

GLOBUS MUNDI



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

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FACULTY PAGE

MARTIN MORALES



Welcome to Volume XIII of *Globus Mundi*, the official publication of the Department of Political Science & Global Studies.

COVID CLASS IS LEAVING

The hardest thing we've had to deal with has been Covid and the consequences it had on education. In our primary course, "POLSCI 301: US Government," the effects of online education during pandemic continue to show themselves. Students have a difficult time engaging with each other, the material and college, generally. Critical thinking and writing skills have fallen to new lows – and that's saying something. Assumptions we had as educators have had to be revisited and, in many cases, discarded. The frustrations shared by colleagues affirms that we're all dealing with a new breed of student. AI is also beginning to impact us in unpredictable ways as we must now be vigilant for AI generated work.

The class that leaves us is small. They transitioned to online classes as we went into remote instruction and returned to campus as soon as the doors opened. The hardships they endured in their march through lower division has strengthened them in ways known only to them. Their hard work, resilience and dedication was not lost on us. Hopefully, in their interactions with students coming behind them, they've provided an example of how to pursue goals and succeed. It bears mention that this class was present on campus when it was shut down due to what appeared to be an active shooter incident. Fortunately, it wasn't what was first reported and the person responsible was arrested.

This class marked a return to normalcy in some of our pre-Covid routines. Wednesday night dinners returned as did events. We held a new student orientation, toured several partner institution campuses (UC Berkeley, UC Davis, University of

the Pacific, San Francisco State University, etc.) hosted Father Bill O'Neill, a Jesuit working in the Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, watched and provided analysis for the State of the Union, visited both the MOAD and Museum of Propaganda, screened "The Motorcycle Diaries," and, of course, held Colloquium. Additionally, we met with our students and provided them with academic counseling. Next year's activities are entirely contingent on whether we remain a department or devolve to GE servicing instruction.

COLLOQUIUM

Our tenth annual Colloquium was held on Wednesday, April 26th, at the CRC Art Gallery. **Katelynn Lyall** presented "The Fishing Industry: Modern Slavery." Katelynn was followed by **Brenda Chavarin**. Brenda's presentation was on "Women's Roles in Prerevolutionary Russia" and transitioned from then through Ukrainian women's contribution in the ongoing conflict with Russia today. Both presentations stemmed from their articles as published in this issue. Special thanks go to **Ryan Neach** for his warm comments and shared memories. Many thanks to the other alumni presenters for their participation that night. It was great seeing so many former presenters and sharing memories. The presence of faculty colleagues and friends of the department is always appreciated. We thank you for your support! As always, thanks to **Jim Lovett** for his ongoing support, insights and expertise in filming our events. Last, special thanks to **Brian Rickel**, Dean, Arts, Media & Entertainment, for facilitating use of the CRC Art Gallery, a very special place on campus. Former CRC President **Debbie Travis** and former Deans **Ginny McReynolds** and **Tonya Williams** deserve our greatest thanks for nurturing this department, its curriculum, events series and extra-curricular activities.



UOP Visit

VOLUME XIII

When *Globus Mundi* was born, the goal was to have it printed for distribution before students left in May. This has never been possible; the usual delivery date has been in late June. This year, as part of the 10th Anniversary of Colloquium, we pushed to have it printed to give guests as they left. **Derrick Santiago**, CRC's graphic designer, worked diligently to help us meet our goal. Thanks, Derrick!

As always, **Aymaan Sumandi** provided tech support throughout this process. His role as "IT Director" will never end!

"**Valete**," because of the rush to get this volume printed, is incomplete, particularly as to transfer schools. The list presented at Colloquium, however, is complete.

Gabriella Violett served as Editor this year and was assisted by **Katelynn Lyall** and **Isabella Zaragoza**. Thank you all for your hard work.

Jaclyn Manke, a wonderful student in a US Gov't. last year, is responsible for our cover art. Her work, "No Justice, No Freedom," was borne from lectures on US foreign policy in Latin America. Jaclyn has already contributed a piece for next year's issue as she leaves CRC for CalArts, her school of choice, to pursue animation. Thank you and good luck, Jaclyn!

Paula Ly, the artist who contributed Volume XII's front and back covers, gave us this year's back cover: "Protest." Paula, like Jaclyn, has provided an additional image for next year's issue. Paula returns to CRC in the fall.

Katelynn Lyall publishes "The Fishing Industry: Modern Slavery." Her article focuses on modern slavery through debt

bondage in Asian waters where illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing have provided necessary conditions to literally enslave fishing crews.

Angela Felix's article, "Universalism: Cultural Imperialism or Modernization" demonstrates in a unique way how knowledge in our field comes together. Her theoretical analysis of culturalism and universalism is employed to study diplomacy surrounding economics and development as they pertain to female genital mutilation (FGM).

Jaeger Brooks writes about western hegemony as being the only viable global alternative in "Lady Liberty Versus Leviathan."

Brenda Chavarin presented her article "Women's Roles in Prerevolutionary Russia" at this year's Colloquium. Her article was born in my "Revolutions & Ideologies" class and morphed to its present iteration.

Madison Hinshaw's article, "Musical Instruments of War" focuses on the vital role music plays in foreign and domestic policy. Madison's insights as a musician add to her article.

Dylan Bednardz, as an extension of his course work in "Politics in the Pacific Rim," writes about the horrors of war crimes in Manchuria and the consequences of denialism in present day Japan. Dylan returns next year to complete his studies in IR.

Shayna Hawk writes about the dangers inherent in propaganda in "Propaganda in the Modern Digital Age."

TRANSFERS

Jaeger Brooks, leaves CRC for UC Davis. Jaeger served as an infantryman with Weapons Company, 2nd Battalion 1st Marine Regiment, attaining the rank of Sergeant. He was a gunline squad

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leader with the battalion's 81mm mortar platoon. He deployed for 7 months in 2016 in support of Operation Inherent Resolve with the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit and deployed again (2017) to Okinawa as a part of III Marine Expeditionary Force where he trained with the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. In addition to building and maintaining a relationship with the Japanese, his unit was serving as the United States' expeditionary force in readiness in the region. We thank him for his service and wish him luck at UC Davis. **Hayat Botan** leaves CRC for UC Davis. Hayat has served as Editor for Volume XII, published "Political Psychology: The Interweaving Processes of War & Peace" and presented her article at 2022's Colloquium. **Brenda Chavarin**, a repeat offender in my night classes, leaves CRC for UC Davis as does **Angela Felix**. **Shayna Hawk**, this year's unofficial award winner for "picking the best Wednesday night dinner venue" also leaves CRC for the UC. **Madison Hinshaw**, our department's resident musician, leaves CRC for my alma mater, San Francisco State. Her knowledge and insights on music in my classes have been greatly appreciated. **Gavin Scott** leaves CRC for CSUS where he'll study California Politics. Gavin's presence in classes will be missed. **Gabriella Violett**, this year's Editor, awaits notification of acceptance from several east coast schools in addition to the UC. Last year, Gabriella's "Repatriation: How Long Will Europe Hold Africa Hostage?" was published in Volume XII and presented at Colloquium. Gabriella has served our department as its designated subject matter tutor; she also tutored for the English Department. **Isabella Zaragoza** leaves CRC for a UC Campus. In addition to publishing "Ethiopia at War With Itself" in last year's volume, Isabella served as Associate Editor for Volumes XII and XIII. **Kidest Zekarias** and **Bradley Lowenstein** also leave CRC for the UC system. All will be missed and are invited back to visit (and mentor!) whenever they find time.

ALUMNI NEWS

The majority of alumni contact this year occurred early on the morning of Sunday, December 18th. People I haven't heard from in years who still had my cell phone number were calling and texting me throughout the World Cup final. As I told my "Politics in Latin America" students this year, there's nothing else to talk about beyond Argentina's victory! Great hearing from so many of you.

It is with great joy that I announce the engagement of two of my dearest friends, **Ryan Neach** and **Taylor Martin**. Ryan presented at our first colloquium and met Taylor, who was my TA at the time, that night. They've been together since and will marry next year. Congratulations!

Ali Alukrafi graduates from my alma mater, San Francisco State University with an MA in International Relations. I had the honor of addressing SFSU's IR students at their graduation this year. Mabruk Habibi!



Lisbin 2022

Samantha Bland, my former TA and Portugal travel partner (she made us sneak into the Palacio de la Pena in Sintra), returned to California for the first time since she left for Hull University. She, her mother, Cathy and I shared a wonderful pre-Christmas dinner in San Francisco.

Giselle Garcia graduates from UC Davis Law School this May and has accepted a post-grad fellowship with the UC Davis' Aoki Center for Critical Race Theory where she'll work under the mentorship of the Dean of the Law School and the program's co-director to develop academic research and advocacy projects for law students and the community.

Turab Bukhari, a UC Riverside graduate, will attend CSUS in pursuit of his MBA.

Julian Ramos, alumni of - and currently attending graduate school at - UC Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy is a graduate student researcher at the Democracy Policy Initiative. DPI focuses on strengthening democracy and developing and rigorously testing modern day policy solutions to address challenges such as political suppression, hyper-polarization, disinformation, racial-ethnic conflict and public mistrust.

Paloma Ramos has a fellowship at the Youth Policy Laboratory at University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) where she is currently pursuing her MPP.



Paloma-Ramos's Wedding, transfer class of 2020

***“THIS IS THE END, BEAUTIFUL FRIEND,
THIS IS THE END MY ONLY FRIEND,
THE END”***

As I filled the board with names and terms on the night I lectured my African Politics class on the Congo, “The End,” by The Doors played in the background. The song is playing on my stereo as I write this. (Yes, I spin vinyl, listen to old mix tapes and play CD’s at home – on a stereo.)

People are tired of politics. Political Science, as a major, is seeing reduced numbers of students enrolling, nationally. At CRC, in addition to this uncontrollable fact, we face a hostile administration and incompetent counselors. And let’s not forget CRC’s self-inflicted wounds. The net result for our program is almost assured destruction: we will likely become a GE servicing department only offering POLSCI 301: US Gov’t. for students seeking to meet their “institutions” requirements.

A proper eulogy requires analysis.

The California State Assembly has passed a series of bills designed to move students efficiently through the community college system into upper division at the CSU and/or UC. Their intent, though seemingly good on paper, fails to take a great many

things into consideration. This college, in an effort to meet these new mandates, has not only failed to consider those same things but has taken it a step further. Indeed, CRC is a failing institution as proven by its published statistics: A whopping six percent of CRC students transferred to 4-year institutions with 12,181 students enrolled and only 739 students transferring to the UC and CSU (120 + 619, respectively). Pre-Covid, this department’s annual contribution to CRC’s overall UC transfer rate was 12% (approximately 15 students per year) - with 100% of these students accepted to UC Berkeley, UC Davis, UCLA, UC Riverside, UC Irvine or UCSD. Our ability to positively improve upon this trend has been threatened for a few years but this year, as Jim Morrison wrote, “this is the end...” CRC Administration has decided to no longer support our program, not allowing us the necessary time to rebuild and continue it into fall. When asked, directly, “Are you OK if this program devolves into GE servicing and no longer offers relevant courses or electives?” the instantaneous answer, “Yes,” was heartbreak. The excuse is the same as it’s always been (“your classes must have at least 20 students to be taught” blah blah blah) but the willingness to support this vibrant and successful program has gone as this cohort leaves and we face decreased enrollment going into fall. Every third year’s fall, until this year, we’ve been allowed to run low-enrolled sections knowing that by spring, our enrollments increase and carry us until our students transfer away two and three years later. Our administration should be ashamed of their shortsightedness and complete lack of imagination. The end result is the same: our students are, and will continue to be, improperly served.

As a proud product of the California Community College system (City College of San Francisco), I was fortunate to be able to explore various majors and take courses based on my interests as I completed my lower division GE. I transferred into San Francisco State University and completed my academic journey a more informed and well-rounded student for my efforts. The knowledge nourished ongoing intellectual pursuits and eventually found its way into lecture content and advising. I’ve always encouraged our students to indulge themselves as they’d likely never be able to again. Sadly, they will no longer be able to take classes not a part of their Guided Pathway. AB 1440 (Padilla) and SB 400 (Padilla) created ADT’s which began the process of limiting students from taking classes not tied to their majors/not a part of their IEP (Individual Education Plan) in the name of streamlining the approach to getting students in and out of lower division and facilitating transparent transfer requirements to the CSU system. The funding formula change and guided pathways now dictate that students need only take what’s on their IEPs thus preventing exploration and satisfaction of intellectual curiosity. CRC

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Counseling began pushing students into majors that a great many don't wish to be in and, when students realize this or encounter difficulty exacerbated by lack of preparation or interest, drop out. The lack of persistence will be very interesting when we switch to the Student Centered Funding Formula that pays CRC for students who successfully meet benchmarks and/or complete degrees as opposed to students enrolled on census day. Counseling also fails students by discouraging them from intellectual inquiry. The most recent discipline example: A POLSCI 301 (US Gov't.) student from last year who, after receiving lecture on US foreign policy in Latin America wanted to take this year's elective (POLSCI 313: Latin American Politics) and explore why his family chose to emigrate and learn about the history and culture of the land of his parent's birth. The student, who's major is not IR or Political Science, made the tragic mistake of seeking guidance from his Counselor who told him that the class was "a useless elective and a waste of time." In my opinion, this is criminally negligent and should be sanctioned, but, of course, there's statutory verbiage to hide behind and nothing will happen. "I was only following orders" works here.

The college has, tragically, adopted a consumer marketing approach to offering classes. Despite the recession of COVID emergency measures and campuses being re-opened, because "students want to stay home," an inordinate number of classes are offered as "OLA" – online asynchronous classes. They log in and miss everything college is supposed to be. They never meet other students or faculty and deprive themselves of a true learning environment. Sadly, the majority learn little or nothing as every study on online learning has shown. Our only choice, as shared with me by administration, is simple: to survive, offer courses online so that they make - or watch them be canceled. Even with an OLS modality (online synchronous, meaning teaching via ZOOM), the learning environment isn't what it needs to be. Discussion in a ZOOM classroom is not fluid and not nearly as productive as it should be. The college should support a few low enrolled courses as we seek to rebuild our major particularly because the UC is already on record on not accepting majority online courses/degrees and working diligently to bring students back onto their campuses – low enrollment be damned. My alma mater, amongst other CSU's, is also so committed.

California is the world's 5th largest economy and has a richness of diversity, particularly in the northern portion of the state where we're located. For those reasons and the fact that this department was mired in a backwards 1950's view of our discipline, we built it from three to seventeen courses and added valuable electives such as this journal, the colloquium at which articles are presented, internships, etc. Our electives, taught exclusively at night, serve to showcase the world to students and those members of the

public who might "want to take an interesting class" one night per week. They get to learn about the people, politics, economics and humanities in Latin America, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, the Pacific Rim, Central Asia and Southeast Asia. But, perhaps, no longer. The feeder course to these electives, "POLS 310: International Relations," despite being tied to an AA-T degree, is now subject to being cut if less than 20 students enroll; "POLS 302: Comparative Politics," also tied to the AA-T degree, will likely face the same fate if it fails to enroll 20 students. POLS 311: International Political Economy," thanks to Beth's hard work and partnership with the Honors Program, returns every third year as an Honors Seminar. Last, "POLS 324: Revolutions & Ideologies," despite being the most popular course with our students, also faces cancellation if it's ever offered again.

My anger, bitterness and disappointment will not change anything at this institution. Only students fighting to preserve offerings will. If this is the last journal, if our tenth colloquium is to be our last - then we should look back on the last decade and celebrate what we've been able to accomplish in partnership with our students. The institution's goals were never ours and our students are better for it.

"This is the end"

Pray not.

CONCLUSION

Inquiries regarding Globus Mundi should be directed to Professor Martin Morales, Department Chair, at (916) 691-7114 or, via email, to moralem@crc.losrios.edu

Thank you for your support.

VALETE

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

JAMES BENNETT

JAEGER BROOKS

HAYAT BOTAN

BRENDA CHAVARIN

ANGELA FELIX

SHAYNA HAWK

MADISON HINSHAW

BRADLEY LOWENSTEIN

GAVIN SCOTT

GABRIELLA VIOLETT

ISABELLA ZARAGOZA

KIDEST ZEKARIAS

THE FISHING INDUSTRY: MODERN SLAVERY

KATELYNN LYALL

History portrays a global timeline in which man is subservient to the powers that rule over him. For a time, the powers may have been that of “supernatural” divinity, a royal hierarchy, or the rule of law. However, man under the power of industrialized capitalism has been subject to a grotesque fabrication of “honest” labor. The dissimulation of the reality of the fishing industry, on behalf of the governments and corporations who benefit from their facilitation of this deception by said industry, has succeeded in altering the conversation surrounding its horrific reality. The reality pertaining to the fishing industry is that of modern slavery. Among the inhumane happenings within the fishing industry, three focal malpractices will be included for the purpose of this discussion; slavery, forced labor and human trafficking. Furthermore, the location of study critical to the identification of such malpractices is Southeast Asia, primarily Taiwan.

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Taiwan is a Southeast Asian country, positioned between China and the Philippines. It is identified to be a sovereign state under the Republic of China (ROC). Formally, Taiwan is independent from the authority of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the authoritative body of mainland China. However, due to the *One China* principle under the 1992 Beijing Consensus, China believes Taiwan is obligated to unite with the mainland. Since then, tensions between the two have escalated. Recently, in 2022, China secured this perspective on the matter by applying military pressure on the

island to assume control. Moreover, the recent events in Taiwan may provide a linkage to a greater scope of human suffering.

The colonial period of Japan (1895-1945) facilitated the emergence of Taiwan’s current fishing industry through behavioral, geographical and technological expansions. From the early 1900s, onward, China turned to Taiwan in the interest of industrial development and economic exploitation of Southeast Asia. Taiwan’s geographic advantage and abundant marine life resources led fishery authorities and fishing companies to assume a collective desire to develop Taiwan’s fishing industry. In 1967, Taiwan built the fishing port of Cianjhen. A decade later, the United States and their establishment of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ), or territorial waters, inspired other nations to declare their own. Following this, Taiwan expanded themselves into the waters of Southeast Asia. Furthermore, Cianjhen blossomed as the epicenter of the nation’s dominant distant water fishing (DWF) industry. As the industrialization of vessels and tools increased the practice’s efficiency, the exploitation of aquatic animals, resources and laborers escalated alongside. Particularly in Southeast Asia, workers at risk of exploitation are not only men. Rather, children are also subject to conditions of the fishing industry. In the modern age, the prevalence of commercial fishing under the reinforcement of industrial capital contributes to global human suffering, perpetuated by international actors who reap the benefits.

Taiwan is a top global supplier of seafood, notably, tuna. Taiwan’s global fisheries, or commercial fishing enterprises, with

mass seafood exports greatly benefit major economies in North America, Asia and Europe. The state's distant water fishing (DWF) industry, in particular, raises a concern for many observers domestically and abroad. In Kaohsiung, Taiwan, Fong Chun Formosa Fishery Company (FCF) demonstrates the scope of global influence through the state's DWF trade. The FCF lies among the group of top global fishing traders. Globally, Japan is the top consumer of tuna and Thailand is a leader in seafood processing. Thus, Taiwan and FCF supply Japan and Thailand with a substantial volume of seafood exports. In turn, the two latter states process and package this supply. Through the exportation of processed goods, Taiwan expands its network of global outreach.

