their homes for rock bottom prices and then told to pay for their bus fares, which would take them to death camps⁴⁰. It is important to note that not all Serbs in Bosnia were devolved génocidaire. There were those who stood up and attempted to stop the massacre of their Muslim or Croat neighbors but they were often simply killed as well.

The capital city of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Sarajevo, was held under siege for the entire duration of the Bosnian war and for two months after its end. It is, to this day, the longest siege of a capital city in modern war. Images of the siege seeped onto the pages of global media and the genocide became a more and more prevalent issue. In October 1995, European and American pressure finally became too much and a cease-fire was issued⁴¹. The next month, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian presidents met in Dayton, Ohio. A settlement, the Dayton Agreement [Accords], essentially ended the conflict and left Bosnia with its borders intact⁴².

BYSTANDERS AND RESCUERS

There are two other types of people besides the génocidaire who are a part of all this: bystanders and rescuers. The bystander is, for the large majority, the rest of the world that isn't involved in the conflict and is simply observing the genocide, although it can also be a person within the region of conflict who isn't involved. The bystanders in the region can fall into a psychological numbing, a form of "self-protective dissociation"⁴³. They are also subject to the aforementioned follower mentality that halts them in their resistance to what is happening. The problem is not within this type bystander but rather with the ones who are not emotionally, physically, or economically vested in the conflict. This type of bystander is usually another country or group that decides to not intervene even though they are able⁴⁴.

Rescuers stand at the other end of the spectrum. This group intervenes in the victims struggle in one way or another. Studies show that those who are considered rescuers, or helpers, generally demonstrate significantly higher mental health⁴⁵. Not all rescuers are the same however. Being a rescuer can occur at different levels. For example, a not so obvious rescuer would be someone who is providing food to a victim. A stage beyond that is someone who shelters/hides the victim(s). Even further would be someone who attempts to get the victim(s) out of the situation⁴⁶. An example would be the Bosnian Serbs who tried to halt the génocidaire⁴⁷.

On a global scale, countries can also be split into these three categories: génocidaire, bystanders, and rescuers. Unfortunately, most countries that are either militarily or financially able to

intervene in the conflicts are content to remain as bystanders despite political rhetoric stating otherwise. Even the United Nations, an organization that is supposed to stand for preventing/ending an act such as genocide, which violates all four points of its mission statement, has on multiple occasions remained as a simple bystander⁴⁸.

But why is it that the majority makes the conscious decision to remain as bystanders? There is often a lot of indecision on what to do. Former-President Clinton stated, in regards to Bosnia, “America cannot and must not be the world’s policeman... but we must do what we can [sic]”⁴⁹ Despite not wanting to assume the role of the world’s “policeman”, there was still the need to intervene, at least in the public eye. The United States has placed Global Leadership as a guiding principle in its foreign policies, taking after Containment from the Cold War era beforehand. As a principle in foreign policy, Global Leadership is very ambiguous⁵⁰. Aside from the U.S. making the assertion that it is a global power and the suggestion that America has the “right” to act practically anywhere, it does not outline anything in specific. In essence, this leaves, for all intensive purposes, a vacuum in policy that can be filled with anyone’s ideologies.

OUTSIDE INTERVENTION

Involvement itself is not an all-or-nothing concept. On several occasions, the U.N. and/or the U.S. were actually deployed in areas where the genocide was erupting. The discussed countries were not an exception to this. At the time that President Habyarimana died, there were approximately 2,500 U.N. Peacekeepers in Rwanda⁵¹. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire had requested the doubling of this force yet was told not to intervene. Some countries, such as France and Belgium, sent troops to evacuate their citizens yet largely abstained from intervention. After some of Belgium’s U.N. based troops were tortured/killed, they (Belgium) withdrew all of their troops. By April 19, 1994, the death toll had climbed to 112,000. Caught up in politics, the U.S. and U.N. skirted past acknowledging the event for what it was, a genocide, and instead voted to withdraw 90% of the Peacekeepers⁵². Papers from the U.S. Department of Defense have been uncovered that state, “Be Careful. Legal at State was worried about this yesterday—Genocide finding could commit USG [United States Government] to actually ‘do something’”⁵³. Requests for the U.S. to do something as simple as jam radios were denied by the Pentagon for being “too expensive”. To describe American policy on humanitarian actions one needs to go no further than President Clinton’s statement: “Whether we get involved... in the end must depend on the cumulative weight of the

American interests at stake”⁵⁴. Despite claims to the contrary, the goal remained to secure American interests.

The situation concerning involvement was similar in Bosnia with the key differentiating factor being that Bosnia was in Europe. This gave way to the event being a lot more publicized than the Rwandan genocide at the time. As such, bigger actions were taken in peace keeping. On several occasions, NATO air strikes were used against Serbian positions around Sarajevo. In the early stages of the Yugoslav wars (September, 1991), an arms embargo was put in place by the U.N.⁵⁵. In addition, the U.N. proclaimed two areas as “safe zones” where Muslims would be protected against genocide⁵⁶.

Both actually brought about far more harm than good. UN ground forces were insufficient and the Serbs and Croats were easily able to skirt the embargo leaving only the Bosnians, who needed weapons the most, affected by the embargo⁵⁷. The safe zones were an even more catastrophic idea. One such safe zone, Srebrenica, was overrun by Serbian forces and the vast majority of the refugee population, which consisted of mostly Muslims, was massacred⁵⁸. On more than one occasion, the overwhelmed U.N. forces were chained onto Serbian positions as hostages to prevent air strikes⁵⁹. The intervention did not serve to halt the conflicts but rather simply prolong them by preventing either side from achieving victory⁶⁰.

CONCLUSION

If the majority of the general populace recognizes the genocidal pattern, and the world government’s reactions to them, it will be possible to stop genocides sooner. The United States’ foreign policy in humanitarian aid also repeats a pattern: forceful rhetoric that simply isn’t backed up. It is becoming increasingly “all bark and no bite”. The same thing is also occurring today as shown through the example of President Obama’s “Red Line” comment in Syria in relation to chemical weapons being the one thing that U.S. would “not allow for”. This “Red Line” has by now been crossed and more have replaced it⁶¹. The rhetoric states, “If you do this, we will retaliate”, but it has been repeatedly seen that, in fact, there has been no retaliation.

