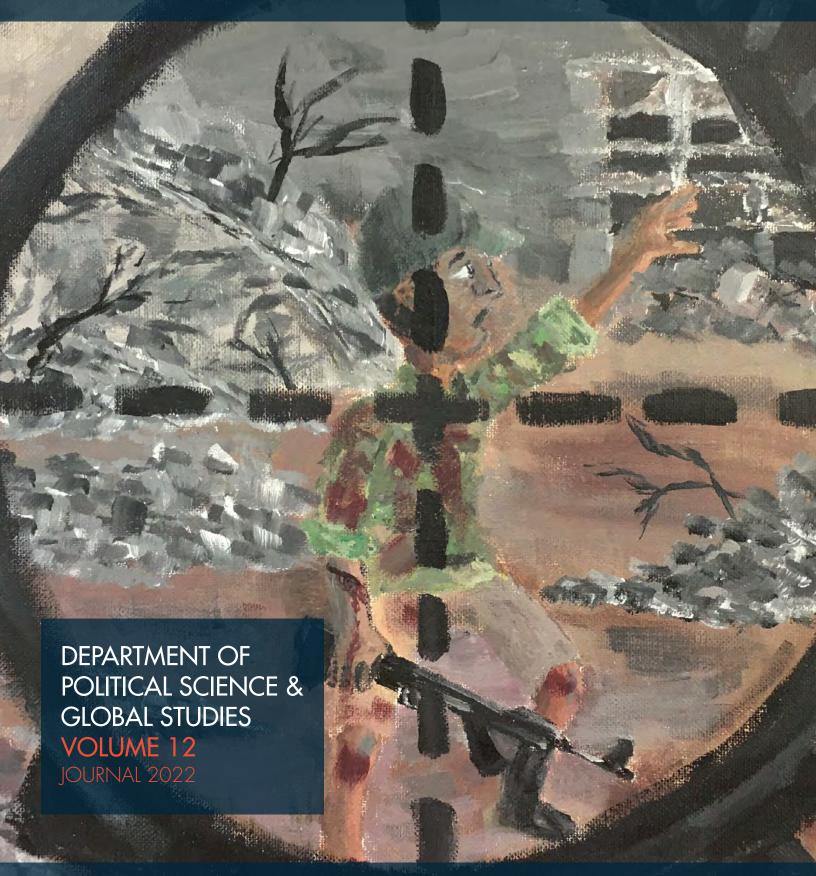
GLOBUS MUNDI



COSUMNES RIVER COLLEGE

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FACULTY PAGE



MARTIN MORALES

elcome to Volume XII of Globus Mundi, the official publication of the Department of Political Science & Global Studies at Cosumnes River College.

THIS ACADEMIC YEAR

This academic year began on ZOOM and transitioned to campus in February after a brief delay created by the Omicron surge. Talk about weird! It was almost unnatural to stand in front of a classroom and lecture. Fortunately, it was like riding a bicycle: it all came back to me quickly or so I'd like to think. Our first day together was consumed with learning to speak in a classroom from behind a mask, trying to get to know each other and concerning procedural matters. A campus tour to see what was where was also on the menu. I can't emphasize enough the gratitude I have for the grace, empathy and generosity students gave us. It made all the difference and truly set the stage for a successful reintegration onto campus. Thank you, guys!

My Revolutionary Ideology class was treated with guest speakers our first night back. My former TA, Olivia Askins, and her classmate Julian Ramos, came to class to discuss their academic journeys through the UC system (Olivia is a UC Davis graduate; Julian graduated from UC Berkeley) and careers. Our students were grateful for their insights and advice and I, of course, was grateful they continue to contribute to the program they started out in. My Comparative Politics class was also able to host a guest speaker. My friend and colleague, Dr. Rick Schubert, in his first post-Covid moments "in front of a live studio audience," discussed CRC's Honors Program, its courses and the merits of membership. It's always great when a colleague comes to your classroom: many thanks, Rick. Comparative Politics was also fortunate to host Ammar Ansari as a guest on their last day of classes. Ammar was on campus to take his last final examination for his coursework at the London School of

Economics and stopped by my class to talk about life at UC Berkeley, his work at the LSE through Cal and his future plans.