II. DEFINITIONS: SLAVERY, FORCED LABOR AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

According to the 1926 League of Nations Geneva Convention on Slavery, *slavery* can be identified as a condition imposed upon an individual and exercised by those in power through their attachment to the right of ownership. It is an expression of the socioeconomic power imbalance enforced by the society's superior entities over the inferior in a violent or unjust manner. The 1956 United Nations (UN) Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, proposed a modern definition of slavery that includes both *serfdom* and *debt bondage*. The Convention defines *serfdom* as the indefinite rank of an individual provided by an agreement, either legally or customarily, from the landowner in which the former is limited to reside and perform labor on the property by will of the latter, regardless of compensation. Likewise, *debt bondage* is a debtor's pledge of either personal services or that of another individual under his command as a form of debt insurance. The agency of such services is inadequately determined and restricted if the service's value is not delegated to the advancement of the debt's liquidation. Next, *forced labor* is described by the 1930 International Labour Organization (ILO) Forced Labour Convention to be an involuntary form of service or employment on the part of an individual that is executed under the imminent threat of penalty. Lastly, constituted by the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol, *human trafficking* is the recruitment, transit, exchange or quartering of a person(s) through the use of force or menace. This includes alternative forms of violent recruitment such as coercion, power imbalances, abduction, financial incentives or fraudulence. Consent by the victimized individual is irrelevant in any of these cases. Reflected in the Protocol's rhetoric, human trafficking for the purposes of exploitation specifically embraces the ILO's notion of exploitation regarding their definition of forced labor. Moreover, these definitions share a similar foundation with the element of coercion.

III. ILLEGAL, UNREPORTED, UNREGULATED (IUU) FISHING

A 2018 report by the Global Slavery Index (GSI), categorized Taiwan to be a *low-risk* location for the prevalence of slavery. The GSI calculates the degree of vulnerability a state may inhabit to perpetuate the efforts of slavery on a large scale. They do so by combining the weakness of the state's national fisheries policies alongside monetary and institutional capacity. However, in light of the IUU fishing practices that have surfaced with recent inquiry by worldwide analysts, the GSI's findings are speculated to have greatly underrepresented the scope of the reality at hand.

IUU fishing practices perpetuate cases of human rights violations and abuses. Illegal fishing practices are violations at the hands of fisheries within the supervisory authority of coastal states or Regional Fisheries Management Organizations (RFMOs). Examples of this include fishing in restricted or unregulated areas, activities by unlicensed vessels, and the distribution of a singular legitimate document of registration between a shared group of anonymous vessels. Limited reporting, false reporting and no reporting of by-catch, discards or catch volume that exceeds the total level of permitted catch, falsifies fishing statistics and violates authorized quotas. Unregulated fishing practices include unregistered state vessels, activities that violate aquatic life conservation measures, and actions that interrupt regional or international legal measures. Violated measures may include bribery to obtain licenses, shifting flags between different states in order to divert sanctions, and lack of authorization from the state of the vessel's fishing location. Unregistered vessels acting within the cleavages of EEZs or covert areas of the high seas is another example of IUU practices. For the most part, these practices go unreported due to its lawlessness and anonymity. Henceforth, if reports have been filed, they generally share a tendency to misrepresent the accounts at hand.

Overfishing as a result of unsustainable fishing practices has become detrimental to the industry's labor force. With overfishing, the volume of available catch decreases, in turn, inflating the value of fishing costs. To combat inflation, fishers reduce financial investments into the labor force and find loopholes to undercut market rates. Thus, competition increases and overfishing escalates, repeating in a circular pattern.

Taiwan's expansive seafood market is maintained by a significant number of vessels within both DWF areas and their EEZ waters. In the 1990's the Taiwanese government crafted a program to organize registration for the influx of migrant workers from Southeast Asia and mainland China who sought employment positions in Taiwan's EEZ fisheries. In contrast to the homelands

of migrant workers, Taiwan's dominant industry stimulates broader employment opportunities and a greater income for fishermen. Therefore, securing occupation in Taiwan is a target for many workers abroad. Relative to the cycle of overfishing, many of Taiwan's large longliner vessels have remained in port due to inflated fuel and labor costs. Subsequently, vessel operators strive for the recruitment of migrant laborers who are in need of an income to support their families overseas. More likely than not, the vulnerability of migrant workers is taken advantage of by employers seeking low-cost labor for high-cost profits. About 74% of migrant workers are from Indonesia. The remaining percent are majoritively from the Philippines and Vietnam.

Workers in EEZ fisheries are recruited through registrations by procedures of the state government. In DWF fisheries, workers are recruited privately through recruitment agencies or labor intermediaries. Labor intermediaries, or labor brokers, delegate workers to employers throughout the market. Migrant workers are uniquely vulnerable to exploitation due to their lack of leverage. They have fewer social protections upon labor rights and security than their native-born counterparts. Likewise, workers are left with bare protections of which fishery agencies are unwilling to enforce.

About 90% of DWF vessels fish for tuna in the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Due to extended periods of deployment at sea, Taiwan's DWF vessels are sustained by trans-shipments. In turn, DWF vessels only return to the homeland about once annually. Extended periods of isolation with lack of proper supervision aboard vessels alongside miserly employers and recruitment networks, exacerbate the risk of trafficked or forced laborers.

IV. THE GIANT OCEAN CASE

In 2011, an investigation into Giant Ocean International Fishery revealed to the people of Taiwan, and those internationally, the prevalence of human trafficking on the high seas. Giant Ocean was a recruitment agency founded by five Taiwanese shareholders. Registered under the Labor Ministry of Cambodia, the agency was a private limited company. In collaboration with companies in Taiwan and Singapore, the agency delivered Cambodian fishermen to numerous countries. Some countries include: Panama, Taiwan, Australia, Fiji, Senegal, South Africa and Indonesia. From 2011 to 2012 an increasing volume of reports were made by trafficked victims in Cambodia. This led Cambodian authorities to begin formal investigations into the agency. The findings revealed a human trafficking ring operated by Giant Ocean. Majoritively, between 2010 and 2012, the company supplied Cambodian workers to Taiwanese fishing vessels. The Cambodian Department of Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection arrested Lin Yu Shin, the employee responsible for labor recruitment, in

2013. However, the five Taiwanese shareholders have since been deemed as fugitives and remain wanted by Cambodian authorities. Recent reports identified four of the five Taiwanese fugitives to have continued their involvement in the recruitment of workers upon Taiwanese fishing vessels. In addition to the lack of evidence surrounding Taiwan's efforts for the betterment of Giant Ocean's human trafficking and forced labor victims, recent findings reflect Taiwan's willingness to harbor perpetrators of such horrific operations. Relative to Taiwan, further introspective details of the case have been hindered due to close diplomatic ties between China and Cambodia. Thus, resulting from a lack of evidence, cooperation and performance by Taiwan's judicial system has not manifested.

V. DEBT BONDAGE

The lack of legal implementation by government actors, lax supervisory authority by fishery agencies, corrupt recruitment procedures by broker networks and unrighteous boat owners work in unison to undermine humanitarian integrity. A commonality found between these entities is a shared perception of ownership over their laborers. Through the exploitation of ownership by broker networks and vessel owners, capital gains are advanced. This perception of superiority is supported by the structure of the system, particularly through control over the laborers' finances. Debt is used to fortify withdrawal attempts by workers, and in turn, labor abuses are frequent. Although it is rare, attempts at collective action by fishermen are made in response to abuse. Their success rate, however, in which the outcome of these efforts ensures the betterment of their conditions, is slim to none. Laborers who seek to transfer their employment under current vessel owners or port locations must propose their requests through contract negotiations. The amended contract is legitimized solely through authorization from fishery agencies or recruitment brokers. Brokers are known to fabricate employment opportunities and deceptively describe the labor conditions to laborers. After convincing fishermen of this fabrication, recruiters will deal them to human traffickers. Initially, brokers call for substantial fees whilst the deal is in progress. Once sealed, brokers receive the employee's salary and profit through their retention of the employee's wage deductions. Supposedly repaid at the end of the contract, monthly wage deductions are utilized to ensure the workers' completion of the contract's full duration. In particular, migrant workers are a victim of this.

As scholars have identified, workers are bound to the *debt bondage cycle*. Due to debt accumulation upon the application process, workers are responsible for reimbursement to broker networks. Debt is acquired by fees through recruitment agencies,



transborder smuggling, production of documents, high interest rates alongside loans, and transportation from one's home country to the jobsite. Wage deductions for basic needs such as food and water also contribute to debt.

VI. FACTORS SUPPRESSING LABOR CONDITIONS

Laborers are disadvantaged by a lack of knowledge regarding contractual or governmental procedures. Migrant workers are additionally disadvantaged due to language barriers. Fishermen considering a legal change of employer must apply to the designated government offices responsible for the matter. As a result, recordings of interviewed crew members from Taiwan's industry revealed that many workers rely heavily on their recruitment agencies for translations and information sharing. Such reliance provides an outlet for agencies to advance personal agendas by withholding or manipulating information. Owners of DWF vessels are known to collaborate particularly with outsourced recruitment agencies in order to divert their adherence to Taiwan's labor laws. A Filipino crew member recounted an instance in which workers had attempted to leave their employer once they

discovered their pay had been reduced by nearly half. However, their efforts were halted by the employer while the fishery's agency refused to aid the situation. Taiwanese labor policies grant recruitment agencies jurisdiction over labor relations for the duration of a worker's contracted employment period. Considering the crew's contracts had been held under an overseas recruitment agency, the fishery agency was not responsible for the relations that took place in response to conditions on the vessel.

In relation to the extended sea periods aboard DWF vessels, crew members frequently report discrepancies between workloads at sea versus in ports and fishing grounds. DWF vessel owners run a greater risk of exposure for their offenses while positioned in areas with possible witnesses. Henceforth, fishermen recall carrying a lighter workload in ports and fishing grounds. In contrast, workers describe performing labor for multiple days at a time without or with very little sleep while at sea. Crew members have stated that an average work day can range from eighteen hours to upwards of thirty four hours without rest times. This is a direct violation of ILO C188 standards on working hours. The ILO requires a seventy-seven hour total rest period for every seven day period in which a ten hour rest period is required for every twenty-

four hours. With this, working hours must be less than or equal to fourteen hours per day in order to meet these requirements. Although Taiwan proclaimed their commitment to upholding ILO labor standards, repeated accounts from crew members show otherwise.

Common tactics of abuse experienced by crew members upon DWF vessels are both physical and psychological. The ILO has repeatedly reported that a significant number of workers suffer from depressed working conditions where slavery is common. Violent tactics by employers include striking workers with the foot, hand or fishing gear, threatening the use of a gun or other weaponry, and verbal assaults. While a vessel is in port, acts of violence greatly decrease. This is due to possible opportunities for a laborer's departure from the employer and the increased risk of an employer's exposure. Secondly, from the accounts of interviewed crew members, over half had revealed they lacked access to proper toilets, bathing, compartments to store personal belongings, and sleeping arrangements. For example, findings on DWF vessels revealed small sleeping compartments in which up to three men were delegated to a single bed. In turn, body movements are nearly impossible. Likewise, workers without access to proper toilets were forced to relieve themselves in buckets or other containers.

Workers additionally lack access to proper safety equipment. Labor within the fishing industry is particularly high-risk beyond the endurance of slavery and human rights abuses. The ILO categorized fishing to be one of the most dangerous occupations. Injuries often occur from the misuse of heavy tools and machinery. Awareness and caution must be taken while performing labor on these vessels. Therefore, workers facing injuries, illnesses and sleep deprivation cannot sustain a safe work environment.

Nevertheless, ill and injured crew members on DWF vessels are forced by vessel owners to work under duress. If an individual cannot perform labor under such situations of duress, they are punished. In DWF vessels, workers are not granted access to Taiwan's universal health care. Instead, the Taiwanese government requires vessel owners to ensure medical and life insurance to the laborers. Yet, owners often demand crew members to pay compensation beforehand in order to receive medical care. Thus, workers are often denied access to health care as a result of financial inabilities. On the other hand, in EEZ fisheries, workers legally have access to Taiwan's universal health care or one's individually paid health insurance. Migrant workers often obtain medical attention through their recruitment agencies. Agencies acting as an intermediary for fishermen can provide language translations and transportation to medical facilities. However, the experiences of crew members often detail agencies who are unwilling to fulfill this responsibility. This is due to a perception by

agencies, believing a worker's condition lacks sufficient credibility for medical treatment. Moreover, workers in both DWF and EEZ vessels are prevented from accessing proper health care access.

Supriyanto was an Indonesian fisherman recruited overseas by Jangkar Kaya Samudera, an Indonesia based recruitment agency. While the agency enticed Supriyanto with a promising pay, he unknowingly became a victim of the debt bondage cycle. Within the first two months of his employment, Supriyanto's Taiwanese employer deducted large sums of hidden fees from his wages. Included in these fees were monthly wage deductions, to be paid at the end of the contract's two year term, which relinquish a worker's opportunity to flee abusive work environments. For two months of labor, Supriyanto only received 14% of the income he was promised. Four months following the start of his employment, he died while on board the vessel. Supriyanto's cause of death was due to unsustainable injuries.

VII. FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE

Flagged vessels who utilize flags of convenience perpetuate exploitative behavior and an abusive environment aboard vessels. Flags of convenience are a common strategy in which vessels from one state are registered under a separate state. Subsequently, vessels circumvent regulatory labor standards. Utilization of this strategy allows vessels to broaden access to quotas and operate in contrast to the objectives of the source nation. Analytic findings suggest an estimated volume of upwards to five hundred fishing vessels under flags of convenience.

Registered under Vanuatu, vessel Captain Xie Dingrong operated a Taiwanese owned tuna longliner. While deployed between the waters of Fiji and Easter Island, the captain was killed by six Indonesian crew members. Upon further investigation by the Vanuatu Supreme Court, the trial revealed a significant volume of human rights abuses and malpractices which occurred on the vessel. The court found that the actions of the crew members had been a response to the extreme physical and mental abuse they endured at the hands of the captain. The result of the trial by the Vanuatu court had sentenced the six crew members to eighteen years in prison. Although the longliner vessel had ownership under Taiwan, Taiwanese authorities did not initiate a formal investigation into any element of the case. This behavior is indicative of Taiwan's lack of accountability in situations involving human rights violations.

VIII. UNREGISTERED, STATELESS VESSELS

In a similar fashion, stateless vessels or vessels unregistered to any nation, do not operate under any regulatory measures. Fishing is executed with the use of illegal fishing methods and equipment in order to maximize catch. Aboard stateless vessels, crew members are entirely unprotected. Stateless vessels or vessels with an

anonymous flag are particularly hard to catch as they are extremely difficult to locate and track. Thus, they are majoritively unknown to authorities abroad.

In 2016, nine tuna longliners claiming registration under Bolivia had entered Thailand. Following their arrival, the crew's recruitment broker deemed their contracts invalid, manufacturing valid contracts through verbal agreements. The broker then confiscated the worker's passports along with their seaman books, documentations of previous labor experience by date and rank. Withholding documents is another common tactic used to trap laborers in exploitative work environments. Brokers operate out of an interest to maintain quotas set by fishery agencies for which they will receive a payout. To ensure their payout, brokers attempt to block pathways in which a worker can flee such as withholding vital identification documents and threats to implement contract cancellation fees for a worker's return home. Under the crew's new contracts, members stated none of them had received pay since they began employment. Two crew members recalled witnessing a fellow member beaten by the vessel owner because the pace of his work had been unfavorable to the owner. During the beating, he was struck and kicked across most of his body. Additionally, he was threatened with a gun to the head and a sword to his limbs. Upon investigation, Thai authorities found falsified registration documents on board the vessel. The findings on board indicated the vessel had been under Taiwanese ownership. However, inconclusive evidence led Thai authorities to deem the vessel as stateless. The investigation classified the status of the Indonesian crew members to be victims of human trafficking.

A new tactic of deception is increasingly becoming widespread throughout the high seas. The UN maritime data research provider, Windward, revealed over five hundred cases in which large vessels manipulate satellite navigation systems. Overriding these systems allow for large ships to cover true locations while physically positioned in an area, yet signaling a position in a separate location. Originally, such deceptive technology was reserved to sophisticated militaries. However, advancements in the replication of this technology have facilitated the expansion of its utilization to black markets and the markets of sanctioned items. The practice is reported to have expanded to regions with major maritime activity.

IX. CHINA'S NEW SILK ROAD AND TAIWAN'S UNIFICATION

China's role in Taiwan and its expanding relations abroad postulate a concerning view for the perpetuation of human rights violations. China's New Silk Road, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), provides a linkage to the humanitarian issue facing Taiwan's fishing industry and the industries of nations abroad. As previously stated in this

article, the 2012 case garnered international attention that briefly changed the international and domestic perspective of Taiwan. In 2013, while Cambodia conducted investigations and legal proceedings in light of the issues presented with the case, Taiwan did not. This had been due to political relations between China and Cambodia. Additionally in 2012, China established new military bases along the coastal area of the mainland by the East China Sea. These bases were positioned directly across from Taiwan, which increased military pressure on the island country. Both of these events suggest that the Chinese government has made attempts to silence information sharing by the Taiwanese government that would expose the reality of Taiwan's industry.

The Chinese government is known to censor media and information that may threaten the power's legitimacy. For example, a documentary exposing the reality of air pollution as a public health crisis by a former news journalist had aired for less than forty-eight hours before Chinese authorities censored the broadcast. The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) domestic centrality on the reunification of Taiwan has led the CCP to advance efforts diverting the attention and participation of Taiwan from the international system. Not only has the CCP opposed Taiwan's participation in international organizations, additional efforts have been made to sever Taiwan's diplomatic ties and the development of military relations with Western powers. Evident in the case of Giant Ocean, the realities of Taiwan's fishing industry, detrimental to the international perception of China's interests, were barred from further domestic and international exposure.

In 2018, South African authorities detained a Taiwanese longline vessel for violations to the *Work in Fishing Convention* by the UN's ILO. Violations to the Convention's standards included laborers receiving incompetent wages, exceeding daily working hours, and abuse at the hands of Taiwanese captains. Relative to the Giant Ocean case, accounts from trafficked victims revealed they held visas and entry badges to South Africa, yet no recorded documents of an exit from Cambodia were found. South Africa is one of the many countries involved in China's new economic initiative. A simple cross-examination of the countries involved in China's initiative and trafficked laborers of Taiwan's fishing industry, provide a shocking revelation.

According to the ROC, the source nations of foreign fishermen for Taiwan's industry are: Tanzania, Mozambique, India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines, South Korea and Japan. Other countries that are involved in the recruitment of migrant laborers for Taiwan's industry are: Singapore, Panama, Thailand, South Africa, Mauritius Islands, Fiji, Uruguay and China.

Next, the countries involved in China's BRI are: Tanzania,

Mozambique, India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Panama, Thailand, South Africa, Fiji and Uruguay. To dig deeper, countries that are hosting recent projects for the BRI roadways are: Indonesia, Cambodia, South Africa, Thailand and Singapore.

In 2005, Senegal shifted their diplomatic allegiance from Taiwan to China. Senegal's diplomatic relationship with China strengthened as Senegal had become the labor intermediary agency that registered and documented visas for the influx of Chinese migrants into the African country. As a result, the early presence of Taiwanese migrants in Namibia were overpowered by an influx of migrant workers from mainland China. China's BRI projects in Africa provide a spitting image of the human rights violations occurring within Taiwan's fishing industry. For example, Chinese workers endure debt bondage, coercive recruitment, financial penalties for disobedience, depressed working and housing conditions, a lack of safety equipment, receive improper wages, and lack labor protections. Furthermore, labor lawyers representing China's migrant workers in Africa have stated that the degree of labor conditions under the BRI projects fall directly under the definition of human trafficking. This definition of human trafficking is detailed in relative international conventions discussing the matter in which China is a signatory.