In Rwanda, an estimated 800,000 lost their lives⁶², and in Bosnia there 350,000 recorded casualties⁶³. These numbers climb as more bodies are continually found. Also, these numbers do not consider the massive amount of rapes or the displaced populaces that are still recovering from these events to this day. Genocides will continue to occur so long as general populace remains uneducated on both genocide itself and the world around them. There should not be a need to suffer the same mistakes over and over again in order to finally learn that this crime should be

stopped before it becomes a large scale event. Even today, there are visible evidences in Syria, Darfur, Burma, and the Congo that follow almost the same exact pattern of what happened in Rwanda and Bosnia. It is absolutely crucial that these are recognized for what they are immediately as opposed to only later being labeled as genocides because the list of countries affected by it can only grow.

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THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: AFRICA'S WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

NICOLE CAMERON

The continent of Africa is rich in resources, culture and land. However, the immense size of Africa is juxtaposed by the lack of attention it is given by international media. The Democratic Republic of Congo (also known as the DRC or Congo) is the twelfth largest country in the world, and one of the most tumultuous. Many African countries have been scarred by their colonial pasts, and the DRC is no exception. While some have begun to recover from their turbulent histories, Congo is still struggling to move forward. With a precarious position and near impossible circumstances to overcome, the DRC's future seems opaque. Current events are still restructuring the DRC and the country is continually evolving, but the past will always maintain a heavy influence.

The Democratic Republic of Congo began as a Belgian colony under King Leopold II. For years, Congo was mined for its resources and its people were severely exploited. Though conditions eventually improved, the tragedy of colonization was felt all throughout the DRC. It gained its independence from Belgium in 1960 and its name was changed to République du Congo, but several years of civil wars and domestic strife prevented any progress. However, in 1965, Colonel Joseph Mobutu seized power by and through a successful military coup and changed the name of the country to Zaire.¹ Conveniently, Joseph Mobutu opposed communism and gained the support of the United States during a time of fierce opposition against the Soviet Union. However, corruption was very prevalent in Mobutu's government,

and at the end of the Cold War, the United States no longer felt it needed an ally and protests for reform in Zaire began.² These reforms were largely superficial, but conflicts in neighboring countries served as the catalyst for change.

The Rwandan genocide in 1994 affected the entire region. The Hutu-led slaughter of the Tutsis decimated nearly twenty percent of Rwanda's population.³ Many refugees fled to eastern Zaire to escape. Among those were the Hutu perpetrators of the genocide, who allied themselves with the government of Zaire and used the refugee camps as bases from which they could attack the Tutsis.⁴ Displeased by these circumstances, Rwandan and Ugandan forces allied with Laurent-Désiré Kabila to create the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre to overthrow the Zairian government and Joseph Mobutu. During this time, over 200,000 Hutu refugees went missing in Zaire. Seven months later, Laurent Kabila marched to the capital and declared himself president, changing the name of the country to the Democratic Republic of Congo.⁵ However, this did not solve the conflict in the region. As is the continuing trend in the DRC, violence seems to be an unavoidable reality.

Years of ethnic disputes between the Tutsis and Hutus were fueled by rumors perpetrated by the Rwandan government that Laurent Kabila was planning genocide against Tutsis. The Rwandan government also believed that much of the eastern region of the Congo was originally Rwandan.⁶ Naturally, there are many accusations that the combined support of Rwanda and Uganda led

to the rise of rebel forces. However, many concede that Rwanda and Uganda not only supported the Congo, but invaded it.⁷ Laurent Kabila resorted to requesting aid from surrounding countries to combat the forces trying to overthrow him. A few countries—namely Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe—that belonged to the Southern African Development Community (SADC)—responded and joined Kabila.⁸ In 2001 Kabila was assassinated, but the fighting continued. The U.N. decided to deploy thousands of troops with MONUC—Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République démocratique du Congo to help keep the peace in the region. Because of the DRC's rich and arable land, as many as nine countries were directly involved in the conflict, and the Second Congo War was dubbed as "Africa's First World War". With its end in 2003, it was the deadliest war since World War II: 45,000 people died each month of violence, malnutrition, and disease.⁹ Yet even still, the fighting was not over. Though Joseph Kabila, Laurent Kabila's son, was elected democratically in 2003, fighting erupted because of disputed results. Even with Kabila elected once again in 2006, rebel groups started conflicts in many different regions in the DRC.

The most infamous of these conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo is known as the Kivu conflict. Kivu is an eastern region of the DRC. Goma, with a population of roughly one million people, has been marred by conflict for the past decade. However, after Joseph Kabila's election to presidency in 2006, fighting erupted within the rebel groups. In 2007, 8,000 troops broke from the army and joined Laurent Nkunda, the leader of the Tutsi Congrès national pour la défense du peuple (CNDP). The Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR), a predominantly Hutu group supporting the DRC's government, and the CNDP fought viciously, forcing nearly 400,000 people out of their cities.¹⁰ Several ceasefires were initiated, but most were unsuccessful. The violence continued for a little over a year, and on March 23, 2009, the CNDP signed a declaration of peace with the government. However, continuing the trend of the Democratic Republic of Congo, peace was not restored to the region.

The heavily disputed 2011 election of Joseph Kabila sparked unrest amongst the former CNDP members, and many felt their demands were not being met. They felt that the peace declaration that was signed on March 23rd was not being upheld, and thus a new conflict was born. Mouvement du 23 mars (hereafter referred to as M23), a rebel group rumored to have been backed by Rwanda, was formed in response to these feelings of unrest. M23 easily took over the MONUC run city of Goma, and they were welcomed initially.¹¹ Some criticize the effectiveness of the MONUC because of their lack of resistance against M23. Fighting between the government and M23 finally brought some international attention because of how it was affecting the citizens of Congo.

The past fifteen years have been the most deadly for the Congolese. The country has been suffering from years of intense violence and has been exploited for its vast resources since the 1870s. According to Refugees International, "an estimated 2.6 million Congolese are internally displaced, and more than 460,000 have fled their homes into neighboring countries."¹² The wars and ongoing conflicts in the DRC, especially the conflict perpetrated in Kivu by M23, have been infamous for the high levels of human rights violations, most notably concerning women and children. Like in neighboring countries, children have been victims of disease, starvation, and recruitment to become child soldiers with various rebel groups. Women have been targeted as well, with the DRC becoming the "rape capital of the world", as reported by U.N. Special Representative Margot Wallström.¹³ One study reported that as many as 48 women were raped every hour, with 400,000 women raped between 2006 and 2007.¹⁴ This has severe consequences for the entire population of the country, as many husbands will reject the women who were raped. While the U.N. has expressed doubts over these high numbers, the fact that the amount of sexual violence is severely devastating the DRC is overwhelmingly agreed upon.