There were no field trips associated with any courses this year. That said, I'd like to commend those students in my Revolutionary Ideology course who, on their own, visited the Museum of Propaganda in San Rafael over Spring Break. Jesse White, Dylan Bednarz and Jimmy Guzman enjoyed their outing and reported back to the class on what they saw. Other students, thanks to Rick Schubert's Honors presentation, attended some of the Honors Programs events and reported back positively on their experiences.

COLLOQUIUM

Colloquium this year was held on May 4th in the Winn Center. Having missed the 2019 event, this was my first since 2018, indeed four years ago; for my wonderful colleague, Beth Huffman, its been three years. We were pleased to see our students, colleagues, friends of the department and families at what was a very well attended event. This year, we had two wonderful presentations from Hayat Botan and Gabriella Violett. Hayat presented her research on political psychology during the Vietnam and Yugoslav Wars; Gabriella presented her article on the repatriation of stolen artworks. Special thanks go to my friend and long-time collaborator, Jim Lovett, for recording the event and producing an interview on the merits of colloquium. Both items will be posted on our departmental website post-editing.

UKRAINE

The topic which consumes our discipline is, of course, Ukraine. This unnecessary war waged against a peaceful nation, characterized by Russian troops' brutality against unarmed civilians, is, quite simply, criminal. International Relations is characterized by such

events and as both student and faculty of the discipline, I can't remember feeling this outraged at anything that's taken place while I've been alive. When the conflict ends, it's my hope that all those responsible - from Vladimir Putin down to the lowest ranking soldier - be punished in accordance with international law. The loss of life, the rape and the torture inflicted in cities where the Russian Army conducted operations must be punished and the damage to property must be reconciled. Additionally, the consequences of halted Ukrainian agricultural exports has had tremendous consequences for the rest of the world. These topics, and many more that are related to international law, will be the focus of IR in the fall. Tragically, while we might have introduced curriculum to teach international law as a stand-alone course, our students fell victim to administrative incompetence. At least they can at least attend this course at American River.

NEXT YEAR & THE FOLLY OF ONLINE INSTRUCTION

Next year will see IR and Political Theory being offered in the Fall semester with African Politics as our Global Studies offering. Spring semester will provide an opportunity for The Politics of Central Asia to be taught again. This course was truncated as it was the Global Studies offering when CRC closed due to COVID; it deserves full consideration and the attention denied it in 2020. Spring will see Statistics for Social Science offered again. Our International Political Economy course has been designated an Honors Program offering and will be reintroduced Spring, 2024. An interesting mode of delivery will likely be employed this year: Hyflex. This allows students to be present in our courses both in person and via ZOOM for those students unable to attend an in-person class. As I describe it to my students, none of whom were here when CRC had televised courses, it's a lot like that.

Now that we're back, we're engaging with our transfer partners at UC Davis, UC Berkeley, San Francisco State University and University of the Pacific on renewing the ties we shared prior to COVID closures on programming, curriculum, transfer options and joint events. Given the success of our alumni and this program, our students are excited for expanded opportunities with these universities. Events identified in our last issue will, now that we're back on campus, become reality next year. A calendar of events is presently being created and will be posted to our departmental website ahead of fall. Having just experienced colloquium, I'm anxious for next year's as it'll be our tenth annual.

ALUMNI NEWS

Alumni contact this year was interesting in that it was so diverse in terms of things discussed. A lot of folks reached out over the course of 2021-2022 to discuss COVID burnout, anxiety and depression. Some alumni checked in on work or academic related matters; others, just to say "hello." The most commonly asked question of me - because you all know me so well - was "How are you managing teaching online?" The question is always followed with laughter. I smile as I write "Yes, you all know me so well."