Moreover, the centrality of both the CCP's current primary interests of the Silk Road Initiative and the reunification of Taiwan could explain the efforts of China's derailment for a deeper investigation into the Giant Ocean case. Similarly, China's pressure on Taiwan may provide probable reasoning for the lack of honest information shared from Taiwan. The implications that could arise from an investigation of Taiwan's industry may reveal the transnational scope of China's possible preeminent role in the trafficking of migrant workers. Likewise, introspective investigations may expose the complacency and participation of numerous countries abroad. Thus, an international perspective change following this exposure could possibly delegitimize China as a growing international economic power and expose further dealings of human rights violations within the international system.

X. CONCLUSIONS

Information regarding Taiwan's industry is limited as the government refrains from reporting full extensions of humanitarian violations. Exacerbated by the interests of global powers and multinational corporations, hopes of devising a plan for the betterment of workers in the fishing industry may seem impossible. Nevertheless, international organizations and actors must strive to publicize the humanitarian crises within the fishing industry. The conversation on human trafficking, slavery,

debt bondage and serfdom must not be hindered. International organizations must continue to investigate, report, and publish findings to put pressure on governments and corporations who facilitate these violations.

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UNIVERSALISM: CULTURAL IMPERIALISM OR MODERNIZATION

ANGELA FELIX

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, people have continuously sought to increase their human rights. This idea of Human Rights was expressed through numerous documents such as the Magna Carta (1215), Habeas Corpus (1679), The United States Declaration of Independence (1776), and the French Declaration of Human Civil Rights (1689). However, the idea of Universal Human Rights wasn't established internationally until the United Nations passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in Paris on December 10th, 1948.¹ The ratification of this document marked a step toward the international recognition of human rights as standards and principles were put in place to ensure rights for everyone.² The document was further strengthened at the Vienna World Conference in 1993 when human rights were defined as "universal, indivisible, interdependent, and interrelated".³ While human rights have been an ongoing matter in history, it remains essential to address its meaning. Human rights are rights that all human beings are entitled to simply for existing, given to all regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, language, sex, nationality, etc.. Universal human rights, however, is the idea that human rights apply to everyone in the world.⁴ This idea of universality may sound great yet it has continuously been met with opposition, specifically on the cultural side. Many argue against universalism due to the belief that human rights are a Western idea and that in claiming universal rights is to continue the ongoing idea of the "West and the rest". Some of these arguments arise from cultural relativists, a

few non-Western states, and the publics of non-Western nation-states.⁵ These arguments vary between whether universalism is good or bad, depending on the perspective of culture. For some, culture takes priority, while others believe that universalism is essential to modernization and this modernization is necessary for a state. With all arguments, the overall criticism that comes to universalism is whether humans are accepting cultural imperialism by expanding Western norms in the international system. This paper will cover why culture raises a problem, different perspectives on the matter, and why many are against western ideals in international relations.

CULTURAL RELATIVISTS AGAINST UNIVERSALISM

With human rights, culture is central to the issue, but why exactly does it play such a large role? Many argue that culture is imperative: in avoiding its role we may be accepting the westernization of the world because we would be implementing their view of what human rights should be. Among this perspective rise cultural relativists who reject universalism, holding that culture should be a guiding judgment of a moral right or rule. To understand cultural relativism we must first examine its different types. There is "strong cultural relativism", which holds that culture should be the leading factor in the validity of moral rule or rule, "weak cultural relativism", which holds that culture plays an important role in moral right or rule, and radical cultural relativism which holds that culture is the only source of validity.⁶ In this article, I will focus on a strong cultural relativist



point of view to understand the obstacle of culture in human rights.

Cultural relativists do not believe that individuals can have pre-existing rights because rights are products of society and are socially constructed.⁷ The root cause for the rejection of universality is due to relativist belief that universalism defends western morality on an international scale when instead, cultural differences should take priority in the discussion.⁸ Relativists argue that there is no standard of good and evil, and all judgment is a product of society, which is why mankind cannot accept one idea of rights over others.⁹ Simply put, there cannot be one preferable definition of human rights because the idea of human rights differs within each culture.¹⁰ This difference originates in human nature, and as Donnelly mentions, “Human nature is relative.”¹¹ As he explains:

“More important, culture can significantly influence the presence and expression of many aspects of human nature by encouraging or discouraging the development or perpetuation of certain personality traits and types.”¹²

Donnelly's explanation of human nature gives a perspective as to why cultural relativists believe universalism can be a negative evolution. He accepts that culture plays a significant role not simply in maintaining aspects that define one's identity but the individual definitions of what human rights are based on one's human nature can and will differ significantly. In stark contrast, Donnelly later explains that culture itself may play a harmful role as well. In only focusing on the cultural aspect of human rights the importance of human rights itself may be rejected, as Donnelly puts it:

“But if human nature were infinitely variable, or if all moral values were determined solely by culture (as radical cultural relativism holds), there could be no human rights (rights that one has “simply as a human being”) because the concept “human being” would have no specificity of moral significance.”¹³

Cultural relativists are right to emphasize the importance of culture within the idea of universalism, but with that argument comes the question of whether the international community should avoid trying to establish rights for all. In doing so, the argument shifts from an individual's right to a cultural competition, trying to pin the importance of one over the other. Within this argument comes an important aspect: morality. Donnelly explains that in society today, there are universally agreed acts or practices that cannot be legitimized. Donnelly claims that taking a cultural relativist position and ignoring those universally agreed practices that are wrong, would be perceived as “moral cowardice”. This again puts into question what's more important: culture or morality. Some argue that in trying to accept all cultures as equal, it means that cultural relativists may even “tolerate militant colonists who regard non-Western peoples as savages unworthy of self-rule”¹⁴. By only defending culture as the sole legitimate source of decision-making, relativists fail to see the implications of their own arguments. It continues to add to the competition between morality and culture, but in the end, neither is more important than the other.

THE CASE OF FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

When speaking of international human rights and culture, one specific practice may come to mind: Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This practice has been frowned upon in the West. Even in popular shows such as “The Good Doctor” and “Orange is the New Black”, the topic of female genital mutilation has been brought up to highlight the struggles of real-life FGM victims. In these cases, the topic has been put in a negative light, portraying women struggling with their sexuality, their sex life, and the psychological health risks that come as a consequence of FGM.¹⁵ Of course, since these are Western TV shows, it seems to prove the Western view regarding FGM. But in the case of FGM, there are many different perspectives to consider such as the states who practice FGM, the states who don't, and the views of the populace. In 1989 the UN adopted the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In this convention, several nation-states expressed their views on cultural tradition and change. In this case, change is the acceptance of ridding of ‘harmful’ traditions. In doing so, many states revealed that moving toward human rights through the eradication of FGM had also been a matter of modernization.¹⁶ In the delegation, the Democratic Republic of Congo, a state that does practice FGM, made their opinions very clear: they recognize the dangers of FGM and want to see its removal. However, they must be sensitive to the issue as it can create a “cultural and educational void”, because it would remove a tradition that plays a key role in the identities and security of the Congolese people.¹⁷ The Democratic Republic of Congo wasn't the only one to have this view. In the Guinean delegation, Guinea took a

similar approach in recognizing the harmful impacts of FGM, while also being cautious to avoid a “cultural vacuum”.¹⁸ While these states prove that they are moving toward a universal human rights regime, it’s important to keep in mind the opinion of the populace which in many states have seen as an obstacle. In Sudan, the practice of FGM has been eradicated since 1925, yet it continues to be practiced by the people. The Sudanese delegation revealed that the only way eradication can be successful is if victims came forward and initiated complaints under the relevant laws.¹⁹ This step has also been proven to be difficult. In Mali, state representatives revealed that FGM is supported by 98% of its population and a poll revealed that women wished to continue the tradition.²⁰ Considering the issue, many states have “alluded to the fact that prohibiting or criminalizing FGM is not the most appropriate or effective way of dealing with the problem”, instead, its best to “change the attitudes and practices of the local communities by raising awareness among the population”.²¹ In attempting to change the attitudes of the public, states have used gentle persuasion by engaging local groups with a movement toward change to avoid the feeling of forced change upon them.²² While being a simple and good approach to the elimination of FGM, states know that this method will take time, however, it’s a necessary consequence in order to change the attitudes of the public and bring about long-term change.²³ While some states are accepting of the time it will take to persuade the populace, other states have become hostile toward the traditions of their own people. In the delegation of the Central African Republic, state representatives accuse the people of “social and cultural backwardness”, because the people’s resistance against cultural change impedes the government’s attempt to modernize. Here, we can see the issue of modernization come up against the cultural argument. It seems that states actively seek change, but with the people holding on to their cultural identities strongly, these attempts have been difficult.²⁴ Similar attitudes were shown by Benin, Chad, China, and Ghana where state representatives seek the removal of these practices, but the people’s attitudes continue to be an issue for universalism.²⁵ Other states such as Vanuatu and India take on a much more positive attitude toward their own traditions. The Vanuatu delegation, for example, “places a strong emphasis on the traditional values of Vanuatu society”.²⁶ India argues:

The right to culture implies not just the freedom to preserve one’s culture and retain it but, more importantly, the non-imposition of a culture considered to be better or superior. This means a sense of understanding and appreciation amongst children and the people they interact with... In urban city schools, children face a cultural invasion characterized by gross consumerism.

Values and cultural roots are damaged and need to be restored.²⁷ Essentially, India sees the importance of cultural and traditional values while emphasizing the dangers of cultural imperialism and

the impact foreign culture may have on Indian children.²⁸ This perspective is far from those of previously stated nations. India and Vanuatu both hold culture as an important part of society, while the other states actively wanted change but blamed the people for the lack of progress. Islamic states hold a similar cultural perspective as India. Nations such as Egypt, Indonesia, Morocco, Yemen, Pakistan, and Jordan all hold onto the importance of tradition.²⁹ The Egyptian delegation argued that the best interest of the child would be to take the environment, conditions, and customs of their own culture instead of conforming to the “uniform standard throughout the world”.³⁰ The Islamic nations in the committee continuously asked members to approach the Islamic faith with respect, especially to not have a preconceived bias toward its effects on women and children.³¹ The nations even asked the committee to have a positive view of Islam, since it can be misunderstood due to stereotypes. The nations went in seeking respect to understand their view of the importance of their traditions, but while seeking respect, many nations had a desire for change.³² The Moroccan delegation, for example, warned that changes to children’s rights must be introduced with caution to avoid negative reactions from the public, specifically pointing out that policies of modernization have resulted in hostile attitudes from the public.³³ This again goes back to the issue of modernization and issues with the public adding to the argument that states want to change but find it difficult to achieve when the people are the ones arguing against the uniformity it creates. The delegation has had different attitudes, but so far almost all have been willing to seek change while agreeing that it must be slow and originate with the public. States have even warned of the time it may take as harmful traditions have been attempted to be combated for years.³⁴ In the Chinese delegation, representatives argued that China has attempted to “[fight] cultural prejudices and traditions with deep roots in a feudal history going back 2000 years”.³⁵ In Nigeria and Egypt, similar concerns have been expressed, since it seems that the West has argued for rapid change. Yet this change cannot be done overnight.

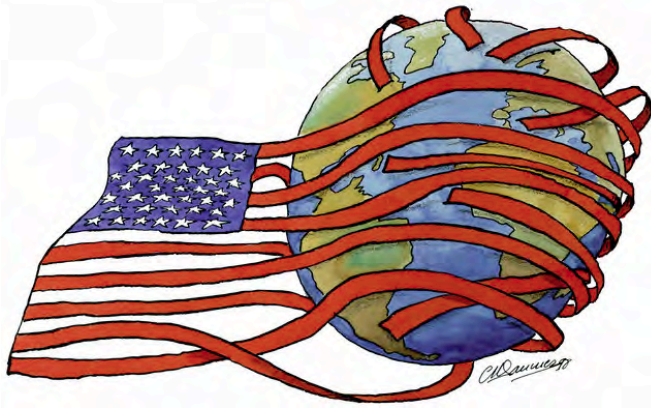
All of these perspectives are shown to prove that states want to change and want to “modernize”. Maybe it’s due to the influence the West has and that modernization is now linked with the progression of Western norms, or maybe it’s because human rights are a step toward modernization. Harris-Short also points out that culture can be a negative point to focus on for human rights, arguing that states may use the cultural argument in order to deflect from their own mistakes. For example, the Chinese delegation “acknowledged that the sale of children, female infanticide and the abandonment of girl-children are continuing problems”, but rather than recognizing the faults of their one-child policy, they blamed the problem on “feudal and backward thinking”.³⁶ Pollis brings up the recurring issue claiming that state leaders “invoke conjured

traditions to justify economic, social and political repression and to consolidate their own hold on political power".³⁷ The reason why culture is represented in a negative light is important because many are quick to only blame the West for their international role, but there are flaws to all sides of the argument when identifying the issues with universalism and human rights.³⁸ Along with the states using culture negatively, culture itself poses a conflict with its own argument. As Harris-Short claims, "within any particular society there is no one correct interpretation of culture", and it is "subject to constant change and re-valuation in competing interpretations and internal and external pressures".³⁹ If culture is subject to change, then there's a way in which culture can evolve and accept human rights without the claim that the state has been westernized. Furthermore, pinning the invalidity of international human rights would be a way that the state is manipulating the world to undergo self-preservation. To combat these claims, states have produced a policy of cultural blending with human rights in which "many states have adopted a policy of promoting and encouraging the positive aspects of local traditions and values, whilst seeking to abolish those which are harmful".⁴⁰ Many states are currently "seeking to build on and promote the positive aspects of their culture to cope with the demands of life under modern conditions".⁴¹ This compromise between states and modernity has the potential to end the longstanding claims of the West versus the rest because it finds a modern solution while keeping culture and tradition strong in societies. Many people only see the flaws of the West because they fail to see the flaws of culture. This is especially relevant to the cultural relativist perspective as culture is the only thing of importance to relativist believers. Yet there are flaws to all. In only blaming the West, man fails to see the problem of modernization and culture altogether.

WHY DOES THE WEST MATTER?

Throughout this article, there has been a recurring phrase: "Western origin". However, what does that mean? Did all human rights only originate in the West? Why does the West even matter in regards to human rights? As Bielefeld puts it, "Western origin of human rights of freedom and equality, so far as we know, was first proclaimed in Western Europe and North America".⁴² Many credit, or rather blame, the West, more specifically the United States (US), for the evolution of this idea of human rights. Part of this belief comes from the US hegemony post World War II. To further clarify, after WWII, the US made new institutions to stabilize the international order, and in the process, their ideals and values have continued to dominate the world stage. Many continue to be angered by the expansion of these values due to the many who credit the origins of human rights being explicitly Western. In other words, Western values have not

been shaped by any outside influences, the origins of human rights have been attributed to only "a European, Judeo-Christian, and Enlightenment heritage".⁴³ Even when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written, "thirty-seven of the states involved were associated with Judeo-Christian traditions; eleven were Islamic, six Marxist, and four had Buddhist-Confucian traditions".⁴⁴ The influence of the US and other Western nations have also played a tremendous role in the institutionalization of human rights. This can be seen in decolonized states that have established their own human rights, either to "emphasize their own sovereignty", or "because they were following the powerful Western states".⁴⁵ Whichever, many associate the change to human rights with the westernization of the states, even if the state chose to transition to universalism rather than having it imposed upon them. Many also blame the West for their attitude concerning international relations, explaining that "The people in the West have the habit of attributing every good thing to themselves and try to prove that it is because of them that the world got this blessing".⁴⁶ With this point of view, it's clear why so many people are against the international implementation of Western ideas. Nevertheless, much of this anger emerges from the hypocrisy displayed by the US. Deacon argues, "The United States, that country which most self-consciously presents itself as a beacon on democracy, worthy of emulation, has refused to ratify the International Criminal Court, citing international human rights oversight as an infringement on its democracy".⁴⁷ This viewpoint is also pointed out by Samuel P. Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* where he mentions that, "V.S. Naipaul has argued that Western Civilization is a universal civilization that fits all men". This way of thinking only adds fire to the fuel for those against Western ideals as it seems that the West fails to recognize that not all cultures "emulate the conditions and values of Western societies".⁴⁸ Huntington acknowledges that Western ideals differ from those in other societies. By this, it is meant that the values and ideals the West places as the most important are the least important everywhere else.⁴⁹ In *Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington identifies an important detail that may have implications for the argument of cultural identity and Western societies: people's cultural identity is increasing and non-Western states are becoming more powerful. Huntington discloses that civilization consciousness is increasing. This is due to the world becoming smaller, causing the differences in culture to be increasingly recognized. It also has to do with the fact that the differences between cultures are "basic", meaning the differences between civilizations are clear. It is a product of centuries, thus change is unlikely to be easy.⁵⁰ Huntington reveals that the West is currently at its peak and yet a "return to the roots" phenomenon is occurring in non-Western states at the same time.⁵¹ What comes from this increased consciousness, Huntington explains, is



an “us versus them” relation among those in different ethnic or religious groups and stronger non-Western nations.⁵² As of now, the West has been the strongest force in the international system politically, economically, and militarily. However, Huntington doesn't expect this to always be the case. As non-Western nations become stronger, the West will have to accommodate those rising civilizations.⁵³ Huntington's hypothesis of culture and the West brings an interesting point in that the West seems to have a “god complex” as their strength has been recognized for centuries. Once again, recognizing the attitude that angers many anti-universalists. Yet in Huntington's case, societies may not be so easy to persuade in remarks to universalism if the hypothesis proves to be true. So far, nations seem to want modernity. In achieving that, there may either be a blending of culture with universalism, or the acceptance of universalism fully. The people of the nations, however, may be harder to convince. This is especially true if their civilization consciousness is indeed increasing, as expected by Huntington. Whichever the case, this future society Huntington describes may place a new perspective on western values, rather than globalization being placed strictly in US hands. Only then will it become clear what values are simply western and which ones are simply a product of modernity.

CONCLUSION

So, are human rights westernized? The simple answer is yes: human rights ideals revolve around Western ideas of individuals, liberalism, equality, liberty, and democracy. However, should they be rejected because they are Western ideals, or should culture take priority in the matter? Both individual human rights and culture are important. On the one hand, there is the idea that every person deserves a set amount of given rights just for existing, in essence, accepting human beings as human beings. On the other hand, however, culture is a large part of one's identity. It bonds people together. It separates societies and gives each a uniqueness. In only choosing universalism we ourselves may be placing greater importance to our western way of thinking rather than accepting the natural differences among

the subject in respect to culture. Alternatively, in choosing culture over universalism, we may be ignoring our moral duty to protect each individual's existence. Additionally, traditions play a key role in culture. Whilst coming to terms with the idea of universalism, it seems that many nations are accepting of ridding harmful traditions and implementing human rights in their state. However, the populace has proved that they will not easily give up their culture and traditions, making modernization a difficult task. The matter of modernization brings on another argument altogether. The issue is that we can define modernization in one specific way, but for human rights to progress internationally, culture must change. As states have argued, this will take time as it's not easy to counter beliefs and traditions that have existed for centuries, but slowly we may see the acceptance of universalism, globally. Instead of only portraying Western beliefs in universalism, other states may blend culture with modernity to achieve modernization in a non-Western way. Huntington's point on civilization may also play a key role in human rights. It may solve the matter of culture, if people's identities are increasing then other influences besides the west will take hold of international matters. If and when this occurs we may no longer link modernization with western thinking and instead, modernization will be defined by the choices nations make in regards to the subject. Whichever the case, if Huntington's hypothesis proves to be right, that unification on the matters of universalism will inevitably come to an end, then human rights may still increase, but they will have much more of a cultural influence than they do now. Only then can we truly know whether modernization is in fact a progression of human rights or if this was all western cultural imperialism all along.