While M23 surrendered in November 2013, there was little hope that the population of Congo would recover. An innumerable amount of rebel groups and regional conflicts are crippling a nation that has weak confidence in its current president. The surrender of M23 is generally seen as positive, but M23 was once CNDP and might one day be something else because many of the same feelings of resistance still remain. The past history of colonization and civil wars have led to tragedy in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the citizens cannot hope to utilize the abundant natural resources in the country because they are torn by violence. Though many countries are assisting the DRC in becoming a more peaceful nation, much of the same conflict and despair is expected, as it has been present for the past twenty years. The future does not seem to leave many hopeful, but there is work being done to combat the severe human rights violations in an attempt to form a successful country that can take advantage of the resources it has. The UN and several human rights organizations have set up refugee camps and health clinics to heal the population. With time and active efforts by the international community to help the Democratic Republic of Congo to grow rather than retreat to violence, the country may be able to repair itself.

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PAKISTAN PARADOX: IDENTITY CRISIS AND GEOPOLITICAL CONFLICT THREATENS FUTURE

NIMRA SYED

Pakistan, popularly translated in Urdu as the “land of the pure,” is still in its infancy as it was just established a mere 66 years ago through the partitioning of India after the British Empire relinquished control.¹ Today, Pakistan is not only widely perceived to be a country that breeds and supports Islamic extremist terrorists, but is also considered to be a force that could potentially threaten the security of many major democratic countries, under the guise of an Islamic mission. To understand how this relatively new country has already reached this level of notoriety, its history and role within the international community must be examined and analyzed. Though created under the ideals of religious nationalism, freedom, and justice, Pakistan’s rocky history with India, the Cold War, and its geographic location have threatened both Pakistan’s reputation on the world stage and its future as a functioning country.

Before Pakistan was established, its citizens lived in Pakistan’s sister country, India. During 17th century, the British eyed India as the focal point for trade, which led them to colonize India and establish the East India Company. The first great rebellion against the British by the native Indians occurred in 1857 when the British began imposing reforms on their Indian subjects in order to “foster a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions in morals and in intellect.”² In 1885, the Indian National Congress was established to provide representation for Indians. The Congress emerged as form of nationalist feeling from

the Indian population, regardless of religion, who felt that the British had overstayed their welcome.

At this point in history, freeing India from colonial rule was a matter of preserving Indian national identity. Though membership was open to people of all religions, the Congress saw an overwhelming Hindu majority in comparison to a Muslim minority.³ To guarantee the political rights of Muslims and ensure that their voice would not be lost, the All India Muslim League was established in 1906.⁴ Though both Hindus and Muslims had a common goal of gaining independence from their British colonizers, an increased fear of this advancing Hindu majority and a strong sense of Muslim identity and pride fed into the latter’s need for a separate country.⁵

To begin this process of creating a separate and independent state, Muhammed Ali Jinnah, credited as the founder of Pakistan, began to instigate secession. Before reaching this point, Jinnah was a western educated lawyer who became increasingly interested in politics and the idea of India being ruled without British intervention.⁶ He joined the Congress in 1906 and went on to emerge as a prominent leader. In 1913 Jinnah also joined the All India Muslim League in order to bring the Congress and the League to work together towards a similar cause. Though Jinnah initially worked toward fostering Hindu-Muslim unity between the two organizations, but talks between the two failed when Jinnah and Mahatmas Gandhi, leader of the Congress, disagreed

on different resolutions regarding issues facing the country.⁷ Jinnah began to realize the importance of establishing a separate country for Muslims to lay claim to and started working toward the creation of a separate nation state.

Fervent nationalism began spreading among the Muslim population as they voiced their desire for a separate nation. During his 1930 speech to the All India Muslim League, member of the League Dr. Muhammed Iqbal, a philosopher and a world-renowned poet, presented a poetic vision of a nation separate from India stating:

“I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.”⁸

World War II served as a catalyst to the beginning of the end of British rule in India. This, along with pressure from the Indian people for independence, exhausted the British physically and economically, weakening their rule.⁹ There is an account that when one British government official went to India assuring them “greater self-rule” in return for help in the Second World War, the Indian National Congress rebuffed this offer as they sought immediate, complete independence.¹⁰ On the other hand, Jinnah and the Muslim League did not completely turn down the British immediately, and in comparison to the radical All-Indian National Congress, they were seen as being less hostile and more open to talks.¹¹ Both parties had completely different political agendas and their two leaders would not agree on a common resolution, leading to the imminent goal of establishing a new state. Though the transfer of power was supposed to occur during 1948, history tells the story of the exchange occurring hurriedly in 1947, giving Pakistan the northern portion of India.¹² By August 14, 1947, Pakistan was an independent country from India. Though the Muslims had achieved what they wanted, the road ahead was nothing as they expected. Country lines were drawn using outdated maps, which is seen to have broken communities, family, and friends.¹³ Muslims and Hindus lived together as neighbors, friends, and coworkers under one flag, and the partitioning of the country severed a lot of those ties. Over 10,000,000 Muslims migrated to the newly established country and approximately 1,000,000 of these individuals had lost their lives.¹⁴

As beautiful, inspirational, and difficult as the movement to create Pakistan was, once it was created, a question emerged that many countries that undergo revolution ask: “What now?” There was a distinct vision and a popular movement to accomplish this goal; next the question that arises was how to steer this country

towards the beautiful vision of Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Building a new nation from scratch was no easy task to accomplish, especially when the new nation already had an established enemy. The tumultuous relationship between Pakistan and India became the driving force behind Pakistan’s downward spiral. Instead of working toward establishing a stable society, a few months after Pakistan won its sovereignty, India and Pakistan waged war with the other over a disputed territory, Kashmir. Including the first war, Pakistan and India fought three wars over disputed territory within a thirty-year time period. During this time period, two interesting factors emerged: Pakistan’s political instability and increased Indian-Soviet relations.

In regards to Pakistan’s political instability, a subject of contention within the state that still exists today is the fact that the country has not yet found and established a stable national identity. When examining the history of the Pakistan post-independence, there are moments when the country has witnessed the introduction of Islamic rule, democratic reforms, and even fascist policies. The aforementioned problem of steering the country toward the vision of Jinnah and Iqbal began with this conundrum. Though it could have been possible that through Jinnah’s rule, the country could have found its niche, this did not come to fruition. After independence, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was named the Head of State of the country; he passed away less than a year later. Soon after his Prime Minister succeeded him, he was assassinated and the country experienced martial law with a military general claiming the presidency and proclaiming Pakistan as an Islamic republic. This marked a cycle for the rest of Pakistani history: someone would come to power through the democratic process, yet corruption would lead to military rule and the introduction of Islamic law, and so on. Today, the country continues to live through this turbulent cycle.