It's always great to hear from people to see what they're up in their post CRC lives. Kaveh Toofan, UC Berkeley graduate and presently working as a Special Assistant on National Security and International Policy matters for the Center for American Progress will begin graduate studies at Georgetown University this fall (Georgetown School of Foreign Service).

Julian Ramos, also a UC Berkeley grad, presently working at a local political consultancy, applied to - and was accepted at - Duke, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) and UC Berkeley - for graduate studies in Public Policy; he received full funding at each school. Julian will return to his alma mater in order to leverage his extensive northern California political connections and associations as he pursues his MPP. Congratulations, Schmo: "Go Bears!"

Likewise, Paloma Ramos, a UC Davis graduate (this year), has applied and been accepted for graduate study in Public Policy at Northwestern, University of Virginia, UC Berkeley and University of Michigan (Ann Arbor). She's chosen UM for her MPP. She and her husband, Nick, will relocate after their wedding this June. Congratulations, Paloma!

This year, the University of California graduated eight of our former students (2020 cohort): Aymaan Sumandi, Mikaela Auma, Medina Fahim, Kenny Lam, Karanbir Singh, Summeye Tarhan, Hawa Amiri and Ammar Ansari. I was fortunate to see Aymaan, Medina, Mikaela and Ammar graduate from UC Berkeley in May; Medina graduated Pi Sigma Alpha, the Political Science Honor Society. Ammar, who graduated with degrees in International Relations and History, addressed the History Department graduation ceremony as PTK. Hawa, Summeye, Kenny and Karanbir all graduated from UC San Diego. Karanbir, currently working at the US Department of Homeland Security, will attend law school in the fall, at my alma mater, the Washington College of Law at the American University in Washington, DC.

My former TA, Taylor Martin (BA in IR with Honors from American University; MA in IR from USF), is presently working for the California Assembly.

TRANSFER STUDENTS

This year we say farewell to our transfers: Omer Ali, Miriam Arghandiwal, Michael Berhanu, Sophia Fields, Jimmy Guzman, Rosa Peshkoff, Nicole Saravia, Sukhsanjam Smagh and Jesse White. Omer Ali will attend UC Davis and continue his studies in IR; Miriam Arghandiwal will attend UC Berkeley to continue her studies in IR; Michael Berhanu also transfers to UC Davis to continue his studies in Political Science. Sophia Fields transfers to UCSB and continues her studies in Political Science; Sophia was an Honors Program student while in residence at CRC. Jimmy Guzman transfers to University of the Pacific and will continue his studies in IR; Rosa Peshkoff transfers to UCSB to continue her studies in Political Sociology. Nicole Saravia, a CRC athlete (women's softball), transfers to Fordham University on an athletic scholarship and will continue her studies in IR. Sukhsanjam Smagh transfers to UC Berkeley to study Political Science and Jesse White transfers to UC Davis to continue his studies in IR. Jesse was the last person I saw at CRC the day it closed in March, 2020 due to the pandemic. We wish them all success and hope to see them in the future.

VOLUME XII

This year's volume, our twelfth, stands as a testament to the enduring commitment our department has to students' academic success beyond the classroom. It remains the singular publication in the California Community College system for students in the fields of International Relations and Political Science to publish their research and, in some cases, provides the basis for colloquia – also a singular event, systemically. This year, our editors are Hayat Botan, Isabelle Zaragoza and Gabriella Violett. We thank them for their hard work and, because they'll be back next year, look forward to their on-going contributions to Globus Mundi.

Miles McAnulty provides "Space Is About to Get Noisy" as this volume's Alumni Article. I had the privilege of having Miles as a student last year before he transferred to Arizona State University where he attends Barrett, The Honors College at Arizona State University as a Political Science Major. He is both a Minerva and an Undergraduate Barrett Fellow whose interests lie in Political Communication, Political Psychology, Political Methodology and International Relations. At present, Miles is researching what a spacebased solar power energy regime will look like and the variables that will play into its inception.