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LADY LIBERTY VERSUS LEVIATHAN

JAEGER BROOKS

GLOBAL HEGEMONY

Global affairs have been dominated by the United States and its western allies for almost a century. Military alliances, trade agreements, global markets, intergovernmental organizations, and a plethora of other geopolitical tools and apparatus have been dictated by American political and financial might. The United States has used this position of political and financial privilege to utilize international political tools to further its own geopolitical agenda. The United States has fought, with the support of its NATO allies, wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan following the invocation of NATO's Article 5 in response to the September 11th attacks.¹ The conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan resulted in neither American victory nor effective implementation of constitutional democracy in two nations that have been plagued by authoritarianism and tribal warfare. The American invasion of Iraq successfully ousted the brutal regime of Saddam Hussein, while simultaneously creating the perfect environment for the rise of a diverse array of conflicting Islamic militant organizations such as the Mahdi Army, Al Qaeda in Iraq, and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.² The wars waged by the United States in the Middle East are far from the first time the US has flexed its military muscle in fruitless conflicts that cost many thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

Domestically, the United States is facing a wave of social unrest and political polarization that has resulted in the rise of extreme political factions that threaten the fabric of constitutional democracy at home. Public trust in governmental institutions

steadily remains near historic lows.³ Seemingly perpetual foreign wars, breaches of constitutional rights, and the rise of alternate sources of information via social media⁴ have all contributed to a growing distrust among a population that is failing to buy into the sanctioned national narrative. A handful of American politicians have used this growing public distrust to market their own brand of political extremism. While skepticism is an important aspect of a functioning society, it can also be hijacked by influential people and groups to manipulate large swathes of conspiratorially minded individuals who lack the ability to think critically and for themselves. The mob of Trump supporters who raided the American Capitol is an example of such manipulation and coercion. Most of the individuals who took part in the January 6th riot at the Capitol Building truly believed that they were fighting against a political power that conspired to prevent the lawful winner of the presidential election from taking office. They believed this because of the powerful influence of a cult of personality in a position of legitimate authority who affirmed their conspiratorial beliefs.⁵ Social media has provided powerful people and groups with the psychological and sociological tools necessary to recruit, indoctrinate, and deploy masses of pawns of one political persuasion or another.⁶ The employment of such powerful technologies for various purposes, nefarious or otherwise, has uncovered deficiencies in the United States' ability to maintain the relative political stability that it has retained since its founding.

With all of this in mind, it is easy to find oneself taking a



cynical perspective regarding western hegemony. It is easy to come to the conclusion that the west, helmed by the United States, is losing its position as the leader of global affairs and as the model for developing nations who desire to grow their wealth and influence while increasing the quality of life of their citizenry. Some westerners might even argue that the crumbling of western civilization should be welcomed, that the United States has for too long policed the globe while simultaneously failing to hold itself up to its own standards. The ever more apparent faults of the western world, alongside developments such as the rapid social and economic growth of the People's Republic of China, has forced western thinkers to consider whether or not the west will, or should, remain the dominant geopolitical power.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

The western world holds in great esteem the values of freedom, liberty, democracy, rule of law, and the general autonomy and well being of its citizens. The United States has been followed by many nations in its codification of the Lockean idea that a government is built and maintained only with the consent of the governed. The west considers individual freedoms to be of utmost importance, even if it is at the expense of the governing institution. The ideal of these values is certainly very rarely met, and western governments have breached their codified values on countless occasions. However, these foundational values that lie at the heart of western civilization enforce a level of adherence that, while often imperfect and disorganized, provide a functional framework through which a relatively high level of liberty is achieved. Compared to influential global powers that lack these foundational values, such as the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation, the west has largely been able to avoid the authoritarianism, kleptocracy, and imperialism that is characteristic of the aforementioned nations.

In international relations, the west has upheld the liberal idea that nations are capable of cooperating with one another in a manner that results in mutual benefit. While the utopian liberal vision of a harmonious and mutually beneficial world can often seem naive, unattainable, and result in its own form of injustices, the overtly realist perspectives taken by China and Russia often result in far more brutal consequences that are justified by the state as being for the greater good. E.H. Carr, a critic of liberalism, expressed succinctly the inherent dangers of unchecked realism:

“Where utopianism has become a hollow and intolerable sham, which serves merely as a guise for the interests of the privileged, the realist performs an indispensable service in unmasking it. But pure realism can offer nothing but a naked struggle for power which makes any kind of international society impossible.”⁷

The abuses that have been perpetrated by nations who view geopolitics purely as a zero-sum power struggle, such as the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Chinese imprisonment and forced political indoctrination of its Uighar Turkic population, exemplify the actions that a state driven by self-preservation in a perceived existential struggle for power will carry out. The states that have been built by Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin operate on a narrative that puts the rights and privileges of its government over the rights and privileges of its people, the polar opposite of the foundational ideas of western democracies. Perceived security concerns might cause a state that functions purely on a realist basis to invade a peaceful neighboring country in order to obtain valuable resources and geographical features, or to destroy a culture that is perceived to be threatening to its own. The same concerns might cause this type of state to consolidate its power to an individual or small group of individuals while silencing and imprisoning any citizen that questions the perspective of the state.

A state that fails to codify basic rights of its citizens, maintain a functioning democratic system, and abide by an established rule of law will inevitably slip into a position of fear and paranoia through which it can justify the abuses of both its own people and people abroad.

Rife with imperfection, injustice, and inequality, it can be difficult to see the ways in which western civilization has been of great benefit to its people. However, the safeguards that are in place to protect the individuals who populate the west are substantially effective relative to nations that put its government before its people. Not only is there room for optimism regarding the nature and substance of western hegemony, there is also plenty of optimism to be found regarding its continuity. That being said, there are certainly global developments that are forcing the west to play guard.

THE RISE OF CHINA

One of the primary reasons that western thinkers have begun to question whether or not the United States and the west will remain the global authority is due to the unparalleled economic and social growth that China has experienced over the past three decades. This rapid growth has created an economic and political powerhouse capable of challenging the power blocs that have dominated the global arena throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. Xi Jinping has strengthened the resolve and ability of the Chinese Communist Party in an attempt to further centralize and simplify government control. Domestically, the Chinese state has created a system that keeps its citizens in check via mass surveillance and strict social enforcement of CCP doctrine. Internationally, China has built up enormous investment in poor African countries that have vast stockpiles of untapped resources. Chinese incursion into foreign markets has risen exponentially. In a mere 20 years, the number of nations that consider China to be a major trading partner has risen from 5 to more than 100, including the United States.⁹ China has invested billions of dollars in the construction of modern infrastructure in poor African and Asian nations. Through the Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese President Xi Jinping has committed to spending close to \$2 trillion dollars on infrastructure projects in developing nations around the world.¹⁰ Additionally China established its first overseas military base in Djibouti, which serves as an example of the CCP's intent to influence populations beyond its own borders. The expansion of foreign Chinese investment has been able to occur in large part because of a void that has been left by the United States following the end of the Cold War.¹¹ Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the pivot away from the policies of containment that defined American foreign policy in the 20th century caused the United States to shift its attention, resources, and influence away from regions such as Africa and Asia. In combination with the massive economic expansion of China throughout the 2000's, the void that was left by the United States in these regions created a perfect opportunity for the CCP in which they could profit and expand.¹² The nations that China invests in also maintain the additional benefit of not having to prove to their creditors that they maintain uncorrupt governments, positive human rights records, or fiscal responsibility.¹³ This is partly, as might be guessed, because the CCP's primary intention is not to aid 3rd world countries, but to exploit their weaknesses for its own financial gain. Additionally, China leverages the needs of these countries in order to saturate their populations with CCP ideology. By filling the void left by the Americans and fulfilling infrastructure needs in countries that have little financial ability to complete necessary projects themselves, China and the CCP are

sowing the seeds of their own ideology in foreign nations while leveraging the debts of those countries for their own economic gain. The Belt and Road initiative serves as an imperialistic "debt-trap diplomacy" which seduces poor countries with infrastructure projects that are unlikely to generate enough revenue to cover the interest of their loans¹⁴ The economic traps that China sets on poorer nations enables them to fully take control over the infrastructure that they funded, such as the Port of Hambantota in Sri Lanka, which has been taken over by China after Sri Lanka fell behind on its debt payments.¹⁵ While the rise of Chinese power and influence in global affairs is alarming to the west, there are a number of factors that make China unlikely to take over the United States and the west as the ultimate global authority.

WHY AUTHORITARIANS CAN'T WIN

One of the primary factors that will enable the west to continue its dominance over global affairs is the flexibility that is built into its political doctrine and institutions. From the structure of government to the strategy and tactics used in warfare, the west uses decentralized structures of command that enable input from lower echelons of the hierarchy to influence decisions made by the executive. Be it the President of the United States or a battlefield commander, the flexibility of decentralized command inhibits a leader from taking immovably rigid and ideological stances that result in operational failure. The rigid structures that characterize authoritarian regimes will not, in the long run, be able to compete with the decentralized command structures of the west. Autocratic decision making is efficient, however, and there are plenty of occasions in which a chiefly centralized command structure works well for short periods of time. For example, at the beginning of the COVID-19 Pandemic, the Chinese government was able to rally its society to quickly combat the virus, while the west was very slow in its response to the novel disease. However, the rigidity that is built into Chinese political structure inhibited their government from moving away from these policies as they become more detrimental than helpful. Xi and the CCP held on to the successes of its initial policy in an attempt to show the world and its citizens the superiority of their form of government over western forms of government. More succinctly, the CCP stuck to its zero COVID policies because Xi Jinping decided to. This autocratic decision backfired, and by late 2022 Chinese citizens, who were forced to stay in their apartments without access to basic necessities for months on end, were thoroughly fatigued by their government's decision to act dictatorially on behalf of a supposed greater good. Protests against Zero Covid regulations emerged, as well as calls for President Xi Jinping to step down.¹⁷ Public calls for regime change occur very infrequently in China, but the rise of

this sentiment was brought on and exacerbated by Xi and the CCP itself due to its inability to evolve with the changing domestic and international situation. Governments based on rigid centralization tend to shoot themselves in the foot, giving them a less than stellar outlook for success on the global stage.

In addition to creating a format through which adaptation is inert, authoritarianism brings about deficiencies that weaken a state's ability to perceive reality in an objective manner. The Russian invasion of Ukraine and escalation that has ensued is the result of the inability of domestic public opinion and institutions to constrain the actions of a dictator. Further, the Russian military's complete failure to achieve its objective in Ukraine is a result of the same inability. Putin's blunders are not unique to him, but are characteristic of any individual who finds himself in such a commanding position of power.¹⁸ Many dictators have achieved their political success through violent means, and so it is their perception that violence is an effective and necessary tool through which to exercise their will. In the case of Russia, Putin pays lip service to just cause and just execution of warfare, but in practice violates all of the principles associated with these ideas, and unleashes his war machine indiscriminately. Carl Von Clausewitz held that "...the political point of view should end completely when war begins, is only conceivable in contests which are wars of life and death, from pure hatred"¹⁹ This notion argues that a nation whose very existence is under attack by an adversary fueled by hatred is justified in its use of full and indiscriminate military force. This is a high threshold to reach, but the idea also enables tyrants to delude themselves and their populations into believing that they are fighting for their very existence. Putin's rhetoric does exactly this, and is responsible for justifying the heinous acts that have been committed against Ukrainians on his behalf. Unfortunately for the Kremlin, the same contortion of reality that enables it to justify its actions also contributes to the massive failures of the Russian military on the battlefield. Vladimir Putin serves as the central authority that dictates how all aspects of the Russian Federation are conducted. He, of course, cannot truly be aware of everything, and relies on a small circle of loyal government officials to provide him with the information that is necessary for him to make decisions. The problem lies in the fact that these people are loyalists to Putin and his regime. Rather than informing Putin of hard but necessary truths, such as the deficiencies regarding his military's combat effectiveness, they tell him exactly what he needs to hear so that he may justifiably follow through with whatever he has already decided he wants to do. Thus, the actions of the Russian Federation are truly at the whims of a single man who is unable to make accurate sense of both the domestic and international state of affairs.

A clear example of the power that Vladimir Putin holds over even the most senior officials in his government is the public scolding of Sergei Narishkin, the director of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service. During a Russian Security Council meeting, just days before invading Ukraine, Putin and his inner circle were discussing the issue of recognizing the sovereignty of the Ukrainian breakaway regions of Lugansk and Donetsk. Narishkin, attempting to support Putin's recognition of the sovereignty of these regions, misspoke by saying that he supports incorporating Lugansk and Donetsk into the Russian Federation, rather than simply recognizing their sovereignty. Although Narishkin was supporting the proposal set forth by Putin, he was nonetheless publicly embarrassed and ridiculed by the dictator for misspeaking.²⁰ The inability of even the most powerful Russian citizens to speak honestly and clearly to Vladimir Putin without being ridiculed is a characteristic of authoritarianism that prevents a leader from being able to see objective reality and make rational decisions based on that reality. The decisions that a dictator makes might be rational in a world in which their perceptions are correct, but the truth is that they often exist in a delusion that is affirmed by the loyalists that surround them. Ultimately, contorted perceptions and the inability to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances will deter any authoritarian regime from acquiring a power that rivals that of the west. To be certain, those regimes will make a mess of themselves and of the world around them, but they are not likely to seize global authority.

CONCLUSION

Western governments have a number of advantages that are baked into the foundation of their systems. While it is certainly true that there is a plethora of injustice and corruption that exists in the west, the injustice and corruption that exists within authoritarian regimes is much more brutal and unforgiving. Ingrained within western systems of governments is the ability to right the wrongs that have been committed by the state. While it is impossible to pay back a person who has suffered at the hands of an oppressive government or business, western governments are at least able, to some degree, to recognize wrongdoing and become progressively better in time. It is easy to be pessimistic in a world where a provocative multi-millionaire was able to win a presidential election, and who, upon defeat, allowed his mob of radical loyalists to raid and pillage the seat of the legislative branch of the federal government, and insisted that his vice president not certify the vote that didn't end in his favor. However, it is important to note that this attempt to illegally maintain control of the presidency was unsuccessful. It might have even served as a stress test of the principles that are foundational to American democracy.

STUDENT ARTICLES

Additionally, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has re-invigorated the west's largest military alliance, and almost all western nations are united in their support of defending Ukraine and ousting the Russian invaders. The western rally to aid Ukraine in the defense of its sovereignty is evidence of the west's capacity to effectively unify during a conflict that threatens its collective interests. The Russians likely bet on intensified political polarity in the west to hinder its ability to protect one of its own, but this has not been the reality. So far, Putin's war has served to further solidify the power and vigor of the west and restrengthen old military alliances that had fallen into disrepair.

It is important to recognize the many faults that are a part of the societies that we inhabit so that they may be corrected, but it is also important to recognize that we would much worse off as a species if the global authority rested in the hands of an authoritarian regime such as the Chinese Communist Party or the Russian Federation.

There are many storms on the horizon to be navigated through by the free world. Demographic collapse, political extremism, artificial intelligence, changing climate, and increasingly authoritarian tendencies are all internal issues that could bring the nations of the west to their knees if not properly addressed. Externally, the threats and challenges are just as salient and ominous. These are challenges that, if tackled with strength, integrity, and intelligence, can be solved. Taking an optimistic view of our nation, its allies, and the future that we share is often regarded as naive and unsophisticated. Without a calculated optimism, however, we are doomed only to fulfill the prophecies of our cynicism.

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WOMEN'S ROLES IN PREREVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

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The Russian Revolution, otherwise known as the Bolshevik Revolution, is one of the most well-known and studied revolutions in the past century and one that ultimately ended with the fall of an almost three-hundred-year-old royal dynasty. With the fall of a dynasty came the creation of the most powerful communist country that ever existed, the USSR. When one thinks of the Russian Revolution, a key figure stands out: Vladimir Lenin, the leader who guided the Bolsheviks to victory and created/served as leader of the newly formed Soviet Union until he died in 1924.

Like many wars in history, the key figures of the event tended to be male. Some were political figures; others were soldiers on the front lines, but what many disregarded was the role of women in this revolution. Much of the reason for this is due to several factors, the first and most important being that women were not seen as being equal to men for the majority of history. This meant that their roles were very limited, so involvement in places like politics or the military, for the most part, was nonexistent. However, even with this inequality and the limited roles available, women were still able to play an essential role in the Russian Revolution. This article aims to shed light on women's roles by examining events before and, during the revolution, and the Soviet Union.

The Russian Revolution is a unique event in regards to women's involvement, as compared to events in other countries during this period. As mentioned, inequality was a determining factor, however, due to Bolshevik ideology, this changed. Many preached equality for men and women which allowed the opening of

many doors that were once closed. Some of those that will be mentioned in this article will be their positions as soldiers, leaders of battalions, propaganda figures, etc. Furthermore, there will be a look at women's role leading up to the revolution (this will include but is not limited to feminist activism towards voting rights and equality in society), roles during the revolution, and finally a summation of the topic and the impact it has had in modern society.

To have a better understanding of women's role during the revolution, background on the Russian Revolution itself is needed. For almost four hundred years the Russian Empire was ruled by Czars. The last Czar to rule Russia was Czar Nicholas II of the Romanov dynasty, who as mentioned earlier ruled for almost three hundred years. The Czar needs to be mentioned not only because he was the last Czar of Russia but because he was a key factor in the reasoning behind why the revolution began. The Russian Revolution can be seen as a textbook definition of a successful revolution with a combination of political, economic, and social factors coming together to create a perfect storm. Furthermore, this revolution can be looked at as an example of Charles Tilly's Resource Mobilization theory. The theory states that collective action can be achieved through the combination of four factors. Those factors include interest, organization, mobilization, and opportunity; these will be further addressed later in the paper.

Looking at the political factor: first, there was the unpopularity of Czar Nicholas II's autocratic state which allowed him absolute power. With this unlimited power, the Czar did not allow the

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Russian people to have a say in the ruling of the country. In terms of economic factors, there was a Russian population that was made up of a majority of peasants who lived in poverty. These individuals became restless and displeased with the conditions the state had created for them. This is essential to remember because if one looks back at revolutionary theory, two types of government actions increase the chance of a revolution and one of them is "...failure on the part of the government to meet obligations that a population regards as well established and essential to its own well being.". The second economic factor was the Czar's claiming all land in Russia to be under his ownership; this caused outrage among the Russian people because of the modernization that was happening in the Western European countries that surrounded them. This meant that the idea of private property for industrialization could not properly be implemented due to the Czar's ownership. The social factors that contributed to the revolution stem mainly from Russia's participation in World War I and the military failures that resulted from them which ultimately affected the Russian population. This included widespread hunger among the Russian people due to shortages of food and an increased need for labor resulting in overworked and underpaid workers who began staging strikes and riots.

According to revolutionary theory, what gets a revolution moving is common ground for a similar cause. Because these three factors range in sector, that meant that there was outrage from different groups. One of these groups was the Russian Social Democratic Party, once known as the Liberation of Labor (Emancipation of Labour). This party believed that a revolution could only properly come about through workers being self-aware of the class issues in the country; they were also against using violence as a way of achieving these goals. A top leader of this party was Vladimir Lenin who would go on to split from the party to create and lead the Bolsheviks. Bolshevik ideology included creating a socialist Russia that would follow Marxist principles, which meant removing the system that was in power.

Because Marxist principles did not specifically state how a transition would go about (especially in a country like Russia that had been slower in industrializing) Lenin created what is now known as Marxist-Leninism. With this new political philosophy, the old system would be replaced and Russia would have to undergo a period of dictatorship (under socialism) where the people in power would be revolutionaries. This would put in place a socialist system in Russia, where, at the same time, individuals in power would be transitioning it into a communist system where workers' interests were put first.