Interestingly enough, though the country was built on a vision of peace, Pakistan’s policies are incredibly Machiavellian and seem to be directed towards power. In an effort to acquire and retain power, the country has invested heavily in its military. Military expenditures account for approximately 3.04% of the country’s gross domestic product, whereas health and education account for approximately 2.5% and 2.1% of the GDP, respectively.¹⁵ When examining Pakistani society, the majority of the population is plagued with under-education, disease, and poverty. Instead of addressing these social issues, it seems as though Pakistan’s focus is solely on power.¹⁶ Though the difference between 3.04% and 2.5% may not seem like much, when comparing these numbers to the rest of the world, Pakistan military spending is ranked number 20, whereas its health expenditures are ranked at 185.¹⁷ Due to the neglect and absence of domestic policy and an obvious cultivation

of the military, we see society and the country at a standstill. Critics of *"The Prince"* chastised Machiavelli for neglecting the social aspects of government; the same critique can be applied to the Pakistani government because the incredible discrepancy between military and social expenditures have, consequently, led to political instability.

Around the same time that Pakistan won its sovereignty, the United States was engaged in an unarmed conflict with the Soviet Union. Pakistan's downward spiral can also be credited to the Cold War. During the 1960s, as Pakistan was dealing with their hostile relationship with India and working through the state's political instability and corruption, concurrently, India and the Soviet Union had developed an economic relationship.¹⁸ In 1972, they officially signed a trade agreement where they became significant trading partners and presented a real threat to the existence of Pakistan. These factors, along with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan created real concern that it would not be long until the USSR would be constructing and supporting up communist regimes in Pakistan, as it did in Afghanistan.

Geographically, Pakistan is bordered by Afghanistan, India, Iran and China. Its neighbor to the west, Afghanistan, borders the former Soviet Union. In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, propping up a communist government regardless of the protests from the anti-communist, Muslim population.¹⁹ This led to a civil war between communist leaders and Muslim guerillas. Oppression by the Soviets led to a mass migration of approximately three million people from Afghanistan to Pakistan, specifically the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, to gain asylum. Additionally, as this was a fight against communism, the United States intervened by supplying the guerillas arms through Pakistan's intelligence services.²⁰ In the place of the United States, Pakistan played the role of middleman between the United States by supplying weapons to the guerillas.²¹ By 1988, the Soviet Union had pulled out, as did the United States, leaving Afghanistan and Pakistan to pick up the pieces of the disaster that the invasion left in its wake. This immediate abandonment by the United States pushed the Pakistani population and its leadership to believe that they had not only been used by the United States but that it had been betrayed. In an interview, former President Pervez Musharraf said "the U.S. abandoned Pakistan in 1989 after the Soviet Union left Afghanistan and imposed subsequent sanctions against Pakistan that left Pakistan all alone fending by itself for twelve years and created a widespread belief among the Pakistani population that it had been betrayed."²²

After the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan, and the impending chaos and anarchy that was soon to follow, Pakistan fostered and aided the Taliban, the extreme Islamic

fundamentalist party, with hopes of creating stability within neighboring Afghanistan.²³ According to Gilles Kepel, a scholar on the relationship between politics and Islam, "Pakistan supported the Taliban as a force that could unify and stabilize Afghanistan while staving off Indian, Iranian, and Russian influence, and saw its Pashtun roots, shared with much of the Pakistani army's officer corps, as a source of leverage."²⁴ Unbeknownst to the Pakistani government, propping up the Taliban would threaten their future diplomatic relationship with the United States and its own future as a nation. On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Intelligence assessments presumed that the planning of this attack was done in the mountains of Afghanistan by Islamic extremists known as Al-Qaeda, who were supported by the same Taliban in Afghanistan. In subsequent years, the United States, as its former ally, engaged Pakistan in the dialogue to make sure that it does not provide any assistance to Taliban as its former ally. Pakistan let the United States use its territory to launch attacks on Al-Qaeda and along with becoming a conduit for arms and supplies to United States and NATO forces in Afghanistan, which turned Al-Qaeda and the Taliban against Pakistan, and began recruiting Pakistanis to fight against their own government.

Though Pakistan has aided the United States in the latter's war on terrorism, tensions between the two countries have been tense as Al-Qaeda leader, Osama Bin Laden, was caught living in Pakistan in 2011. Due to this, Pakistan's allegiance as an ally to the United States and its status as a country that condemns terrorism are still not clearly defined. As mentioned before, because rocky history with India, Russia, Afghanistan, and the United States, numerous terrorist groups have not only established their bases in this country but have in fact come from Pakistan. These groups include a sectarian terrorist group, an anti-Indian terrorist group, the Afghan Taliban, the Pakistan Taliban, and Al-Qaeda.²⁵ Due to these factors, Pakistan is seen as the face of terrorism, destruction, and chaos; it is also seen as the face of the enemy.

Though Pakistan was created under this poetic vision of peace and harmony under the Muslim faith, this vision has been tarnished by governmental corruption, hostility with its sister state, India, intergovernmental warfare, and counterterrorism. The country was never able to establish a stable society and economy as their efforts were either directed in fighting Indian forces, proxy-ing the United States in the battle against communism and terrorism, and the country struggling with its own political instability. Unfortunately, the rate and direction Pakistan is heading may lead it to spiral to the point of disintegration. Many citizens pray for a leader who can guide their country in a direction of growth and harmony, but since birth, that has yet to be seen for the fledgling country.

In regards to the political instability, before working on foreign policy, Pakistan needs to take a step back and figure out who they are as a country and under what type of government it should be ruled under. By not establishing a firm political foundation, the country is vulnerable to disintegration. The constitution must be amended and this defect needs to be addressed immediately. Additionally, to grow as a country, Pakistan needs to grow its economy. As idealistic as it sounds to work on its economy and try to normalize its state, Pakistan should work toward building an economic relationship with India. Although there is a devastating history between the two nations, if an economic agreement of some sort can help stabilize the region, both countries could potentially prosper economically and quell the distrust and animosity towards each other.