Hayat Botan's article "Political Psychology: The Interweaving Processes of War and Peace," focuses on political psychology in decision making processes with case studies in the Vietnam and Yugoslav Wars. Hayat, Senior Editor for this volume, returns next year to continue her studies in IR.

Gabriella Violett calls attention to a major issue affecting many nations' stolen cultural heritage in her article "Repatriation: How Long Will Europe Hold Africa Hostage?" Gabriella, Associate Editor for this volume, returns next year to continue her studies in IR.

Jimmy Guzman's study of the UN led him to identify an oftentimes overlooked topic with grave consequences: the use of veto

power in the Security Council. He publishes "The UN Veto Paradox." Jimmy transfers to UoP to pursue his BA/MA in IR.

Michael Berhanu's "The New Empire: Examining French Foreign Policy Under Macron," discusses . Michael transfers to UC Davis this fall.

Isabella Zaragoza highlights a crisis overshadowed by the war in Ukraine, the war in Ethipoia, in "Ethiopia: At War with Itself." Isabella was an Editor for this volume and returns next year to continue her studies in IR.

Paula Ly writes about "Xinjiang: From Jihadism to Terrorism." Indeed, this volume's back cover is a direct extension of Paula's intellectual and personal interest on the subject. Paula continues at CRC next year to continue her studies in art and IR. We are grateful for her cover art contributions to this volume.

Sophia Fields discusses political rhetoric and propaganda in "Do You See What I See? Russian Propaganda on Ukraine from a US Perspective." Sophia transfers to UC Santa Barbara to complete her studies in Political Science.

Jesse White writes about the "Arsenal of Democracy" and the consequences of arms exports policy decisions. Jesse transfers to UC Davis.

Omer Ali, in his second contribution to Globus Mundi, gives us insight into crypto-currency and block chains. "Cash, Currency & Crypto." He and his love for discussing money, crypto-currency and motorcycles will be missed as he leaves us for UC Davis.

Madison Hinshaw and Alysha Robbins both submitted research paper abstracts this year in Revolutionary Ideology; both were on the French Revolution. I'm pleased that my invitation produced "An Historical Examination of the Third Estate and Their Grievances." Both return to CRC next year – Madison to continue her studies in IR and Alysha to complete her coursework for transfer.

We thank our writers and editors for their contributions and look forward to working on Volume XIII next year.

CONCLUSION

Future editions of Globus Mundi will follow yearly. Students, alumni and faculty will be asked to submit papers for consideration on topics from international relations, economics, history and theoretical issues as they pertain to global affairs.

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

We look forward to your continued readership.

ALUMNI CORNER

MILES MCANULTY

INTRODUCTION

pace, usually thought to be quiet with few actors, is about to get noisy. This noise will be brought upon by space 5.0. Already, Space is filled with actors who have placed satellites, weapons, and other objects out in its vast expanse. There are many plans to explore space and place habitats on various planetoids that happen to be near Earth. These plans involve state actors and nonstate actors alike. These actors have fleshed out different formal processes and agreements about space and how to govern future space-based entities as we enter the embryo of what will be Earth's Space Age. Some state actors have expressed interest in aiding private businesses with mining, while others have expressed the willingness to occupy land. This interest largely stems from how humans do politics on Earth and have done politics historically.

Many scholars together with the United Nations express that we can establish a de facto order prior to entering space so as to mitigate the harmful effects of human politics in space as we move out into the final frontier. However, these arguments while observing history, ignore fundamental aspects of human, and state, behavior. Humans have been shown to extract from new lands, each other, and go to war based on material and informational inequalities. As a species, we create mafia economies to circumvent authority and trade illicit products. Moreover, there is much disagreement about the underlying causal factors leading to the behaviors that lead to what we call human nature. Given these debates, it is highly likely that a dysfunctional form of power competition will occur in space if we do not come to a

consensus toward functional governance on our home planet and in consequence for space. The purpose of this paper is thus twofold: First, it is to show how current international realities might prevent a peaceful and much needed discussion around the space norms, and secondly to identify a few target areas for discussion around space habitation and norms based around some of the theories that define the mentioned international realities.