The evolution of discontent manifested itself ahead of events in 1917. "Bloody Sunday," January 22, 1905, marks the countdown to the end of the Romanov Dynasty. Days before January 22nd, a



series of strikes took place throughout Russia. Due to bad working conditions and low wages, these strikes soon turned into a march on St. Petersburg. It should be noted that strikes and marches were strictly prohibited and were seen as criminal acts. On the day of the march, thousands of protestors gathered including industrial workers, families, and religious leaders. Throughout the march, it was seen as peaceful and quiet with no interference from law enforcement. The march arrived at the Winter Palace where the protestors planned to show their statement to the Czar. What was unknown to the protestors was that the Czar had left the palace a day before and although away from the Winter Palace, he was still being informed of the demonstrations occurring and the actions being taken in order to control the protestors. The state deployed both military forces and royal guards to surround the palace; these forces and guards were "...told by the minister of the interior to prevent them (protestors) from reaching their goal...". However, due to miscommunication among troops and guards, when protestors were told to halt and not proceed further, many carried on which led officers to shoot at the protestors. This resulted in

hundreds being killed or wounded from shots fired and trampling caused by panicked crowds.

After the tragedy of Bloody Sunday, it came as no surprise that the Czar was largely blamed. The negative backlash caused him to attempt to meet the needs of the protestors and create some limited form of representation for the people. Although this limited representation was given to the people, the Czar saw no reduction in his power—meaning the Russian people's representation was almost meaningless. This attempt by the Czar ultimately failed and the people continued to stand their ground leading to a distrust in the Czar's rule over them.

From Bloody Sunday through 1917, unrest and division persisted in Russia. Many protests continued throughout the country, some transforming into large-scale demonstrations that were too large for the Czar's forces to put down. Because of the ongoing protests, political unrest, and general disapproval of his reign Czar Nicholas began to lose support from the military, ultimately sealing his fate.

The provisional government that was put in place did not last long. Due to the leadership consisting of individuals from the elite class, the interests of the lower classes were still being overlooked. Lenin, who had returned to Russia from exile a month after the collapse of the Romanovs, strongly opposed the provisional government that was in place and began to bring awareness to the failures of the government which in turn garnered more support for the Bolsheviks. With this new support, Lenin and the Bolsheviks became the most popular party in Russia by October, 1917. This set him up to begin the next revolution with the intention of bringing down the provisional government. Once the Bolsheviks took full control, they renamed themselves the Communist Party, and with this final phase came the full shift of the revolution which meant the complete replacement of the whole system and the incorporation and implementation of Lenin's system.

By March 1917, the Czar was forced to abdicate the throne; all his power was to be relinquished, as well as the titles held by his family, and the Czar, from that day forward, would be seen as an ordinary citizen. Following the abdication, a provisional government was set in place in order to settle the political unrest. For several months the royal family was in a limbo, being held under house arrest with the possibility of asylum. However, asylum seemed impossible for the royal family seeing as the world governments that were asked to house them declined to do so. This was due, in part, to the first World War: no country wanted the possible backlash of accepting the now-tarnished family. This was clearly shown in the actions of the Czar's first cousin, George V, King of England. The King feared the backlash of harboring the Romanovs both from the new Russian government and his own people, seeing that they had just waged war against Germany. Finally, after more than a year of imprisonment,

the Bolsheviks decided to execute the Romanovs. On July 17, 1918, Czar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, their five children, and close members of their family were executed.

In the early stages of the revolution, women began to shift their focus to a more feminist ideology. For the most part, the idea of women having rights or more freedoms initially appeared among the elites. The reason for this was that elite women had the opportunity to have some type of education which then allowed them to educate themselves on the topic of feminism, but as mentioned earlier the working peasant class of Russia made up the majority of the population.

Due to industrialization, women had many more choices when it came to jobs. Once restricted to working peasant jobs such as farming, they could now secure factory jobs in cities and those poor and working-class women became much more engaged and aware of the feminist ideology. Because of the conditions they worked under, they were now conscious of the injustices they suffered. Even though there was a division among classes, women still had common ground stemming back to the very few rights they were allowed and their inability to vote.

One woman who made great strides in women's rights pre-revolution (as well as after) was Anna Shabanova, born in 1848. While Shabanova did not come from a wealthy background she had the privilege of being educated; due to financial troubles she had to learn to provide for an early age for herself. Early on in her life, she became involved in revolutionary movements. Once in Moscow, she became acquainted with "socialist radicals" and ultimately joined a secret revolutionary organization whose goal was to create a revolution led by the peasant class. This was short-lived as the organization was taken down and Shabanova was jailed. Once out of jail, her first big brush with women's rights activism occurred. Shabanova wished to continue her education in a higher-level setting, medical school. The issue with Shabanova pursuing this career was that Russia did not offer this type of education to women, leading her to join an "all-Russia campaign for women's higher education". While her activism went unanswered, she was granted a scholarship to attend Helsingfors University in Finland. When medical training was finally opened up to women she returned to Russia to continue her education in a Higher Women's Medical Course and ultimately earned the title of Doctor. By 1895, she had made great strides not just in the medical field but in women's activism as well; her next step was to help establish the Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society, of which she became President. This organization acted as a "refectory for educated women, employment service needs, kindergarten was established for poor women and their children...library, and lecture/seminar hall."

Further, into her career, she continued pushing boundaries and expanding her principles:

Emphasizing women's particular role in society (she held an essentialist view, according to which women and men played different but equally important social roles predetermined by 'nature'), she argued for a widening of women's social sphere of activity and regarded the women's movement as working not against the rule of men, but against social injustice. She believed that the success of the women's movement in Russia depended greatly on the ability of feminists to unite their efforts and become integrated into the international women's movement.

Shabanova knew that unity for the common cause was key to a successful campaign for women's rights. Whether this could be achieved came into question when the All-Russian Congress of Women was held and clashes became evident. Even with these clashes, Shabanova stuck to her principles of unity and continued to push forward, finally creating an All-Russian Council of Women shortly after the start of the Russian Revolution. This marked a monumental moment not just for Shabanova but for all Russian women. Shabanova was a pioneer for the women's movement in Russia, her efforts opened the door for further progress which ultimately led to acquiring what she and many more desired.

Many efforts were made to begin the course of the Russian Revolution, these can be categorized as pre-revolutionary efforts, but the participation of women in this was not limited to membership in revolutionary groups. In a smaller, but still an equally important role, women were entrusted with spreading the word of the revolution which included printing and distributing pamphlets and propaganda. In some extreme and rare cases, women took part in terrorist acts. One of the first regarded women who committed terrorist acts was Ver Zasluch; she is best known for her assassination attempt in 1878 on the governor of St Petersburg. From the early age of twenty, while still a student, she began her involvement in anarchist/revolutionary activity and was arrested at a student demonstration due to possible involvement with an anti-Czarist group. She was ultimately released and found not guilty of involvement. She was acquitted of the crime due to a decree which called for the removal of corporal punishment. Later, as more extremist groups were coming into being, she decided to step away from violence and pursued the idea of a peasant revolt. She and her close affiliates went to Geneva and founded the Emancipation of Labor group which centered around Marxist ideas for reforms in Russia. This group would soon be essential in creating the well-known Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. Because Zasluch was against violence, when the revolution began she sided with the Mensheviks, a revolutionary party that followed Karl Marx's

theories. Soon after joining she was exiled to Geneva by Lenin due to her views. Her work during the revolution consisted of joining groups that were against the Bolsheviks in power.

A pre-revolutionary event that must be mentioned in which women had a key role was the assassination of Czar Alexander II. On March 1, 1881, when the Czar was riding in a carriage returning to the palace, an explosion suddenly occurred from underneath the Czar's carriage. Some passengers were brutally injured, however, due to the design of the carriage the Czar was not. This was short-lived; when Czar Alexander exited the carriage a second bomb exploded-this one much closer to the Czar, ultimately causing severe life-threatening injuries that would kill him later that day. The group behind this assassination was known as the People's Will, a revolutionary organization whose goal was to overthrow the Czar. Those who threw the bombs were Nikoli Rysakov and Ignacy Hryniewiecki. However, they were not the only ones involved; around nine conspirators took part in the assassination, two of them being women, Sophia Perovskaya and Vera Figner. Perovskaya, her husband (Andrei Zhelyabov also a conspirator in the assassination), and Figner were founders of the People's Will. This assassination was not the group's first attempt at the Czar's life; they had tried many times before, including once on the Czar's train and at the winter palace.

In all of these attacks, the individual at the center of crafting the plans and mapping the Czar's movements was Sophia Perovskaya. Hours before the attack, her husband who was leading the conspirators was arrested; this meant that Perovskaya would now take on a larger role. With no time to waste, she proceeded with the plans and ordered the assassination to continue.

As for Vera Figner's role in the plot, she was crucial in the making of the bomb that ultimately killed the Czar. In the early hours on the day of the assassination, she and fellow conspirators worked tirelessly on making the bombs. Once they were done and sent off, Figner's mission shifted. She was tasked with waiting in her apartment until the assassination was successful or, in the event that things went wrong, her home would be a place of refuge for those involved in the plot.

Shortly following the assassination, officials were immediately sent to find the conspirators. The first to be arrested were the individuals who set off the bombs, Hryniewiecki and Rysakov. Hryniewiecki, although badly injured, kept silent during interrogations until his death later that evening. The same could not be said for Rysakov who implicated all the conspirators. Only eight days after the assassination, Perovskaya was arrested and quickly tried for her crimes. She and her husband were sentenced to hang, making Perovskaya the first woman in Russian history to be hanged for terrorism. Figner was able to avoid arrest for nearly two years, managing to escape and continue the management of the People's

Will. By 1883, Figner was arrested and sentenced to 20 years in prison exile, and by 1942 she died at the age of 89.

With the pre-revolutionary roles now shown, attention will be shifted to women's roles during the revolution. During the First World War, women were called to action in many ways. Some had to take on roles that men would usually occupy while other women were taken to the front lines. Because men were sent to war, many women became the sole providers in their families. This was difficult for women who worked in factories due to the low pay they received. Although wages did increase during the war, pay for women was not equal to what men were being paid before. In the countryside, the number of women in these types of jobs was significant. Testimony from "Midwives of the Revolution" showed what life was like during these times:

Gal'pern's report, which is quoted from this article, showed that this situation of women doing men's jobs was universal throughout czarist Russia. Another newspaper report that she cited, this time from Perm in the Urals, recalled that at first the families of mobilized men worried over how they would cope with the spring sowing without the men, but soon they just got on with the job. Women now cut logs for fuel. Soldiers' wives and young women worked together in pairs.

Women knew that in order for their families and their country to survive, they had to step up and do the jobs necessary to support the war. This demonstration of resilience was used around the country to showcase the strength of the country and draw support for the revolution.

Following this trend of fighting for the motherland, many feminists began to favor the war that was occurring because of the activities and new roles they could take on while still supporting their country. As stated in "Equality and Revolution: *Women's Rights in the Russian Empire*," many feminist publications began to garner support for the war stating that it could be beneficial for the equal right:

Zhenskoe Delo called for unity among women, sounding the themes of patriotism, nationalism, sacrifice, and possible reward in its August issue. "In such a great patriotic moment, the Russian woman would show herself to be a true citizen, in the same way as were the famous Roman matrons." Women, according to Zhenskoe Delo, would contribute in a way suited to their gender role, "not with death-dealing weapons, but with works of love and mercy." For the moment they would return to the timeless tradition of selflessness, "reduce to the minimum our needs, abandon luxury, and sacrifice all on the altar of society." In the end, women would be rewarded with "the success of that equality which progressive women all over the world hope to achieve."

Looking back, the strong support for the war is surprising, due in part to the fact that throughout history when wars have begun those who are often first to oppose it are those with left-wing views. The terms "feminism" and "feminist", both the idea and the adherents to the ideology, are associated with the left. But once a closer look is taken, it can be understood why women at the time considered this progress toward equality. As mentioned earlier, women took on jobs usually reserved for men and, although they were not being paid the same wages and were being treated unfairly, they knew that once they proved they could succeed in those roles it would open the door for many future opportunities.

Throughout history, it was common practice for women to be on the frontlines as nurses helping the wounded as was the case during World War I. However, there was a change in mindsets when it came to this war. Because, in recent years leading up to WWI and the Russian Revolution, feminist ideas and the fight for women's rights were at an all-time high, women on the front lines felt as though they needed to do more. A piece of literature that women at the time saw as motivational and drove them to fight for the cause was "The Cavalry Maiden," by Nadezhda Durova. The story is of a woman who joined the Russian Cavalry disguised as a man as taken from journals she kept during her time in the cavalry. In it, she depicts her time on the frontlines and the persona she had to adopt in order to not be caught. The reason this story became so popular, and was even written in the first place was due in part to Czar Nicholas I. It is said that when word got to him detailing the actions of this woman, he immediately allowed for the commission of the book because of how impressed he was. In a way, this story was used as a form of propaganda, mainly directed at Russian women. It contained a strong female protagonist who wanted to protect and serve her country from enemies but was halted from doing so because of her gender. Regardless of this obstacle, she joined the cavalry using a male persona, something which she knew would bring about negative consequences if she was found out. With everything stacked against her and even with the possibility of death on the battlefield, she still went through with her plan because she wanted to defend her country.

Women wanted a larger role when it came to the war and the revolution, with some even arguing that women be allowed in the war "I, too, am full of desire to help my motherland, but I don't have a calling to become a nurse. I want to volunteer to serve in the army as a soldier...". There were cases where women were able to join military units in the war, however, these women were met with hardships. Seeing as they were surrounded by males, they were at times ridiculed and questioned as to why they were there. However, the dream of full acceptance into the military soon came true when the Russian provisional government created an all-

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female battalion. The reasoning behind the creation of this was to motivate the now tired male soldiers to continue and finish the war. This did not align with the views of those requesting its creation, but some of these battalions did see action on the battlefields. A popular all-female Russian battalion was “The Women's Battalion of Death,” led by well-known activist, Maria Bochkareva. She commanded over 2,000 volunteer women and fought in several battles in Germany. Bochkareva was recognized for her efforts and awarded several medals for her leadership.

These female soldiers did not just fight on the World War I battlefield but also in the October Revolution of 1917 on the side of the provisional government protecting the Winter Palace from the Bolshevik invasion. On the other side, the Bolsheviks also had female soldiers fighting along with their male members to storm the palace in order to take down the provisional government.

Interestingly the Russian Revolution began on International Women's Day. Although this may seem like a coincidence, many believe that the demonstrations and strikes being held by women lit the spark that started the revolution. These strikes and demonstrations had the same goals as the people had, the same views as those who were fighting for the end of the Czarist regime. Once again, the majority of women who were taking part in these demonstrations and strikes were poor and had been facing unbearable conditions. It comes as no shock that this could be the spark that ignited the revolution.

While there has been a large spotlight on women who were hands-on in the revolution, both on the Bolshevik side and the opposing side, some fail to consider those from ordinary backgrounds who were just trying to survive and, at times, not make themselves known for fear of being reprimanded. The book, “Memories of The Revolution: Russian Women Remember,” depicts first-hand accounts of several women from different backgrounds during the Russian Revolution. One account comes from a woman named Irina Serfevna Tidmarsh, who lived in Moscow and was the daughter of a Social Democrat lawyer; her brother was a soldier in the White Army. Because of these affiliations, her family was marked and would have faced danger if they continued in Russia. Her father was soon arrested for his affiliations and anti-Bolshevik ideas. Her mother and brother left for Crimea and she was left in the care of her aunt until her father was released from prison. Once out of jail, her father tried to secure them a path to London where they would be safe. Irina's story is one of the lucky ones: she came from a wealthy noble family, which for the most part secured her some safety. In her story, she depicts minor losses such as all her house staff being let go and her family having to take on those responsibilities or deal with food shortages. Still, to some, the rations she was getting in a day may have been what they were barely able to get in a week/s.

Many were not so lucky when it came to the revolution, those who did not come from a noble background were subject to arrest and cruel imprisonment. Once the Bolsheviks came into power with the October Revolution, many knew that those who opposed them would be eliminated. Wives whose husbands had ties to anti-Bolshevik ideas or groups, feared not just for their lives, but for those of their children. Many of these fears would be felt throughout the country for years until the collapse of the USSR, due to the oppressive system in place to deal with dissenters.

Once the Bolsheviks came into power after the October Revolution of 1917, people who were promised new changes and better conditions for the country waited eagerly. This was certainly true for women. In the first few years that the Bolsheviks were in power, subtle changes were made:

The legislation of the early Soviet period covered other areas; extensive legal protection of women's labor, including equal pay and the right to an eight-hour workday, was declared in November 1917; a law of December 1917 removed all legal restrictions on divorce; a new family Law in October 1918 made all marriages secular, provided for the economic independence and equality of women in marriage, and imposed paternal responsibility for all children, whether born in wedlock or not; abortion was legalized in November 1920; the Land Law of 1922 gave women ownership in their family's farm and allowed them to receive their share of the property upon divorce; and finally a new edition of the Family in 1926 made it easier to obtain a divorce, and recognized unregistered marriages.

Aside from all these new opportunities, women were now able to hold office in the Bolshevik government, something they never imagined could be possible.

As has been shown there are many examples of women and their role before, during, and after the revolution. These women have demonstrated a common theme, they were able to stand up during unprecedented times and take charge of an opportunity that would allow them greater prosperity for themselves and those around them in the future. The strides that these women took laid down the foundation for future generations that face troubled times and injustices. Currently, you have the former Soviet territory in turmoil. On February 24, 2022, Russia began a full-scale invasion of Ukraine triggering a war that has killed thousands of lives, displaced individuals from their homes (which has led to one of the largest refugee crises) and continues to this day. Leading up to the invasion many experts around the world could not imagine Russia would invade, however they were proven wrong. Because of this sudden invasion, Ukrainians had to act immediately in order to defend their country. This is similar to events that occurred

in the Russian Revolution. However, unlike societal standards/norms during the 20th century where women were limited in their participation, presently there is a drastic shift in women's roles in as can be seen by Ukrainian women being on the front lines fighting. Since Ukraine became independent in the early 1990's women have been able to serve; however, last year all roles (combat) became available to women. According to the U.S. Embassy & Consulate website, more than 60,000 women are serving in the Ukrainian military and are actively fighting in the war. Although it is under terrible circumstances it is still a milestone for women, knowing the circumstances and dangers they could face such as capture, torture, death, etc. they continue to take the risk in order to defend and protect their country. The role of women in this war is not just seen on the battlefields, similarly to the accounts mentioned in this article, Ukrainian women have helped as nurses, doctors, aid workers, journalists, civilians (who were ready to take charge in any role needed when other fled or were sent to war), volunteers, and several other roles. As for Russian women, they are in the midst of a war started by their own country, many oppose the actions but are limited in their ability to do much because of the environment they live in. Although these women are censored they have still been able to forward their rights and fight for equality. In recent years, Russia lifted a Soviet era ban on jobs that could have put women's reproductive health at risk. Because of this lift on the ban in 2021 Russian women now had more than 350 new jobs available to them, marking a historic moment for women's rights. Whether it be the Russian Empire led by the Czar, the Soviet Union with Lenin or modern-day Ukraine and Russia at war, women have been able to stand up to support and defend the cause they believed in no matter the social standards they are in.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF WARTIME

MADISON HINSHAW

Music, a language in its own right, is both individual and collective and flourishes throughout history in every culture and territory. Music is “the science or art of ordering tones or sounds in succession, in combination, and in temporal relationships to produce a composition having unity and continuity.” As held by the definition, the unity and continuity of music manifests itself beyond boundaries of just sound. It has become a way of expressing thoughts and feelings in ways words can not. Music has been used in many ways; for example helping a person to cope with emotions such as grief, coding a message, or even telling a story. According to a Harvard study, “(m)usic appears in every society observed.” The binding composition of a whole world full of different people with their own individual ways of life that music has discovered is a way to break language barriers and show how people of different backgrounds use music- whether it be for casual listening or for a vitally important meaning.