When examining the situation with the United States, the Taliban, and Pakistan, a forecast or a prescriptive measure is difficult to predict. It is not the matter that there is not anything left to do, but after a decade of being entangled in this chaos on a global scale, how can Pakistan truly get out and distance itself from the notion of it being a “terrorist” state is an incredibly difficult question to answer. Pakistan has been an incredibly weak player on the international level, and it needs to step up and step away from being a pawn in international politics and create its own agenda, policies, and goals. Unless this country can build a solid political identity, remedy absent domestic reform, and truly understand the foundation that this nation was built upon, this country will not be able to sufficiently grow socially, politically, and economically and expectations to resolve its status as a bona fide “terrorist” country remain low.

Today, citing the multiple failures of the country, many debate and question the value of the partition of the India, wonder whether or not Pakistan really should have been its own state, and whether it was truly worth it. What most critics fail to see is that there is still hope among the citizens of Pakistan who still believe in the vision of Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Alama Iqbal. Aside from all the politics, these people understand the struggles, hopes, and dreams of their ancestors and through the resilience of these people; there is a chance that Pakistan can overcome these trials and tribulations. The future of Pakistan may be murky and though the country’s will to preserve has been tried and tested, it has not fallen. With this, many have faith that Pakistan will continue to do what it does best: survive.

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THE FORCE OF RELIGION: ISLAM'S INFLUENCE IN MIDDLE EAST POLITICS

DANIEL BOAYES LUMBANG

With the increased secularization of the globe, it has been forgotten that religion was the first form of organization humans had at their disposal. Using religion, humans are able to unify and organize under common ideologies to create unique cultures. These cultures will create political, economic, and societal theories based directly or indirectly off their religious influence. With this, one can see religion as the mother of a culture's socio-political identity. Therefore, understanding a region's or country's religious background is vital to properly analyzing it as a global participant.

ORIGINS OF ISLAM

“Islam” means both submission and peace while “Muslim” translates into “one who submits”. It, along with Judaism and Christianity, are considered family members of the Abrahamic faith. Its creator is the Holy Prophet Muhammad ibn ‘Abdallah’, an orphan born in 670CE, who is adopted by his uncle, a prominent member of the Quarish tribe.¹ Muhammad being spiritually inclined to monotheism, contrary to the region's dominant polytheistic culture, gives birth to Islam, and after a span of 22 years compiling a series of revelations, he creates the Quran starting with the first hadith in 610CE.² The first revelation is spiritually divine, coming from Allah via the Angel Gabriel, giving Muhammad and the Quran divine authority. This divine authority gives Islam great influence with its believers, establishing its future importance in the context of Arab life especially in regards to politics.

SPREAD OF EARLY ISLAM AND ITS DIVISION

Over the span 22 years, the Holy Prophet Muhammad is able to unite the Arabian Peninsula under Islam through warfare, conquest, and conversion.³ The Prophet Muhammad acted as his community's political, military and religious leader during this time. His reign does not last long as he passes away in 632CE by natural causes, leaving no sons as heirs to his rule.⁴ This causes a dilemma within the early community of believers. The majority, who will develop into the Sunnis, believed that the Prophet's successor should come from the Companion's. The Companions' relationship with Muhammad is similar to that of the Disciples and Jesus Christ.

Muhammad's closest Companion, Abu Bakr, as well as future Caliphs who are elected leaders, are picked by community consensus.⁵ The justification of this democratic way of selection

is based on the belief that it is in accordance with Muhammad's actions and sayings, known to Muslims as Sunnah and Hadith.⁶ The minority of Muslims, who would develop into the Shia branch, wanted the succession of Muhammad to be passed through his family - starting with his nephew Ali ibn Abi Talid.⁷ Shia's believed Muhammad implied that Ali should be his successor when he publicly praised his nephew's capability to lead a community. Ali is eventually elected but his death divides the community once again. Sunnis, by majority consensus, elect Muawiyah I as successor while the Shia supported Ali's son as successor.⁸ This division early on in the Islamic religion foreshadows future differences that Muslims will have with each other on the application of Islam in the context of politics.

SHARIA MISINTERPRETED

Traditionally, Islam has no distinction between church and state, giving birth to Sharia, or law. For most Muslims, individual and community life should be guided by Sharia. In the world, especially the West, Sharia has been given a bad reputation, being criticized as primitive, cruel, and irrelevant due to conservative interpretations which allow for stoning of convicted adulterers, for example. A major player in global politics that engages in this interpretation is Iran, which had a movie made based on the infamous stoning of Soraya.⁹ Another major player would be Saudi Arabia, who beheads as a form of capital punishment. What most people fail to understand is that Sharia is not necessarily a uniform code of law but a legal framework concerned with a wide range of topics like personal and social morality as well as religion and philosophical reflections.¹⁰ Sharia's interpretation is based upon the Quran, Sunna and Hadith, community consensus, and analogical reasoning.¹¹ Analogical reasoning would be used to interpret solutions to issues that the Quran and Sunna and Hadith do not directly address.¹² An example of using analogical reasoning for Islamic application of law can be examined in the case of intoxicants. The Quran is explicit in condemning the use of alcohol but not cocaine.¹³ Using analogical reasoning we can conclude that since both are intoxicants, cocaine is prohibited along with alcohol and any other substance of the sort such as tobacco and marijuana. Though the framework for using Islam in politics is clear, Muslim societies have discrepancies in interpreting how Muslims should live in the modern world giving rise to various interpretations of how Islam and government should play out.

SAUDI ARABIA AND ISLAM

Saudi Arabia formally became a country in 1932 after Ibn Saud, with the help of British intervention, conquers most of the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁴ Located within Saudi Arabian borders are the two most holy cities in Islam: Mecca and Medina. Saudi Arabia's general religious breakdown is Sunni Muslim 93.3%, Shia Muslim 3.4%, Christians 2.9%, and .4% others.¹⁵ Sunni Islam is broken down into four legal schools: Hanifite, Malikite, Shafite, and Hanabalite.¹⁶ The legal school Saudi Arabia belongs to is the Hanabalite. This school is the most conservative of all the other legal schools in Sunni Islam. This conservative legal school gave an ideological platform for the extreme conservative Wahhabism to grow within Arabia. The Sa'ud family has been staunch allies with the Wahhabi movement since its inception using its conservative interpretations of the Quran and Hadith as guidelines for practicing Islam in the modern nation of Saudi Arabia.¹⁷ Wahhabism's influence in Saudi Arabia can be represented by their interpretation of Sharia and its function in modern society. The application that stood out the most is in finance and use of a "religious police," who actively seek out people who violate Sharia as well as enforcing strict gender divisions, making sure that men and women are separated in public.¹⁸ Violators are subjugated to punishments such as beheading by sword (for adultery). Their reason for creating a quasi-religious secret police may be rooted in Wahhabism's affixation with addressing shirk or idolatry aggressively which led to the persecution of Sufi's in the form of destroying their shrines and stifling activities associated with them in previous times.¹⁹