BACKGROUND

It is only in recent human history, during the Cold War (1950-1991), that state actors on Earth have achieved space power. Under Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, and Reagan, America vied with Soviet Union to gain aspects of space power. This led to the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, managing many successful space projects including Sputnik I. Though, while Russia publicly was in the lead, the United States held a reported technological superiority in terms of satellites that drove Soviet leaders to debate about sovereignty in airspace. After Khrushchev was removed and replaced with Brezhnev, the United States entered talks with Russia in the UN and signed onto the Outer Space Treaty (1967). While peace talks occurred, the Brezhnev regime sought to arm space through projects such as the fractional orbital bombardment system. Space systems made for war and intelligence was the focus of the Soviet Union at the time. The same held true for the United States.

As the cold war moved to a close, space only grew more crowded and more contentious. Space technology became easier to manufacture and the risks and economic costs associated with space launches declined. Now, space is no longer the domain of the military alone. A variety of non-state actors such as corporations, universities, and non-profits coordinate activities in space. These activities range from Global Positioning Satellites (GPS), battlefield monitoring through image intelligence, satellite monitoring of space junk and other satellite constellations, monitoring of the Earth's condition for a variety of activities, and space exploration. This list of activities is also not exhaustive. The structures placed in space continue to gain in complexity. New instruments to extract from space have been the focus of many organizations. NASA' tasked The In Situ Resource Utilization project (ISRU) with a set of goals aimed at extracting ore from asteroids and to redesign earth-based extractive technologies for novel terrestrial uses on other planetary objects. Entities in the European and African Countries, alongside, India, and China have expressed similar goals to the United States' private and public sectors. What is of note is that despite technological advancements and the cost of space activity declining, it is only now that a public discussion around space has increased in prevalence at the UN COPOUS and in academic circles such as the International Association for the Study of the Commons.

REALIST SPACE

Reportedly, state use of space has been for mostly peaceful purposes. Following this, the many states of the EU have expressed interest in space for exploration, mining, and intelligence, monitoring of civil society and to aid the private sector. The European Union Space Program has also recommended strong measures for the peaceful use of space congruent with UN treaties. Though, Europe has focused on constraining access to space through formal economic and political measures such as controlling exports on duel-use technologies that bad actors could translate into Anti-satellite technologies (ASAT). However, while the EU may espouse and take actions congruent with peaceful uses of space, some of its member states have sought to weaponize space. France, in particular, has placed around seven weaponized satellites in Earth Orbit and has publicly announced that it will weaponize space further. Other EU States with satellites and space capabilities seem to be following France through the NATO activities.

Similarly, the United States Space regime has many moving parts. Each part composes a program onto itself. Some aspects of the space regime are peaceful and are oriented toward the same goals as those of the EU. However, much like how France, Spain, and Italy have expressed the desire to weaponize space, the United States Security apparatus has expressed the same intent through the creation of the Space Force. The Space Force, in its current state, has expressed concern over how adversaries, such as China,

have been enhancing their space capabilities. This stance, alongside our security agreements with many EU member states, and NATO, likely indicate a future trend where the United States will weaponize space further. This does not mean that the US will focus on warfare in Space. Instead, the actions taken appear to be consistent with the realist stance that generally personifies US strategy. This, along with concerns over plausible future denial to area access issues on other terrestrial bodies, is another driving factor behind US space strategy. Across the ocean, the strategies of China, Russia, and the countries of the African Union appear to be no different.