War is a mechanism that may be described as a cause pushed forward by ego that relies on intimidation practices with goals of overtaking or destroying everything within its path. War is considered to be “a state of usually open and declared armed hostile conflict between states or nations.” Wartime is a time of economic, political, and social strife. Civilians morale loosens and many are typically left with physical and mental scars of what wartime brings. The use of war has often been a ploy to show strength in the eyes of one's enemies and unfortunately innocent people's suffering tends to follow. Something as divisive as war being left in the hands of humans to try

and deconstruct is quite a fearful thought.

The two very conflicting topics of music and war have always had an intertwined relationship with one another. Wherever war is, music follows. Music, in its purest form, is a way to show others' emotions and brings humans closer together on a level of understanding. But when war is introduced that meaning, in most cases, sadly gets left behind. Calls for war, the expression of feelings toward war, and even calls to end war are examples of the relationship these two share. The considerations of this article are to examine the relationships that are made with the use of musicality and war.

A CALL FOR NATIONALISM

Before one dives into the effects of war, nationalism as a cause must be examined. Nationalism can be described as “a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups.” A healthy balance of both nationalism and pride is needed to ensure the safety of everyone within the state. When pride takes over, not much is left in the human psyche. Pride and nationalism when put together can have many dangerous consequences which may lead to effective conflict.

Within the realm of nationalism or national pride, music has been used to show both unity and division. The “Star Spangled Banner” has been a key example of the nationalistic effects that music can have. Almost with one swift motion, Americans are programmed to stand in silence as the song plays out. It is instilled, even in children,

that when the first drum beat is hit, it is time to listen and show respect. When an American hears “The Star Spangled Banner”, it is linked to that feeling of “American pride” to some and is the musical manifestation of what America stands for. According to the Veteran Affairs Office, “This patriotic song, whose words were written by Francis Scott Key on Sept. 14, 1814, during the War of 1812 with Great Britain, was adopted by Congress as the U.S. National Anthem in 1931.” Wartime brought this song into effect and shows that American pride runs deep within the country to this day. There is a big problem when one puts all their faith into anything that was written so long ago. For example, in recent years, the song has been challenged due to who the song was written for: white Americans. With America ever growing, diversifying, and trying to push social progress, this song loses its unified meaning. In a time of strife with the United States social injustices, the song is only written for a certain group of people when it is supposed to leave everyone with a feeling of national pride. As this has arisen, it has opened the door for white nationalists to use it as an excuse for their violence and ignorance to flourish due to the misunderstanding of what kneeling during the national anthem truly represents. We see the divide that music can bring to us when it comes to nationality and having its mere premise challenged.

It is also useful to look at it when national anthems have changed throughout history. A good example of this is Russia. Russia, which was formerly known as the USSR, had a change in music when the USSR collapsed. Struggling for the new identity of what Russia was going to be, new additions needed to be made and changes occurred within their new national anthem. According to Michigan State University,

“The elevation of Russian national pride as an official value in the mid-1930s rendered the song a bit old-fashioned, and the unofficial national anthem, played at the start of Radio Moscow broadcasts, became Song of the Motherland, composed by Isaak Dunaevskii and Vasily Lebedev-Kumach for the movie *Circus* (1935). Although the theme remained the official Soviet anthem until the country broke apart in 1991, the unfortunate references to Stalin in the original lyrics made them unacceptable after Khrushchev’s denunciation of the Cult of Personality. The song was played without lyrics until new words were approved in 1977.”

The changing of the song created new lyrics to fit the state that Russia of after the fall of the USSR because the old lyrics were not seen as fit or relevant anymore. The melody of the 1939 version of the song still remains to this day, though with different lyrics that were approved in the 1970s. The changing and shift of the music shows how a national anthem is just another symbol of the country rather than a permanent song. Music changes with the current times and themes of the country in this example. The pushback of progression, even



on a musical level, gives insight to the people who are calling for no change to be made.

A MARCH FOR WAR

Throughout history, music has been used as a mechanism of not only calling soldiers to war, but keeping soldiers in sync. A strategic use of weapons, chants, and even the use of bodies were engaged before war as either a call to start or a call of intimidation. As time progressed, different strategies were made in order to create different meanings on the battlefield.

Dating back to the ancient Greeks, the use of weapons as makeshift instruments before initiating onto the battlefield was a common occurrence. Evan Andrews in “Legendary Battle Cries.” states that

“When they marched toward their enemies in their organised phalanx formations, Ancient Greek troops typically belted out battle hymns, or “paeans,” designed to invoke the god Apollo and help calm their nerves. Once within striking distance, however, they would cease their singing and break into a full-throated battle cry of “Alala!” or “Eleleu!” while banging their weapons against their shields to spook enemy horses. When voiced by thousands of spear-wielding hoplites, these cries were said to resemble the sound of flocks of screeching birds...”

These battle hymns would be made up of certain calls in different tones, while keeping rhythmic order to ensure one collective call. An interesting point that is quoted is not only how they used the call for intimidation, but also as a source of comfort for the soldiers, encouraging them to put their faith into their deities. The use of hymns in wartime is an interesting concept when comparing monotheistic use of religion and war. A great modern disconnect between war and religion comes into play within ancient civilizations. The beliefs of polytheism can be examined through wartime music written during this time. The war god’s name is shouted, giving the soldiers strength they thought they would exhibit by invoking the war

god. The soothing of the anxieties that these hymns would bring led the soldiers to calm and collect themselves before preparing for battle.

It was not only the Greeks who used items to amplify sound and make calls, the Romans did as well. Soldiers would walk in a line of silence in order to keep the troops together and to look bigger as a unit, but when they encountered trouble they would all disperse and go about the battlefield in smaller groups. With the Romans, it was mostly an attempt to make the loudest noises possible rather than staying in tone or using rhythmic motions. Evan Andrews goes on to state “The ancient chronicler Tacitus described the *Barritus* as a “harsh, intermittent roar” that built in volume, and noted that the troops would “hold their shield in front of their mouths, so that the sound is amplified into a deeper crescendo by the reverberation.” The shields acted as if they were plugging their voices into an amplifier, which is commonly used to make instruments louder and can be changed with switches of a few buttons. These shields would change not only the volume of the voices but also change the tone in them to make a more gut wrenching sound in order to intimidate the other side. It would also be used to scare the animals that the soldiers on the oppositions had. The loud echoes of the voices would shake through the battlefield for all to hear within the conflict.

Moving forward to American history, we see a boy, young in age with either a bugle or drum leading the war. Some of these boys guiding the soldiers into battle were under the age of enlistment. It was as easy as telling the recruiting officer that one was of age and the boys would be let into the warfield. Schools were put up so that people with musical capabilities could learn the war-time chants and different musical sequences they would use in battle. According to Tapsbugler,

“A school (The School of Practice) for the training of these young musicians existed at Governor’s Island in New York and manuals were available for the learning of fife and drum music. Among these manuals were Ashworth’s Fife Instructor, Howe’s Drum and Fife Instructor, Hart’s New and Improved Instructor for the Drum, and Bruce & Emmett’s The Drummer’s and Fifers Guide Included in many of these manuals were also bugle calls.”

In most Civil War reenactments and pictures, a boy is commonly seen with a bugle or a drum: What was it for? The instruments had different meanings within the war-time. “The bugle has been most associated with the cavalry and artillery while the drum and fife was greatly used in the infantry,” says Tapsbugler. The bugle would be used to call to soldiers when they needed to do chores around the camps.

In a group of hundreds of men, one voice cannot reach the whole group so the bugle would be used in order to guide the men to do what they needed to do. The bugle would also be used as a code in which the soldiers would have to memorise to get orders. The different codes that were used could range from their alarm clock to

when the soldier that had fallen ill and would need to go see a doctor. The call would blare through the camp in order to get men’s attention and ensure they would hear it.

As much as the bugle was important, it was the drummer boy that would eventually go on to lead the infantry and set marchers on the path for war. Much like the bugle, different calls were made in order for soldiers to know where to go. The big booming of the drum would be able to be heard on the battlefield but would sometimes be confused as gunshots so soldiers would have to be really keen on knowing the certain sequences that were being played. The most famous rhythm that is played is described by the Washington Post article as “the long roll”. According to the Washington Post, The most exciting drum call was “the long roll,” which was the signal to attack. The drummer would just beat-beat-beat — and every other drummer in hearing distance would beat-beat-beat — until all that could be heard was an overwhelming thunder pushing the army forward.” The part of the quote that should be focused on is the fact that there were multiple drummers throughout the army. Because of the loud gunshots, there would have to be multiple boys drumming so different parts of the battlefield could hear the different calls. Not every call could be used in every situation throughout the battlefield so an individual drummer boy would have to watch their section in order to get a sense of what call needed to be put into action. Children as young as 10 would join the civil war for their drumming efforts because the armies needed people who had musical capability to be able to play well enough to get it down to a sequence.

PROPAGANDA MESSAGING THROUGH MUSIC

Music, as a universal language that speaks to every person, is not always used for good. Many times, people such as dictators and leaders of mass killings use music as a piece of pro-violence propaganda. Using certain messages of music, the leader will put it out as if it is a unifying object but in reality it is being used to brainwash the civilians into a “them vs. us” mentality without even realising it. All these pieces can be later examined and put together to show how and why this could have been used to lead people in.

During the Rwandan genocide, the Hutu and Tutsi were at war with one another. Mass genocide occurred and the physical and invisible scars can never be washed away. Different pieces of propaganda came out of this genocide, including the messages from the RTLM or Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines. A man named Kabuga started the radio station to be broadcast through the streets of Rwanda to spread his message. According to Aljazeera “a station established in 1993 that regularly called Tutsis “cockroaches” and encouraged people to “cut down the tall trees”, in reference to Tutsis. Once the genocide started, the station broadcast the names

of people to be killed and information about where they could be found.” The call for killing made by these radio stations made it into the minds of the people of Rwanda and slowly built that them vs. us mentality which eventually led to civil war between the two groups. The messages that were being put out eventually made their way to the youth due to the radio station creating songs of hatred which were funnelled into the youth camps where young soldiers were being trained. A child has a mind that is so malleable and has an innate sense of wanting to please superiors, that on hearing this song, their initial reaction is to believe what they may be hearing. Scare tactics and hate were used on them to not see a human behind the gun but a killing machine that needed to be destroyed. “I remember RTLM broadcasting songs conveying hatred and demonising the Tutsi. The songs would openly call for our extermination. Political slogans were translated into song and young people were mobilised into youth movements. These youth movements were key to executing the genocide.” The difference between the lives lived by the youth on either side is astronomical when it comes to the effects of listening to the radio no matter what side is listening. The feelings it evokes on one side is with anger and violence as opposed to what the other side listening hears-and that makes them fearful and full of dread of what comes next.

Another messaging system that was used during a genocide can be examined from the Holocaust. Music was held in high regard within Germany, showcasing the many great composers being born there to establish a superiority complex within Hitler’s reign when it came to music. Under Nazi rule, the thought of any other music coming in was a threat to the nation itself. According to a journal, “Music and the Holocaust”, “For many, the increasing popularity of swing, jazz, avant-garde experimentation, and African-American and Jewish musicians were not a coincidence: they were both cause and effect of the general collapse of German society and German values.” The reality of how fragile the ego of Germany was under the Nazis comes to light by examining how they reacted when other music started becoming more popular. Once again, the them vs us mentality can be seen. Music and compositions written by Jews were severely repressed. While trying to stomp out music created by others, the Nazi party lifted their music up to build morale around their movement. “Composers and musicians could be used as propaganda



weapons for the Reich, producing marches and light music to distract and entertain the population, and music for Party events and rallies. Countless compositions celebrated Hitler, Germany, and the glorious future of the Nazi Party.” Distractions are key aspects within wars and conflicts to try and ease the possibility of a revolution or overthrow of government. Instead of showing the rest of Germany what they were actually doing, the Nazi Party hid the horrifying scenes of killings while they shoved parades and happy music in the German peoples’ faces. In order to boost the party’s popularity, nationalistic music was created by German composers to show the strength of German composition.

Much like the Hutu’s who took part in the genocide in Rwanda, the Nazi party also tried to drill values into the people by using music. “On a broader social level, music was considered an important means of instilling ‘German values’, nationalism, and a sense of community. Countless musical organisations were established, musicians promoted, prizes awarded, and festivals staged with the intent that ‘German’ music reach into every home, school, and army barracks in the Reich.” In an attempt to flush out every form of entertainment that was not German, the Nazi party carefully

filled peoples heads with German propaganda through music.

Some of the most influential music has come from America in times of war. During the World War Two era, music was pro war in an unsettling time for everyone. From songs such as “Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy” by The Andrews Sisters to “The Girl Who Loves a Soldier” by Leon Cortez, music was set to paint a picture glorifying the war Americans saw. During war, it is of the utmost importance that music leaves the listener feeling the way the artists want it to be portrayed. This rings true during this time period as well. “In “Upbeat in Music,” music is being used as a rallying force to encourage people to go to war. It uses the “American” sound to evoke feelings of pride in the US and also excites people with a delusional image of war and what it means to serve your country.” Invocation of feelings from Americans of that time period could not ignore an intricate plan by the government to try and hide what was truly going on and to build morale among the American citizenry. Even if what the song is saying is not true, it speaks to the people and the feelings overtake rationality. To quote president Franklin D Roosevelt, “Entertainment is always a national asset. Invaluable in time of peace it is indispensable in war

time...all those who are working in the entertainment industry...are building and maintaining national morale both on the battlefield and on the home front.” The purest form of the use of music during war is to bring people together. In a time where there is no hope, music can engender hope and build morale. Many situations are spoken about in music that would be uncomfortable to talk about in person. The connecting factor within the songs is what led people to want to listen to it. In World War Two, the common musical theme was about the soldiers coming home which was a point of connection for all the wives, mothers, and sisters who were essentially left to run things. Another theme was American glory which spoke to people as well, driving enlistment. The glorification of the American soldier was the key role in getting people to enlist.

MUSIC SAYS “NO ON WAR!”

Not only has music been used to push war itself and the messages of war but it has also been used as an anti-war message as well. Through the ages, anti-war music has been present, appealing more to the younger generation. Going against authority is a key aspect in the anti-war youth movements. The cliché of youth listening to music that their elders do not like fits perfectly into this mould as well. Change starts with the people and when the people realise it, action is taken.

Woodstock (1969) took place in the midst of the Vietnam War. The festival was described as three days of peace and music. Many artists such as The Grateful Dead, Creedence Clearwater Revival, The Who, and Janis Joplin, et al. all performed in an effort to spread anti-war message. During this time, Americans' wartime perceptions changed when it came to the Vietnam War. 20 years of war led many people to start to question what was really going on. In an effort to try and combat the Vietnam War, people came together to create a music festival for peace. The official Woodstock website quotes “Woodstock Music & Art Fair took place on a dairy farm in Bethel, NY. Over half a million people came to a 600-acre farm to hear 32 acts (leading and emerging performers of the time) play over the course of four days (August 15-18).” It was an event with over half a million people who supported peace. Most of the big venues the promoters tried to book denied them on fears of having backlash from the government or being sanctioned. It led to the event being on a farm which, fortunately for everyone did due to the mass of swarming people who showed up with no tickets but pushed their way in anyway. Far more people showed up than had purchased tickets. Many people spoke about peace and spread the antiwar message in between performers. The unity people felt during this festival is an example of just how music brings people together. Woodstock was a time where the youth realised that other people had the same thoughts and feelings about certain topics. Youth are often characterised as naive or ignorant when it comes to topics such as war when in fact they are just as

affected as everyone else. Banding together, youth were able to show their resistance to war to the government.

Presently, the war raging in Ukraine right now pushed by Russia has been a reason for the population to try and speak about how they feel during wartime with music. Banding together creates a sense of unity through music which has raised the morale of Ukraine and everyone living within its borders. Common themes in the music include brotherhood and never giving up. A song that has been written that gives a sense of Ukrainian pride is “Ой, у лузі червона калина” which was re-released during the Ukrainian invasion to remind the people in Ukraine of their strength. Translated into English “Oh, There is Red Viburnum in the Meadow”, the song was banned in order to demoralise Ukrainian. It was an attempt to take away their pride when all Ukraine truly wanted was to be free. As these problems return following the current state of war between Russia and Ukraine, the song has seen a burst in popularity among the government and its people reminding them of the free country they are. Viburnum is a plant that is very well known in Ukraine for its tall growth. “Viburnum is synonymous with Ukraine. The lyrics start with the sadness of Ukraine as a bent viburnum and end with a confident statement — “Ukraine will be cheered up and viburnum raised.” The song holds true to this day as shown by the Russian attempts to take back Ukraine that have been prevented due to the strength the Ukrainian government has shown. Wartime is sad and depressing, but much like a plant, once a mindset starts to grow and blossom, people find a way to be okay again. Anti-war music does not have to be new, it can be found within older music that was once important to the country much like this song. It acts as a reminder that if a country could have the strength before to withstand an attack, they can do it again, giving people hope.

MUSICAL THERAPY

There are healing elements within music that unlock the brain in ways a lot of medication cannot. Targeting the creative side of the brain, music can be a gateway into finding someone's personality again. According to the American Music Therapy Association, “Music Therapy is the clinical & evidence-based use of music interventions to accomplish individualised goals within a therapeutic relationship by a credentialed professional who has completed an approved music therapy program. Music therapy interventions can address a variety of healthcare & educational goals: Promote Wellness, Manage Stress, Alleviate Pain, Express Feelings, Enhance Memory, Improve Communication, Promote Physical Rehabilitation and more.” Used by medical professionals, musical therapy is found in therapies geared towards those who are neurodivergent, terminally ill, or are war veterans. Promoting mental well-being through the use of music could help veterans in many ways.

Musical therapy is a tool that is crucial when talking about the experiences of veterans coming home. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD is very common in soldiers coming home from active combat. According to the Veterans Administration, a study on the Vietnam war was created to see the long term effects of PTSD and how truly long it stays with a person. "About 15 out of every 100 Vietnam Veterans (or 15%) were currently diagnosed with PTSD at the time of the most recent study in the late 1980s, the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study (NVVRS). It is estimated that about 30 out of every 100 (or 30%) of Vietnam Veterans have had PTSD in their lifetime," says the VA. Musical Therapy for veterans is something not a lot of people think about when it comes to trying to help with the stress disorders soldiers come back with. According to the Musical Therapy Association, "Music therapists are actively involved in contributing to a strong base of evidence in support of various music therapy interventions, drawing from high quality research. There is an urgent call for better understanding of what works in supporting service members' combat and non combat injuries. The current range of interventions in use and approved for the management of PTSD, such as prolonged exposure (PE), cognitive processing therapy (CPT), and eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing (EMDR), and pharmacotherapy, do not take place in isolation and are not without limitations. Understanding the role and contribution of music therapy interventions on clinical outcomes and dose-response in recovery and therapy is an important and understudied priority." The scars that follow some veterans are life changing and in most cases, debilitating. In some cases veterans may experience loss of many motor functions, along with memory and other cognitive functions. Musical therapy is there to be able to be a crutch for these veterans with studies proving to be effective among many individuals.

CONCLUSION

Music and warfare, two very conflicting ideas, have been found together in many situations. Their relationship comes in many different forms, whether that be good or bad. The use of music in warfare and the many possibilities it brings leaves room to examine the history behind it. Playing a huge role in American history, music has been a way to guide and move troops about the camps and through battle. It also played a role in ancient warfare seen in how the Greeks and the Romans changed the rhythmic groove and pitch of their voices with hand held weapons to intimidate or calm. Music has also been used to get people to feel a sense of nationalism. Being used to tell a story of strength and keep up morale is a key role in music in wartimes as well. Anti-war music has had an impact on not only the youth, but also on the people fighting against the war that may be happening in their country. All these examples are a perfect portrayal

of the complex relationship between music and warfare. What truly happens during war is something that will change and be moulded over time and with that, music will change and be moulded to cope with whatever war may bring.