What is so fascinating about this application of religious ideology is that it shows how powerful religion can be in guiding a country's politics. But as intriguing as the application is, the creation of a religious police is quite terrifying especially when taken in consideration from the U.S. pluralist point of view. The frightening aspect of the religion police is its implication in denying privacy rights. If the religious police are charged with upholding Sharia and Sharia involved concepts such as individual morality, then the religious police have the liberty to be intrusive in someone's personal life. Also, theoretically, Saudi Arabia could increase the religion police's effectiveness by funding them with the latest surveillance technology. The potential outcome could be like that of a sci-fi dystopia where a dogmatic authoritative government monitors every aspect in its citizen's life. The religious police represent the domination of the Saudi Arabian monarchy. Also, in some sense this allows Saudi Arabia to embody the authoritative tradition of the Quran and Muhammad albeit in an extremely conservative way.

TURKEY AND ISLAM

Turkey, in comparison to its Arab neighbors, still remains the most unique country in terms of government and the role of Islam within it. Turkey is a Muslim secular democracy with a separation of church and state, making it the only one of its kind in the Middle East despite the traditional interpretation of Islam's intimate role in governing. This choice of interpretation may stem from Islam's roots in democracy which is exhibited through the election of Muhammad's successors by community consensus. In its struggle to balance its Muslim heritage and western secularism, Turkey has emerged as a fairly progressive example for the Middle East by showing that a country can be secular and still have religion play an important role in society.

The rise of secularism in Turkey starts with the end of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of Kemal Ataturk's governance. In order to catch up with the modernizing Western world, Ataturk spearheaded a period of secularization within the Turkish nation that would cause a clash with its Islamic tradition. Ataturk, in his secularization of Turkey, knew how strong Islam and its cultural byproduct was so he engaged in secularizing aggressively—especially in the context of addressing the Islamic tradition that was embedded by the Ottoman Empire. During his reign, Attaturk banned the Fez, a traditional Muslim Ottoman hat worn by men, as well as discouraged women from wearing their veils. Additionally, Turkish men and women were both encouraged to wear western clothing. He also switched to the Western Gregorian calendar from the Islamic calendar. In terms of verbal expression of Islam, public readings and Islamic call to worship had to be in Turkish rather than Arabic.²⁰

In changing the way they dress into something more Western, it solidified a break from Islamic culture via change of clothing thus making the citizen view themselves differently because of the connotation attached with Western wear. By restricting public interpretation to the Turkish language, the Quran would be influenced by ideologies and values attached to the language, thus making interpretations of teachings more focused on the Turkish experience. Ataturk, in efforts to secularize Turkey rapidly ended up skirmishing with Islamic tradition. This confrontation in its essence was religious oppression which would lead to the rise of Islamist political parties setting up the scene for Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan.

NEW HOPE FOR ISLAM'S ROLE IN TURKEY

Tayyip Erdogan is a member of the AKP, the Islamic Justice and Development Party. As a political Islamist, Erdogan strays away from the western stereotype of an Islamist being an extremist or terrorist. He is a very progressive Islamist with the goal of having an Islamically rooted secular democracy. His message was reported by an Egyptian journalist while he was visiting Egypt's presidential candidates. He told the reporter, "Do not be afraid of secularism, it is not the enemy of religion."²¹ He also told presidential candidates that they can be good Muslims despite having a secular constitution.²² His progressive goal of secularizing while maintaining an Islamic disposition may have great benefit for Turkey and the Western world in terms of international relations. Despite sticking to Islamic roots in the secularization and democratization of Turkey, Erdogan has been pushing harder than his predecessor for admittance to the European Union, something that can be beneficial for both sides.²³ If Islamic democratic secular Turkey is accepted, the EU gains a priceless ally, one who can understand Western and Middle Eastern thought.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS WITH ISLAM

Religion has and always will be a factor in a country's political development and expression. By using Turkey and Saudi Arabia as examples, one can have a limited idea about the impact and continued influence Islam has on the Middle East. Turkey exhibits the overlooked democratic tradition of Islam through developing a secular republic while Saudi Arabia overtly imposes its authoritarian tradition through an overbearing monarchy. Both, however, do not represent all Islamic countries. With much global attention on the Middle East, it is imperative that Islam is to properly be understood so the global community may better address issues within the region. Therefore hypothetically, by using Islam to analyze each country, global powers can help address Islamic nations' issues on a case by case basis.

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ANALYZING THE AFGHANISTAN WAR TO DETERMINE AMERICA'S NEXT FOREIGN POLICY

MATTHEW AKIN

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 shocked and rattled our nation. It was the worst act of violence ever seen on American soil and citizens of the United States demanded justice. The war on terror in Afghanistan began in 2001 with a simple mission statement: Find and punish those responsible and protect the nation against future attacks. This simple and just mission united the nation and transcended political affiliations. While some disagreed with the conflict in Iraq, very few had any hesitation to the war in Afghanistan.

It has now been over twelve years since the war in Afghanistan began, and in that time there have been no foreign terrorist attacks on United States soil. Osama Bin Laden, the man behind the attack, was killed by Navy Seal Team Six. According to the original mission and reasoning for going to war in Afghanistan, it would seem that it was an overwhelming success. However, there is growing discontent amongst American citizens about the war and a strong desire for the withdrawal of troops. As of September 2012, the United States' military death toll in Afghanistan reached two thousand¹. Our nation has been at war for well over a decade, and it seems as if we are tired of fighting. In the State of the Union on January 28, 2014, President Barack Obama spoke on the current situation in Afghanistan. President Obama explained that Afghan forces were taking the lead in combat operations and at the end of this year most of our troops would be out of the nation ending the war and rendering the mission complete².

But which mission was President Obama referring to in the

State of the Union? By definition of our mission, our war in Afghanistan should have ended in 2011 with the death of Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan. Our mission in Afghanistan changed from its simple and pure form in 2001 to one of nation building in later years. The focus of our military shifted from fighting terrorism to working towards preventing instability and conditions that led to terrorism finding a safe haven in the region. Effectively, this is when American approval of the war began to drastically decline, as nation building is much more difficult to define in terms of success and failure, without a solid timetable. It is imperative at this time in history, with the current level of instability and political turmoil in the Middle East (specifically in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and Iran), for the United States to learn from its successes and failures in the war in Afghanistan. By properly analyzing the last thirteen years of conflict, the United States can work to ensure that American soil remains safe while minimizing military bloodshed and federal dollars spent.