This increased prevalence in the weaponization of space appears to be due to the security concerns by bad actors. This falls in line with current espoused views in literature on war and international security expressed by scholars like John Mearsheimer through his offensive realism. Indeed, it is possible to compare the weaponization of space to the spread of nuclear weapons to ensure the deterrence of nuclear warfare—a possibly soon to be weakened theory considering that some countries have now found ways to mitigate the negative effects of nuclear explosives on unintended populations. State actors, through this weaponization of space, appear to promote the idea that a physical Star War-beyond the current cyberwar—is possible and might occur if no balance of power is met. However, this argument ignores fundamental aspects of how non-state actors overtly participate in space as actors and how end-users of satellites—the average citizen—benefit from space technology.

HUMAN NATURE AND SPACE?

Humans, through the conduit of the State, act on perceived realities. Debate around what constitutes this or that reality vary from school of thought. This is harmful toward a healthy debate around space governance and politics—without isolating the factors that allow for functional governance on earth state and non-state actors will find it difficult to create functional space habitats, and to prevent conflict in space. Sub-Fields of knowledge such as Econometrics, Rational Choice Theory, Symbolic Politics, Cognitive Bias-based theories, and their parent fields of study have found many interesting causal connections toward conflict on Earth. Yet, despite warning signs, signals, and literature, we the actors that compose states, people have often shown to govern themselves sub-optimally on Earth. This has many reasons, some of which the mentioned theories express, and others in theories of social dominance, informational asymmetries (for markets, for international relations, and for public policy), human perceptions of their surrounding ecology impacting emotional regulation and eventually expressed behavior, etc. Moreover, these theories do not appear to be functionally utilized to prevent civil society

from experiencing decline nor conflict. As we plan to enter space through creating space colonies on megastructures or creating habitats on new host planets and/or other objects it would be pertinent to reexamine human nature in a practical sense and to see if these theories either truly describe and constrain us or to see if we are missing ways to circumvent the constraining power of some aspects that each theory describes.

According to theories of conflict grounded in econometrics, subtle shifts in environments and geography have a massive impact on human conflict. Rainfall, mountainous regions, non-arable land, physical distance, finance, and time are some variables that are utilized to predict or describe conflict on Earth. Econometric studies hold large descriptive and predictive power toward conflicts and to market events. This matters when thinking about how humans can consolidate Earth and aim for the space age. Three important predictions within econometrics literature reflect on the human nature of conflict. The first prediction is that new natural resources often leads to conflict. The second is diversity leads to conflict. The third prediction states that climate factors have an impact on the possibility of conflict. It is important to note that these results are descriptive at multiple levels of scale ranging from interpersonal conflict to state level conflict. Human conflict as described by these theories is also not necessarily preventable. Many conflicts described by econometric theories have actors that have specific kinds of information which each actor themselves holds which may influence how a conflict plays out; this is true for diversity-based conflict in particular. Climate factors take into account aspects of human physiology and have many issues with confounding variables, however, they do a good job at effectively predicting and describing the onset of conflict.

Aside from econometrics, psychology has outputted similar findings when examining conflict and its precipitating causal factors. Psychological theories like social dominance propose a semi-deterministic proposal toward conflict that states that social hierarchy is a byproduct of how individuals mentally construe positive and negative reference groups. The theory promotes how ideologies, institutions, and so on might act as hierarchy attenuators which would promote a more equal playing field. Social dominance theory proposes that when certain equilibriums are met or broken, conflict occurs. During novel experiences, such as moving into locations with strangers, entering a new work environment, or making any sort of transition to a new environment altogether humans have been shown to seek hierarchy and often create soft managerial structures around a perceived group leader. Knowing this, it is therefore important to have a strong grasp of how social hierarchy is formed around group interaction when sending persons to novel space habitats.

Precautionary measures around group formation based around information asymmetries and cognitive differences centered around role, or function, within the habitat would be prudent. This is not a novel view, corporations and government manage conflict due to issues that result from hierarchy issues, information problems, and reference group perception often.