Music being a universal language, leaves an understanding globally on how music can act in times of need and how music can be used. That unifying factor to have one common understanding of one topic can break the barriers of misunderstandings. Music can be used to unify people during periods of strife, despair or loss. The future of music is an interesting subject to look at when considering war in the modern era where tensions are higher than ever.

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WAR CRIMES DENIAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

DYLAN BEDNARZ

The denial of history, or a country's cover-up of the horrors committed throughout history, allow for political actions that can lead to the repetition of those atrocities. These political acts can be seen as a country's attempt to keep national pride or some sort of identity. In the Pacific Rim, Japan's denial of its war crimes are primarily baked into its policies. Prior to World War Two (WWII), Japan committed many atrocities, notably including the event known as the 'Rape of Nanking'. This was a brutal siege on a Chinese city that spared no thought for civilian lives or their treatment of the comfort women that were either employed under false promises or kidnapped to be used as prostitutes for the Imperial Japanese army. These actions are often downplayed not only by members of the far right but members of Japan's right-wing Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as well. This article will focus on the crimes against humanity committed by Imperial Japan, specifically at the Rape of Nanking and the treatment of comfort women by the Japanese military, to look at a possible origin of the large-scale denialism in Japan. Additionally, this article addresses how Japan's denial of war crimes affects the country's internal politics and culture.

Leading up to WWII, as well as during the war, Japan committed many atrocities and crimes against humanity. Even if people shy away from these events, they still happened and have been heavily documented. Some events that had far-reaching effects on the region are the treatment of "comfort women" by Japanese soldiers, and the Rape of Nanking, which had been the

most brutal of Japan's inclusions. The Addendum document from the Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences by the United Nations (U.N.) Commission on Human Rights, written by Radhika Coomaraswamy Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women from 1994-2003 on the issue of military sexual slavery during wartime. The Commission worked in accordance with the Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1994/45, the Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, and Japan. The U.N. document focuses on all aspects of the situation endured by comfort women. This includes their recruitment, treatment, payment, and the conditions within the comfort stations. The documentation of these events exists as the military kept extensive records of the bureaucracy behind it. Aside from interviews with the living survivors of the comfort stations, the documentation of the bureaucracy behind this mass rape was also used as a source for this event. The recruitment records were majoritively lost to history as such documentation had been destroyed. Through the interviews with survivors of the system, some idea of how this was done can be salvaged.

Testimony from Kyushu, a survivor, highlights that Japanese women were recruited through promises of high-paying jobs within the military as cooks and seamstresses, however, these women were sent to the comfort stations instead. Japanese women were also recruited through the voluntary service corps that was originally utilized for factory work and other activities

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associated with the war machine, but the corps was also used to funnel women into comfort stations. A majority of the women were recruited forcefully as a subsequent condition of the military conquests by Imperial Japan. The true atrocities of the comfort stations were the conditions inside them: cramped living quarters, little to no freedom, and constant abuse. The abuses included broken bones, cigarette burns, and stab wounds. All injuries were ignored. Doctors were sent solely to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and were inconsiderate of how injured the women became through abuse. At the end of the war, once the Japanese began to retreat, they routinely destroyed the comfort stations to prevent the so-called 'embarrassment' of them. Likewise, as an attempt to cover up the committed sexual slavery, the Japanese government continues to call the victimized women "comfort women" as a euphemism, rather than sex slaves. No matter how much the Japanese government tries to deny it, the truth of what was done here is undeniable. This truth is demonstrated through the documentation and testimonials of the occurrences during the event, thus making it one of the many crimes against humanity committed by Imperial Japan.

Another major crime against humanity committed by Imperial Japan was the Rape of Nanking. This event provides a demonstration of the brutality displayed by the imperial forces. A film called *City of Life & Death*, based on Iris Chang's Novel *The Rape of Nanking* portrays the Rape of Nanking through the survivors' testimonies recalling the brutal massacre of an entire city. The events of the film show that the army had little care for the distinction between civilians and combatants as they entered areas where refugees hid under the protection of Japan's allies. Nearly all men with no surviving family, including children, were massacred in multiple ways. Women were either raped or forcefully drafted into early versions of the comfort stations. This event was the greatest crime that Imperial Japan had committed against civilians prior to World War Two. Japan tries to bury these events by either actively denying that these things happened, or by downplaying the brutal extent of these events. Both of these attempts can be seen in Japanese history textbooks and cultural media products like anime and manga.

Most people understand that there is a connection between politics, culture, and education in that they all shape each other as they do society. The representation of Imperial Japan's actions in the country's history textbooks, and how these actions are represented in the cultural products of the country, are consumed by people both inside and outside the country. History textbooks reflect multiple aspects of a country by what is in them, what is said, how it is said, and what is not said. A paper by Peter Cave, "Japanese Colonialism and the Asia-Pacific War in Japan's

History Textbooks: Changing Representations and Their Causes", discusses history books made in Japan alongside a correlating change in the representation of Japan's action as a colonial country. Cave does this by using interviews, market share data, and an analysis of information within middle school history textbooks. The timeline shows that by 1996 there had been a rapid increase in the amount of committed war crimes being talked about in textbooks. In 2001, however, there was a reduction in the number of such conversations. Talks of war crimes went from full pages to tiny paragraphs about the events with little compulsion to discuss the information within the textbooks. This change within the textbooks coincided with a shift in the governing party of Japan, a left-wing coalition to Japan's right-wing Liberal Democratic Party. The textbooks changed information discarded all references to comfort women, sexual slaves, and contained little to no reference to the Rape of Nanking. The lack of discussion about this information allows the country to ignore the crimes that Japan has committed, subsequently allowing politicians to begin taking the steps to potentially make decisions that disturb the region. The revision, exclusion, or denial of history allows for the country's dangerous actions to be repeated. With this, horrific acts are downplayed, and rarely are their investigations of the motives behind them. This creates a possibility for those in power to follow suit. A paper by Tessa Morris-Suzuki and Peter Rimmer, "Virtual Memories: Japanese Historical Debates in Manga and Cyberspace", focuses on the debates surrounding the issue of comfort women both online and in manga. Works of popular mangaka, Kobayashi Yoshinori, a mangaka known for populist works with a political bent, began to make a greater public appearance when he spoke of the people who had become A.I.D.S. (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) victims due to the tainted blood from negligence by the Minister of Health. Yoshinori had attacked other champions of this issue, saying they were using it to shine a light on other beliefs that he later believed to be wrong. He then took issue with the surviving comfort women and their desire for compensation initially voiced in the 1990s. His denial had veered into denialist talking points used within online circles such as viewing the abuse and other horrors as partial pornographic images. While using his popularity to voice these ideas, he still framed himself as being the counterculture. Yoshinori was used as an example to show how a populist voice reframes memories and images to be used as a guise for reality. These ideas have been further replicated in online historical debates which reflect how both propaganda and denial have shaped the framework for discussions and societal expectations surrounding these conversations. For Japan's online environment, Morris-Suzuki and Rimmer divide the country's websites into two categories. The first category is labeled "critical",

which includes websites and sources that question Japan's actions before and during WWII. The second category is "revisionist", including websites that attempt to change historical consensus from holding Japan accountable to downplaying Japan's committed crimes. The arguments from revisionist websites about the issue of comfort women, scrutinize evidence documents and witness testimonies, and highlight minor inconsistencies. In turn, the discrepancies found are used to make the claim that most of these women were willingly recruited. These arguments are inconsiderate of the fact that these women were lied to or coerced by force and debt, instead, claiming that they were wilfully recruited positions and the women to be "undeserving" of any compensation or apology from the government. This demonstrates that the internet is used as a hub for denial. Additionally, the paper by Morris-Suzuki and Rimmer discusses how the Rape of Nanking, is often denied to have happened. Denial of the massacre's occurrence was originally done by members of Japan's right-wing LDP in the '80s. The techniques used to deny the Nanking attack are much more direct and brutal than over-scrutinizing every little detail, account, and document that was created to describe the event. For this attack, details are either downplayed or outright denied by the websites cited as revisionist sources. Just like the denial of comfort women, this also has a slightly sinister undertone. One goal of this denial was to reestablish a military that can be used for offensive purposes, despite it being outlawed in the Japanese Constitution. However, the main goals were to erase the black mark placed upon the country and to muddy the discourse surrounding the event in order to rebuild an apparatus that can commit these atrocities once again. With this, politicians began to shape policy, and these ideas were used as a foundation for the advancement of right-wing objectives.

Shinzo Abe (1954-2022) was the longest-serving Prime Minister in Japanese history. Abe was also a politician who used the denial and revision of Japanese history within his rhetoric. The combination of Abe's rhetoric alongside his actions seemed to praise long-dead Imperial Japan. This is outlined in an article published in the *Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus*, written by Narusawa Muneko, titled "Abe Shinzo: Japan's New Prime Minister a Far-Right Denier of History". Although this article was written in 2013, the beginning of Shinzo Abe's second term as Prime Minister, it still highlights Abe's beliefs and actions, partially reflecting the subsequent beliefs and goals of the LDP he led. Throughout the article, the author highlights Abe's words and double standards. One main example of this is the author's focus on Abe's attack upon the Kono Statement, a statement by former Chief Secretary Yohei Kono that details an analysis of the comfort women amidst WWII. The Kono Statement declared that the Japanese

government would begin to take responsibility for the military's actions involving the crimes committed against comfort women, and would begin to support further research into these events. Even as a newly elected member of the National Diet, Abe led the LDP charge against the statement, he targeted the Kono Statement saying women were not "coerced". Abe's denial is highlighted further by some of his public statements that claimed there was no historical evidence for the existence of comfort women. This pattern is related to other actions and beliefs that combine to create either an opportunist looking to court the far-right within Japan as a base or a skilled politician who nevertheless denies the crimes committed by Imperial Japan. Another instance that highlights these beliefs were multiple statements he posted online, apologizing on behalf of the Japanese military and wishing condolences to the comfort women. Shortly after these posts, during his 2006-2007 term, he returned home and stated that he was coerced into giving an apology on behalf of the Japanese government. Furthermore, he considers all forms of apology for actions during the war as masochistic on Japan's part. These beliefs highlight both a skilled politician who understands part of his base, but also one who does not care about the past actions of his country. This is demonstrated by the many visits to the Yasukuni shrine, a controversial monument that includes deceased soldiers as well as major war criminals. The war museum inside Yasukuni, the Yushukan, is known for a revisionist history with views that often show Japan in a positive light. It includes a very minimal acknowledgment of the crimes committed by Imperial Japan due to the need for ritual justification of the partial religious nature of the shrine. The consequences of a visit to the shrine are partially outlined in, "Denial of History? Yasukuni Visits as Signaling" by Taisuke Fujita and Hiroki Kusano. The paper focuses on the reasons that politicians visit the shrine. Abe visiting the shrine not only accentuated his denialism but was also an attempt to garner further support. Other aspects of the shrine include it being a central rallying point for the revisionists people who argue for the changing of the Japanese Constitution.

The revision and denial of history have not only affected members of the Japanese National Diet, it additionally shaped Japan's policies and reactions to those attempting reconciliation and those trying to grasp history. One of the biggest signs in policy, in relation to the denial of history, is how Japan had apologized and how their post-apology responses have defined the views of history among high-ranking members of the government. A paper by Ja-hyun Chun, "Beyond Dissatisfaction and Apology Fatigue: Four Types of Japanese Official Apology", focuses on the four types of apologies the Japanese government gives regarding WWII. The first type of apology outlined in the paper is 'political rhetoric'. These

apologies are characterized by a lack of action with no mention of the events involved. Essentially, it is an insincere apology that attempts to placate other countries. These apologies are used to avoid confronting history whilst appearing to apologize to outsiders, barely acknowledging the country's wrongdoings. The second type of apology is a 'faint apology'. Similar to the political rhetoric apology, the main goal of a faint apology is to appeal to either a foreign or domestic base. While some action is taken in the form of aid or compensation, there is no acknowledgment to the actions of the Japanese government. Both of these apologies outline an unwillingness by some regimes of the Japanese government to acknowledge what was done. The main focus of these two apologies is for Japan to appear remorseful whilst stirring up a base for denial at home. The third type of apology is an 'insufficient apology', an apology that includes a complete acknowledgment of Japan's guilt for the country's actions, however, there are no advancements made for reparations. This makes such an apology insincere. The final apology outlined is a 'sincere apology' that includes both an acknowledgment of past actions, and actual advancements to reconcile with other Pacific Rim countries by issuing apologies to people in the region. Moreover, the subsequent political results that emerge from the continuation of denial, attempt to reshape the region.

Japan uses the revision of history as an attempt to forget the crimes it has committed. A notable example of this is shown through Japan's attempts to overturn Article Nine of the Japanese Constitution in order to garner support for a more powerful military. Overturning Article Nine would begin a remilitarization, turning the Japanese military from a self-defense force to a military capable of taking offensive action. This objective reflects the country's desire to forget its former role of aggressor and militant terror within the region. Over the past few years, Japan had initiated attempts to either change Article Nine or find a way around it to effectively reestablish a strong military. The paper by Hisako Motoyama, "Formulating Japan's UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan and Forgetting the 'Comfort Women'", focuses on Japan's hypocrisy in acknowledging an international resolution whilst directly acting in contrast to the agreement. The U.N. Resolution effectively defines what was done to comfort women as a crime against humanity under international law, yet Japan continues to divert its acknowledgment of the existence of comfort women. Moreover, the end goal of Japan's historical revisionism has begun to reach its final goal of remilitarization. To support this, Motoyama points to Shinzo Abe's more recent written motions that essentially override Article Nine of the Constitution. Meaning, Japan has begun to completely deny its history, creating a new view of reality. Implications of this affect Japan's diplomatic relations within the Pacific Rim region, even more so heightening the pre-

existing tensions caused by the brutalities committed by Japan in WWII. The country's inaction due to the denial of history and the rhetoric of its politicians, hinder Japan's diplomatic relations within the Pacific Rim. The effect of this on the international stage is highlighted in "Japan's Security and Historical Revisionism: Explaining the Variation in Responses to and Impact of Textbook Controversies" by Erika Pollmann. This paper focuses on the international reaction to revisionist textbooks. It was found that while not significantly harming certain aspects of Japanese relations, when the revisions are combined with other extreme nationalist events that are tied to the denial of history, it places a strain on Japan's relationships. This ends up leading to problems for Japan such as losing negotiating power within the region.

As mentioned, the Japanese government had multiple controversies surrounding the nature of textbooks written during the postwar period in which the denial of war crimes had become an important aspect of the LD Party. This is outlined in the article "The Glorification of War in Japanese Education" by Saburo Ienaga. The author focuses on Japanese education by categorizing four distinct eras and the portrayal of war during the postwar era. To note, the article was written in 1993, so the approval process and content of the textbooks have changed, however, it still provides a good example. The first era includes the time frame before and during WWII. In this period, war was something that was valorized to the point in which it became a death cult focused. The second era is the 'occupation period', the period in which the occupation of Japan led to a complete shift in viewpoints. During this period, war was no longer glorious. Instead, it was a tragedy inflicted upon the nation, shifting the focus to the destruction of families and loss of life. The third era is the 'modern era' that includes the writing of textbooks. The author calls this period the 'reverse course' in which Japan brought denial to the forefront through the writing in textbooks. This course change was partially brought about by the Cold War and the Korean War. The author demonstrates this by pointing to the edits that were required by the Ministry of Education during this time period. These edits led to the early forms of war crimes denial by the Japanese government such as obfuscating horrible crimes by pointing the finger at the actions of the Soviets and the United States instead. To continue, the Ministry had forced the removal of a paragraph discussing unit 731 because, according to him, it did not exist. Unit 731 was a unit of the Japanese military that focused on the creation and testing of biological weapons with human experiments specifically prisoners being a focus of Unit 731 actions prior to and during WW11 Despite a promise to both the People's Republic of China and South Korea to stop glorifying the idea of war, these edits to further censor the horrors of war. What all this demonstrates

is that the idea of war is intrinsically linked to a part of Japanese culture. Furthermore, the justification and glorification of war are likely linked to the denial of war crimes because if the war crimes and horror of war are revealed, then the idea that there is inherent glory in war will become illogical to people.

A major goal of the far-right institutions in Japan is to repeal Article Nine of the Constitution. Article Nine relates to the military, stating that Japan can only have a military that exists for defensive force in which the military is only permitted to take action if an act of aggression was done to them first. This is seen as a shame by the “revisionist” faction of the LDP, the far-right party that holds a majority of power in the National Diet, due to the multiple factors that partially undermine democracy in Japan. The goal of the party’s revisionist members is to advance the popularity of their revisionist policies. The regional problems that make up Japan’s situation are outlined in the article, “Explaining Japan’s Response to Geopolitical Vulnerability” by Shogo Suzuki and Corey Wallace. The article focuses on the variety of factors that shape Japan’s international and national policy actions. A partial focus of the article is the goal of the “revisionist” cause, the goal of reviving the Japanese Constitution in order to facilitate a return to what resembles more of the Japanese empire. This is the main political motivation behind the denial of crimes against humanity. The article talks about the multiple geopolitical factors that allow for the revival of Japan’s military. Likewise, the article highlights the reason that despite years of being propagandized, the idea of modifying Japan’s self-defense force (SDF) is unfavorable to the public. It was found that the ideas of a constitutional revision and the military’s return to a position of power are quite unpopular. In fact, it is a point of pride for a majority of Japanese citizens that their military is built for self-defense rather than warring with other nations. This public view forced politicians who believed in constitutional revisionism to move towards an incremental approach. Thus, the rise of China’s military sector and North Korea’s nuclear weapons development was used as a reasonable justification for purchasing new weapons that lean away from the intent of Article Nine. Despite the impact that denial has had on multiple areas within the culture, the political goal of the movement has failed so far to create a critical mass of people that would support a revision to the constitution.

Japan committed brutal crimes against humanity during its era of empire in the early twentieth century. In turn, it created a rift between itself and its neighbors. Despite this, the denial of these crimes secured a place within Japanese culture. In art, for example, with manga, or in politics with the dominance of the LDP and its actions that fly in the face of victims or its role in education. This has multiple political goals that include the removal

of a perceived culture of national shame and the revision of the postwar Constitution. Despite such propaganda and denial, the Japanese public takes pride in their defensive military, making this a political failure. Even still, the denial of these crimes and a lack of apology have led to an uphill battle in building lasting relationships in the region. To conclude, the denial of these crimes is a complex and multi-faceted issue with its origins in the political goals of Japan’s far-right and has led to lasting effects on both Japan and its political standing within the Pacific Rim.

Addendum: There have been recent talks in South Korea relating to the forced labor by Japanese companies during the colonial period in the Koreans. Despite slightly raised tensions, these talks ended with no major changes to apologies within the region. The results were a charity set up by the South Korean government to compensate the victims and Japan reaffirming their previous forms of apology. Despite the charity, the surviving victims are moving forward with a case for the South Korean supreme court to have the companies compensate the victims instead of the charity. So major move from either country on the issue.

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PROPAGANDA IN THE MODERN DIGITAL AGE

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It comes at no surprise to say that the internet has greatly changed global communication since the launch of the World Wide Web to the public in the 1990s. Nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population take advantage of this readily available resource to access entertainment, read about the news, or scroll through social media for hours on end. The average global internet user spends an average of 6 hours and 37 minutes online each day. Nor is it surprising that the internet is an incredibly powerful tool to quickly spread information about current events that can easily form the political opinions of users depending on the language they speak, the country they live in, and what key terms they search online. Finding like minded individuals has become easier than ever due to numerous social media platforms, such as TikTok or Reddit, that build communities of people who share similar perspectives to further spread their ideas and opinions. While this can be beneficial for many, especially those who feel isolated in their daily lives, it can turn dangerous quite easily. Moreover, political extremism has become easier to fall into as internet communities have become echo chambers that can prop up horrifying ideologies.