The war in Afghanistan began with a clear plan and precise parameters of mission success: Defeat the terrorists' stronghold in the region. This type of war is how the United States' military is best utilized. In basic training our military is taught how to operate different weapon systems in addition to effective war-fighting techniques. The military instills discipline in its members and teaches that mission success is the ultimate and only goal. With a clear objective and excellent training, our military was put in a position to accomplish the mission objective in Afghanistan.

However, as the war in Afghanistan went on, the mission of the military began to change. The military transitioned from fighting terrorism to fighting conditions in the region that led to terrorism. The focus switched to training their Afghan counterparts while utilizing a “hearts and minds” campaign geared toward improving the relationship with the civilian population. In theory, this transition is noble and offers obvious benefits. Afghanistan would be left in a better condition than when United States’ troops arrived and it would ensure upon withdrawal of the troops that the terrorists would be unable to regain control in the region. However, this “new mission” failed to have precise objectives and a definitive timetable. The end goal of this mission was never clearly defined, and for that reason it was destined to fail. What level did the United States expect the Afghan Security Forces to achieve? It would be naive and irrational to assume that with foreign funding and a few years of training by the United States’ military that the Afghan forces would be adequately prepared for a complete turnover. The United States began the war as the aggressor against terrorist organizations, but as time went on they began to take a defensive approach. The concept of “nation building” to improve relations with civilians in Afghanistan had an opposite effect; the people became increasingly uneasy with a lasting American presence in their country.

On May 21, 2012, President Obama devised an exit strategy from Afghanistan that was agreed to by NATO leaders and supported by Afghan President Hamid Karzai. The plan ends combat operations in 2013 and hands over security responsibilities to Afghan forces, with United States’ led NATO forces leaving the country by the end of 2014³. A strong case can be made that the United States’ exit strategy in Afghanistan wasn’t the result of a successful mission but instead a response to falling domestic and foreign support of the war. It is also feasible to presume the long-term withdrawal plan was viewed by terrorist organizations as the United States surrendering and this perception effectively fueled their momentum. One particular statistic that would lend support to this notion is the rise in green on blue violence in Afghanistan. Green on blue violence is an act of violence by the Afghan military and Afghan police forces against NATO troops. In 2011, 15 green on blue attacks occurred that resulted in 33 deaths. As of November 1, 2012, a mere six months after the withdrawal plan was made public, green on blue violence skyrocketed to 40 attacks with 59 casualties⁴. The ability of Afghan forces to fight terrorism is paramount to the United States’ mission, and although the correlation between the withdrawal date and rise in attacks are not definitively linked, what these rise in attacks do show is the instability and unreliability of Afghan forces to function at an efficient level.

When President Obama informed the American people of his long-term withdrawal plan in Afghanistan he also indirectly informed the terrorists. As Commander in Chief of the United States military, it is not typically in a nation’s best interest to give specific, sensitive information to the enemy. Military strategy uses the element of surprise and misdirection when fighting wars to keep troops as safe as possible and to increase the likelihood of mission success. Operations are always classified at certain levels, especially when it comes to troop movement. By giving a withdrawal date over a year away, it appears as if the United States is surrendering. Regardless of the current state of affairs in Afghanistan, it is impossible to predict stability over a year in advance. By giving a definitive timetable to troop withdrawal in the region, the United States’ is sending the message that regardless of the state of terrorist organizations in Afghanistan, the United States will be finished fighting in 2014. Such a message strengthens terrorists’ resolve and weakens an already fragile relationship with Afghan forces, who likely view the impending withdrawal as abandonment in their joint war on terror.

With a mission of preventing terrorism from regaining control in Afghanistan, it is imperative to analyze the economic conditions in the nation that allowed them to come to power. Afghanistan is an extremely poor and landlocked country that is highly dependent on foreign aid. The nation has very small scale production capabilities, and due to this lack of infrastructure, agriculture comprises 78.6% of the labor force⁵. Afghanistan is the largest producer of opium in the world, which terrorist organizations used to finance their organization and control the region. For many Afghan farmers, opium is the only crop they can grow that earns enough money to feed their families. Although the United States was aware of the dangers of opium in the region, they failed to provide an alternative crop or plan to improve the economy.

To dissuade Afghans from growing opium, the government instead relied on foreign aid to fill some of the financial losses. In 2010-2011, Afghanistan received \$15.7 billion of foreign aid⁶. However, with rampant corruption throughout the Afghan government, there remain many questions as to how the aid was utilized. It certainly hasn’t been used to create jobs or increase the standard of living, as Afghanistan had a 35% unemployment rate (as of 2008), coupled with 36% of the population living below the poverty line (fiscal year 2008/2009)⁷. Economic situations in Afghanistan have worsened further recently, as the United States’ future withdrawal has the nation reverting back to the traditional backbone of their economy. In 2012, Afghanistan accounted for 75% of the global supply of opium, and 90% in 2013⁸. The increase in opium production in 2012 and 2013 shows a direct response to concerns over the future amount of foreign aid Afghanistan will

receive. Throughout large areas of Afghanistan, opium remains the only practical means of self preservation. With opium production currently at such a high level in Afghanistan, the United States is leaving the country in the same or worse economic conditions that originally led to terrorists taking power in the region.

The United States' strongest challenge in democratizing Afghanistan has been the role of tribal groups and their politics. Afghanistan has a diverse ethnic population that is 40% Pushtun, 30% Tajik, and the remainder comprised of Hazaras, Turkmen, Uzbeks and others. The Pushtun population alone has 60 tribes and another 400 sub-tribes, many of which are at odds with one another. The Pushtun tribes have a code of tribal honor known as Pushtunwali, which governs hospitality, honor and revenge through self-regulating systems of tribal leaders and arbitration. As a result of this tribal honor, Pushtun tribes have been the strongest ally against the Taliban and terrorist organizations. However, Pushtunwali is also very hostile to the central government and western ideals of education and gender equality⁹.