Propaganda often spreads quickly in such communities due to their accessibility and little room to challenge inherently biased information. Many community members reject finding outside research that would go against their own beliefs. This allows for misinformation or conspiracies about opposing groups or individuals to quickly gain notoriety both online and in real

life. These communities can catch the attention of people in positions of power or those who seek power. For example, the QAnon movement is a conspiracy theory that believes the world is controlled by a cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles, known as the “Deep State”. They specifically conspire in favor of the former United States (US) President, Donald Trump, thus catching the attention of many far-right individuals in the US. A couple well known QAnon conspiracy theorists who gained notoriety of their own are Georgia Representative, Marjorie Taylor Greene, and Colorado Representative, Lauren Boebert. Platforms that QAnon has gained popularity on such as Gab, Parler, and 4chan had led to an alt-right insurrection of the US capitol on January 6th, 2021. The insurrection occurred after a deliberate propaganda campaign, claiming that the 2020 presidential election had been stolen from Donald Trump as an attempt to block the election of the current US President, Joseph Biden.

The United States example does not represent the beliefs held by the majority of Americans, nor is the United States the sole perpetrator of online propaganda. However, it does draw concerning historical parallels to propaganda from the past, highlighting a larger problem at hand, when the internet and politics turn sour. Under the influence of the internet, a particularly concerning spread of fake news and a rise in digital authoritarianism has led to a decline in global internet freedom. An organization called Freedom House has been tracking this decline for over a decade. With the internet effectively erasing

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borders that were previously more difficult to cross, governments worldwide have begun to understand the increasing importance of digital media in shaping the opinions of citizens. Many governments have become complicit in spreading digital propaganda. This is especially true among countries without democratic rule that commonly censor citizens and issue propaganda of their own. In 2022, Freedom House's key findings included the fact that global internet freedom had declined for a 12th consecutive year. Their findings revealed that governments break apart the global internet in order to create more controllable online spaces. Additionally, China was identified to be the world's worst environment for internet freedom for an 8th consecutive year.

Censorship is used as a tool under the new age of digital propaganda as many governments enforce criminal penalties for the publications of what they deem to be false news. In 2018, at least 13 countries had prosecuted citizens for allegedly spreading false information of their own. One of these countries was Rwanda, where blogger Joseph Nkusi had been sentenced to 10 years in prison for an "incitement to civil disobedience" and "the spreading of rumors for questioning the state's narrative". Nkusi's actions, in relation to the 1994 Rwandan genocide, criticized the lack of political freedom in the country. Similarly in Bangladesh, in August of 1994, there was an incident in which activist Shahidul Alam had been arrested shortly after posting live videos on Facebook. Alam's videos, released 2.5 months later, criticized the government's violent response to the protests beforehand. In Kazakhstan, online media outlets such as Ratel and Forbes.kz have faced criminal charges for the spread of false information after Zeinulla Kakimzhanov, a businessman and former top government official, filed a complaint over accusatory stories that alluded to an involvement in the corruption. Additionally, the Philippines proposed the criminalization of disseminating false news with malicious intent. This was due to a prior incident in which President Rodrigo Duterte attacked an investigative media site, claiming it to be a "fake news outlet". The president sought to shut it down over alleged foreign funding violations.

On the internet, it is common to find narratives that often contradict one another. With this, separating fact from fiction among inherently biased narratives becomes difficult to navigate. Therefore, it is necessary to understand what propaganda is, along with how and why it is used. Propaganda is a mode of communication that is used to influence or persuade a targeted audience into believing a particular political cause or point of view. Selectively presenting facts that are naturally biased or misleading, propaganda specifically appeals to the people's emotions rather than their rationality. Freedom of the press is considered a universal right under the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human

Rights in which true freedom of opinion and expression are crucial for retaining a true democracy. In contrast, the governments of nations that do not guarantee freedom of the press have the power to control the narrative in any way that serves their own interests. Sometimes that narrative involves bending truths or outright lying. According to the Council of Europe, $\frac{2}{3}$ of citizens in the European Union (EU) report coming across fake news at least once a week. Over 80% of EU citizens say they see fake news as an issue for their country, and for democracy in general. Likewise, half of EU citizens between the ages of 15 and 30 say they need critical thinking and information skills to help them combat fake news and extremism in society.

Propaganda, with the use of misinformation and fake news, has the potential to polarize public opinion. It can lead to the promotion of violent extremism and hate speech to ultimately undermine democracies and reduce trust in the democratic processes. As discussed in the book, "How Politics Works" by Alison Sturgeon, governments have always been interested in controlling information as propaganda is a notable tool that may be used to justify decisions that are otherwise unpopular. For example, such unpopular decisions may be to raise taxes or go to war. The ultimate goal from the use of this propaganda is to gain support among citizens by showing how effective the nation's government is. Propaganda often peaks when societies start to face crises. This is generally caused by a government's attempt to maintain what little control they feel they have and offering explanations to their citizens, even if not particularly factual. When propaganda was used as a tool of oppression in authoritarian society, it was meant to place all the blame of a particular problem upon a specific group in order to uphold the special power of the oppressive group. In particular, minority groups were targeted. This led to disastrous results such as genocide.

Historically, propaganda has been used particularly by tyrannical governments in order to suppress opposition and actively oppress minority groups once scapegoating becomes prominent. A famous historical example of this is the propaganda that was prevalent during Nazi Germany's rise to power. Post World War 1, Germany's financial issues were initially blamed on political opponents such as communists or intellectuals who had frustrated the old ruling and new business classes in Weimar, Germany. Both classes believed that a return to authoritarian rule was the only stable future for Germany whilst protecting their power and money. Later, propaganda was used to justify the systemic oppression of Jewish and Romani groups during the Holocaust who were already common targets of blame during eras of disease or famine. Propaganda portrayed these people to be enemies of the German people. From this, Hitler was thought to

be the strong and stable savior that Germany needed in order to become the powerhouse it once was.

Another prominent example of this occurred more recently with the Rwandan genocide during a time of civil war within the country. The Hutu tribe, the majority, wanted to maintain control over the Tutsi tribe, the minority. This led to about 100 days of slaughter that brutally slaughtered nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Tutsi population in 1994. In the early 1990s, the Hutu 10 commandments were published, pressuring the Hutus to turn against the Tutsis in order to affirm the idea of Hutu superiority. The commandments painted the Tutsis as inherently dirty, dishonest, and untrustworthy. Ordinary citizens were encouraged by local officials, and the Hutu controlled government, to take up arms against their Tutsi neighbors and commit such brutal crimes. Officials had often rewarded killers with food, drinks, drugs and money. The leadership during this era of Rwandan history often used the radio to get their message across. That message was to murder any Tutsi, stating that they were inferior and calling people from the Tutsi tribe cockroaches. They actively demonized the tribe by stating that the Tutsis were “invaders who were trying to make Hutus slaves”, purposely dehumanizing a group of people in order to justify mistreatment, similar to what Nazi Germany did to Jewish and Romani minorities in the 1930s and 1940s.

The Cold War era between these two events had also maintained long streaks of propaganda promotion as the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had conflicting interests on how the world should operate. Though the two nations never went to war against one another, the dynamic of capitalism and communism competed over which system would dominate the globe in the coming years. The governments of both the US and the USSR often promoted propaganda that would uphold their own values while actively demonizing the other side. In the United States, a stream of Red Scare propaganda invoked a fear of communism and communists who were depicted with a desire to overthrow everything the United States had built and held dear. This, paired with the idea of American exceptionalism, highlighted the United States as a country of people who worked hard for the lives they had built rather than relying on the government to give them everything like the “lazy communists” wanted to do. Propaganda in the USSR was also prevalent in promoting communism against “deceitful and greedy capitalists”, especially Americans. These anti-capitalist posters were plastered with messages discussing poverty stricken Americans and the United States’ continual violations to the rights of workers in favor of the rich, while simultaneously violating human rights as well. After the propaganda campaigns of the Cold War era ended, it’s quite easy to analyze how people were often misled into

believing that the opposing ideology was inherently evil, lacking nuance. However, at the time, many genuinely feared for their lives, constantly worried about the threat of nuclear war.

One of the most powerful tools of propaganda is emotional manipulation. Considering how biased the brain inherently is, propaganda aims to take advantage of people’s unconscious cognitive processes by appealing to fast impulses. Scientists call this heuristics over rationality in which heuristics naturally take longer to process. Implicit bias also plays a factor in believing propaganda due to the unconscious attitude that one applies to their understanding of the world, their actions, and their decisions. Implicit bias often relies on stereotyping, either positive or negative, in order to make quick judgements. According to “How To Win The War On Truth” by Samuel C. Spitale, potential manipulators who aim to exploit bias will specifically target four areas. The first area is memory, due to the brain’s ability to rewrite memories to be more general and less specific after they occur. The second area is the attention span, due to the fact that the brain favors simple explanations over complex ones. The third is the information processing skills that identify what humans are primed to notice to confirm preexisting beliefs. Further, information processing skills allow individuals to attach a personal meaning to certain patterns that project a current mindset onto the past as well as the future, often relying on prior experiences and stereotypes.

Spitale also discusses priming, how propaganda often introduces audiences to things that may have otherwise gone unnoticed in the first place. From this, propaganda can create patterns that may be exaggerated, if existent at all. Furthermore, confirmation bias allows the brain to reinforce existing beliefs and ideas, sinking ideas in further, even if the provided information is flawed. Biases can also become so strong that people are unable to accept conflicting information, even if the conflicting point is more accurate to reality, because humans are highly driven to make sense of the world. Due to this, humans strive to find order within it, however, the brain has limits and cannot absorb everything. As humans do not naturally like change, admitting to blindness or having been misled is harder to accept. Spitale states that it is simply easier to handle a comfortable lie over an inconvenient truth. Unless people experience the abuse that propaganda can bring firsthand, it’s easier for one to believe that there is nothing wrong with the status quo.

Propaganda is often found in mediums such as news reports, government reports, historical revision, junk science, books, leaflets, movies, social media, radio, television, and posters. Propaganda is most commonly used when discussing politics while lobbying, advertising, and missionary activities are all forms of propaganda as well. Some of the most successful propaganda often



forms ideas. This can be used with techniques such as utilizing symbols or slogans in order to make movements stick in people's minds. In advertising, the goal for a company is to have customers recognize their products. Likewise, in politics, the use of slogans and symbols can have the same effect, trying to convey a physical or verbal representation of an intended audience, or anything that conveys a common thought among the masses. During wartime, propaganda directed by a country at its civilian population and military forces can boost morale and easily place blame on the enemy. This makes propaganda itself, as well as slogans and symbols, especially common during these times. Utilization of these elements attempt to invoke emotions such as fear, sadness, or anger into the domestic population, often manipulating the portrayal of themselves as the victims.

With the rise of the internet, more attention is paid to the spread of "fake news" due to its nature of frequent fabrication with no verifiable facts, sources, or quotes. It may be easier to feel apprehensive of any information that contradicts the bias of the audience. As conspiracy theories also gain prominence with the spread of information on the internet, those studying conspiracy theories have found that they appeal most to people who feel marginalized, lack trust in people or institutions, face financial hardship, ascribe to extreme religious views, or experience a partisan shift in government. With this, conspiracy theories can be both ideologically and psychologically fulfilling for those in

power who can cast outrageous aspersions against their nemeses alongside an audience that is often very receptive to seemingly confident, strong, and polarizing leaders. Therefore, when analyzing information, it is important to ask questions about the given information such as questioning where the information is coming from, whether or not the writer is using sources to back up their claims, and analyzing what other sources say about the topic. Additionally, it's important to question what the writer's intention is, because if it's meant to evoke a strong emotional reaction from the reader, then more skepticism is typically necessary. Specific signs to look out for in propaganda include name calling, generalizing, or stereotyping that often involve derogatory terms to describe a perceived enemy, or a caricature of a person or group. Additional signs include appealing to an audience's emotions in order to gain support for a particular cause and the use of bandwagon techniques that pressure people into siding with a particular cause. Likewise, the use of scare tactics are used to frighten people into supporting a particular cause, such as labeling an opponent or enemy as a criminal, even if there is more nuance to the story.

Propaganda is also commonly used to manipulate information that distorts or misrepresents facts when influencing the opinions of others, often using false or misleading statistics that may over exaggerate support for a particular cause or purposely demonize a group of people. Other common tactics include

political candidates who promise unrealistic objectives and the presentation of information that is favorable to the person or thing being promoted. To add, the use of positive association can make a person or idea seem more likable. An example of this would be the use of a flag to make a political candidate seem more patriotic. Other people can also be used as a powerful tool as people often trust testimonials from famous or well respected people such as celebrities or well liked politicians. The use of this entails publicized statements in which a certain person or ideology is labeled to be good simply because average people like the sentiment, henceforth, others believe it must be good. This is called the “plain folks” appeal.

It’s easier to understand and escape propaganda in a lot of democratic countries. However, in increasingly authoritarian nations, it can be harder to find sources that don’t align with the government’s viewpoints. While more democratic countries have better access to the right to freedom of opinion and expression such as the United States, Canada and many other Western countries, other countries take their authoritarianism to an extreme. For example, countries such as China and Iran censor opposition and use propaganda to build a glamorized image of political leaders that the government approves of. A Professor of Law at the Santa Clara University School of Law, David L. Sloss states that democracy is declining around the world while authoritarianism is gaining ground. The number of citizens affected by autocratization surged from 415 million in 2016 to 2.3 billion in 2018, and the number of autocratizing countries has been greater than the number of “advancing countries” for the first time since 1978. Global dissemination of social media technology is contributing to a decline in democracy. Sloss states a report from the Computational Propaganda Research Project saying that in at least 26 non-democratic countries, computational propaganda is currently used as a tool for information control to suppress fundamental human rights, discredit political opponents, and drown out dissenting opinions. Computational propaganda can also be used to interfere with democratic elections abroad. China, India, Iran, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela have all been caught using “computational propaganda for foreign influence operations.”

In particular, China has been criticized for its increase in authoritarianism with its use of surveillance in order to retain power. In the Western region of Xinjiang, facial recognition technology and other advanced tools are used to monitor the local population and the Uighur Muslims to thwart any actions deemed to harm “public order” or “national security”. Leaked documents and other evidence revealed within the past decade have identified about a million Muslims possibly held in internment camps in

Xinjiang, where they endure a “reeducation” process to forcibly indoctrinate them. On Freedom House’s annual report, China was notably unfree because websites and social media accounts are not legally allowed to produce news content other than those operated by official news outlets. Propaganda officials have systematically instructed internet outlets to amplify content from state media and downplay news that may generate public criticism of the government. This is notable given China’s expanding global influence. China’s state-owned businesses have been gaining influence in much of Asia and Africa from lying down the digital Silk Road, in addition to fiber-optic links to Myanmar, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal and various other countries. Furthermore, companies are playing a prominent role in the country’s push for telecommunications dominance. Companies such as H3C have already won contracts to build a telecommunications network for airports in Nigeria, and are advising the Kenyan government on its “master plan” for information and communication technologies.

In Iran, operating under the Islamic Republic since 1979, the authoritarian government has been under particular scrutiny since September 2022. This was caused by an incident involving the morality police that murdered a Kurdish 22 year old, Mahsa Amini, for wearing an improper hijab. Amini’s murder had resulted in widespread anti government protests that were described as another revolution, leading the government to shutdown the country’s internet. Under the operations of this regime, there have been violent crackdowns on protesting that have led to several executions without trials or with unfair trials. The regime is guilty of using propaganda to exaggerate the crimes of detained protestors in which the IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps) called for the prosecution of those who spread “false news and rumors” during the revolt. In Freedom House’s annual report for Iran in 2022, the organization discusses the necessity of this situation in consideration of previous protests that have occurred in Iran where journalists and media outlets were given official guidelines from the Intelligence Ministry and the Culture and Islamic Guidance Ministry to cover the news. Iran’s government has direct control over media outlets and specifically targets ethnic and religious minorities such as the Kurdish or those of Bahá’í descent. Due to this control, women and minorities are often the targets of propaganda within the regime. Common sentiments of the regime claim that these groups are enemies who seek to overthrow Iran and Islam.

As mentioned earlier, Freedom House, an organization that works to defend human rights and promote democratic change, found that internet freedom had declined for a 12th consecutive year in 2022. Though 26 countries registered net gains, the largest number of improvements since the inception of the

project, internet freedom still deteriorated in 28 countries. The countries with the sharpest downgrades in internet freedom last year included Russia, Myanmar, Sudan, and Libya. Russia's major decline is unsurprising given its invasion of Ukraine in February of 2022. Since the invasion under Putin, the Russian government continues to heavily censor criticism, compel media outlets to refer to the invasion as a "special military operation", and has introduced a law that will sentence up to 15 years in prison for those who spread "false information" about the conflict. Additionally, internet freedom declined in Myanmar due to their very few remaining online resources that are dominated by pro-military voices. On the other hand, activists, journalists, and ordinary users continue to be detained, tortured and forcibly disappeared. After military leaders staged a coup that dissolved the country's transitional government in October 2021, Sudan had declared a state of emergency that lasted until May 2022. With Sudanese civilians mobilizing mass protests in response, the authorities had restricted internet connectivity, blocked social media platforms, and assaulted and arrested journalists.

As said by Edward Bernays, 'father of public relations' and well known propagandist, "Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country." In "How to Win the War on Truth", the authors emphasize the importance of recognizing propaganda for what it is. That, however, can be difficult as we commonly inherit ideas and beliefs from those around us. Thus, it can become a problem when it prevents humans from changing their perspectives as knowledge evolves. While education is meant to lead to knowledge, propaganda is meant to hide the truth. The authors stated, "Propaganda replaces thinking with believing, facts with faith, and truth with myth. It overrides reason by invoking irrational fears and tribal anger, eroding empathy, silencing debate, and leaving a path of misinformation in its wake."

Understanding the internet means understanding that propaganda is easy to create, noting the importance of not taking information at face value. Becoming aware of the techniques that are used such as misleading statistics or stereotypes, and taking notes when there seems to be inherent biases in sources is crucial. Likewise, critically evaluating given information and asking questions about the validity of sources from all angles is additionally crucial. Though it can be difficult to overcome personal biases, defining oneself by core values such as fairness, honor, and generosity rather than individually held views, grants the brain the necessary flexibility to update one's views over a lifetime. Understand that propaganda is dangerous due to its nature of eroding civil discourse, blurring the lines between fact and opinion, and creating more uncertainty as trust in respected

sources of information decline.

Understandably, propaganda has gained a lot of influence on the internet, often leaving real life consequences capable of undermining freedom and democracy to favor authoritarianism. When one's guard is let down, and the brain trusts its first instinct when coming across propaganda, it can be hard for an individual to challenge the beliefs they already hold. However, it's important to trust rationality over vulnerability and understand propaganda for what it truly is, a medium that aims to manipulate the human brain that all humans are vulnerable to. It's easy to look back at tragedy, whether that be warfare, oppression, or genocide from previous generations, and believe that society has somehow evolved past these tragedies, or that humans are somehow immune to propaganda. It's easy to wonder "how could man let this happen?", or to believe that one would never turn against certain communities. However, society must take a step back and understand that they are the same human race that they were during the World Wars, the same human race that has justified the consequences of colonization, and the same human race that has always been able to justify incredibly insane ideologies. It must be understood that no one is immune from propaganda.

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