The United States' apparent oversight concerning Afghanistan's complex tribal history magnifies the error in the mission objective of democratizing the nation. The tribes in Afghanistan do not want a form of western democracy anymore than they want Taliban control. In many ways, what the United States has proposed in terms of government in Afghanistan is a much more severe threat to the tribes' way of life than the Taliban. Western democracy emphasizes secularism, equality and an education system under a strong central government. This type of government is in complete opposition to the tribal structure and culture of Afghanistan as it contradicts their core beliefs. The tribal hierarchy and balance of power in the region cannot exist in a democratic nation. Instead of attempting to force democracy on a nation in the name of "freedom", the United States should have worked with the current government structure to fight the Taliban. Despite differing philosophies on government and cultural values and norms, the United States and Afghan tribes could have worked together in a mutually beneficial relationship. Tribal leaders could have regained control of Afghanistan and ended the Taliban's stronghold of the nation, while the United States could have fought a much simpler, cheaper and less time consuming war.

The current situation in Afghanistan foreshadows a grim future for the nation post 2014. In February 2014, Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai refused to sign a long-term security agreement with the United States that he initially negotiated concerning the presence of United States' troops after the primary withdrawal. In addition, President Karzai insisted on releasing Taliban militants from prisons while also distributing distorted evidence of what he refers to as American war crimes¹⁰. Karzai's recent actions have left

many American politicians calling for a complete troop withdrawal after 2014, essential leaving Afghans to deal with the Taliban issue alone. Karzai's reluctance to work with the United States' and his attempts to forge a relationship with the Taliban illustrate his lack of faith in a fight with the Taliban without a strong United States presence. It appears President Karzai has seen the writing on the wall, and is attempting to position himself closer to the Taliban prior to troop withdrawal. Regardless of his motives, Karzai has severely undermined the United States and Afghan forces that are still in battle with the Taliban. More so than any previous example, President Karzai's actions illustrate the painful truth that our mission of nation-building and "fixing" Afghanistan likely has been a failure.

The current state of affairs in the Middle East is incredibly unstable and the United States could very easily find itself involved in these conflicts in some fashion. For this reason, it is very important the United States learns from its mistakes in the Afghanistan War. The United States was most successful in Afghanistan when the primary objectives were national security and defeating the Taliban. The war was fought strategically and intelligently and kept foreign terrorist attacks off of United States' soil. The failures of the war were in the attempts at democratization. The United States forced a western model of government on a tribal culture that was ideologically opposed to its core values. Additionally, the United States' recognized but failed to sufficiently address the economic conditions in the region that allowed the Taliban to retake control of the nation. Finally, the United States' spoke publicly of a withdrawal plan over a year in advance without any idea how such a withdrawal would be executed. The future of Afghanistan post 2014 will show the full consequences of these mistakes. The United States should use this current time to analyze these decisions while keeping a watchful eye on the current situation in the Middle East while noting some of the similarities in the culture and religion. The United States should also review the successes of the Afghanistan War, specifically in the interests of national security. As instability and uncertainty in the Middle East continues to grow, the United States may recognize their best and only real option for future foreign policy is one based solely on national security.

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FOOTNOTES

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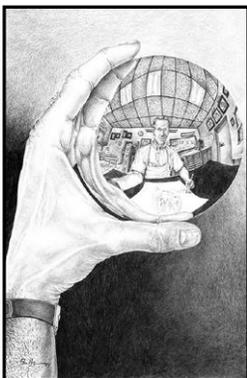
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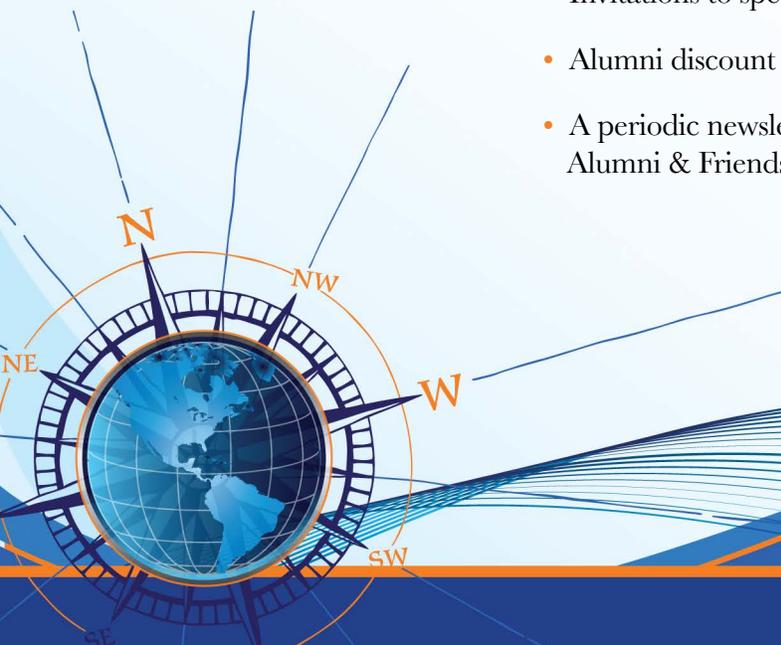
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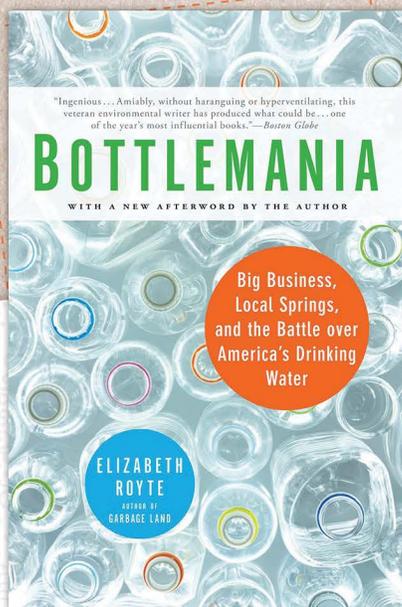
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Elizabeth Royte is the author, most recently, of *Bottlemania: Big Business, Local Springs and the Battle Over America's Drinking Water*. Her previous books—*Garbage Land: On the Secret Trail of Trash* and *The Tapir's Morning Bath: Solving the Mysteries of the Tropical Rain Forest*—were named New York Times Notable Books of the Year in 2005 and 2001. Royte's writing on science and the environment has appeared in *Harper's*, *National Geographic*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Outside*, and other national publications. She is a frequent contributor to the *New York Times Book Review* and a contributing editor for *OnEarth*. Her work is included in *The Best American Science Writing for 2004* and for 2009, the environmental omnibus *Naked*, and *Outside Magazine's Why Moths Hate Thomas Edison*. A former Alicia Patterson Foundation fellow and recipient of Bard College's John Dewey Award for Distinguished Public Service, Royte lives in Brooklyn with her husband and their daughter.



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