On our home planet, corporations and governments use campaigns to persuade an "other" to their side. While these information campaigns shift reference groups in the minds of some individuals, they often times fall short of worldly realities or add to an individual's confusion about how to attribute positive and negative valences toward a topic or individual. This alongside massive dichotomies in rhetoric and governing action likely prevents individuals from forming trust. Questions around how this impacts bureaucracy function in governing agencies ought to be important to address for a functioning space policy as these questions are already asked for foreign and domestic policy. Already, there is voluminous literature on the psychology of foreign policy decision making and in legal decision making that can be utilized to predict and understand how a judicial branch of a governance system might function in space. It is important to note that right now our conception human nature is siloed through various disciplines. Each discipline has a slightly differing conception of that nature as seen through the assumptions each theory makes. This ought to be reexamined and a new collective consensus toward human nature and society should be thoroughly worked out before we move to space in moderate and large numbers.

A RETURN TO REAL SPACE

Currently, there appears to be a return of great power competition between former and new empires. The United States is in observable in conflict with China and Russia. This conflict spans a spectrum of realpolitik and noopolitik. Realpolitik between the US and Russia is currently playing at the Ukrainian border as Russian President Vladimir Putin seeks to claim the entirety of Ukraine. China and the U.S. have a similar conflict around Taiwan. This return of conflict to the international stage is happening alongside discourse about democratic backsliding, higher levels of autocracies, and the possibility of another physical global war. These issues are happening while noopolitik is being played out through information war. Through propaganda and cyber-attacks, countries have altered war but have not stopped it. It is the current information war that will likely have a large negative impact on space habitation in the future as we enter space more permanently.

Noopolitik, as opposed to realpolitik, is vital toward the generation of perceptions of reality. This places the practice of noopolitik in line with principles from psychology—such as social dominance, information-based conflict, and symbolic politics. According to Rand Corp, "noopolitik is an approach to diplomacy and strategy for the information age that emphasizes the shaping and sharing of ideas, values, norms, laws, and ethics through soft power. Noopolitik is guided more by a conviction that right makes for might, than the obverse." What this entails for war is a form of combat over social control. Through manipulating norms, ideas, and values states influence a person's cognitive schema and thus how an individual places a valence on any specific concept. This ought to include conceptions of citizenship, alliances/affiliations, policy, gender, ideas around conflict, and much more. A war played out using noopolitik, without the consolidation of one power, would likely result in a chaotic space age.

Currently, it appears that a war for the noosphere has started while we enter the space age. However, this war is occurring comorbid with realpolitik. What is more, the leading actor in this war appears to be Russia. Currently, Russia is using hard power to coerce Ukraine into Russian orbit. Through amassing over 130,000 troops at the Ukrainian-Russian border and tens of thousands of troops in Kaliningrad, Russia is showing its might. The country is equally showing that it is right through its narrative use of history to portray the Ukrainian people as Russian. Noopolitik use by Russia, however, is not new. The state has used noopolitik under the name "Active Measures" during the Cold War. Through spreading misinformation by manipulating the internal truths between facts Russia constructs realities for the those that find Russian narratives appealing.

Russia equally influences other countries aside from Ukraine through soft power. Through its Active Measures program, the country targeted the United States to demoralize its people, and it is believed that this sort of program has not ended. Through inciting conflict in the 2016 election, Russia influenced American perception of institutions, history, and race. Americans increasingly fragile faith in democracy appeared to increasingly break during the time. It is possible that narratives promoted by Russia focusing on race and white supremacy at the time likely influenced the build up to the Black Lives Matter riots and the storming of the Capitol in January, 2021. What is telling of Russia's success is that America is now at the point where we are having a public debate—which derives itself from an older academic debate—about whether or not autocracy is the more functional system of government.

Russian noopolitik targets conceptions of being in relation to the state and how the state functions. It promotes conflict among those who are influenced by it. Right now, Russia focuses on ethnicity, attacking democracy, and promoting Russian rule. Efforts by Russia to influence the United States have doubtlessly influenced American citizens perceptions of each other negatively. It is unknown how

these narratives might impact future group formation within persons who might travel to work in Megastructures or habitats in Space. Through sowing confusion now and in the near future within the noosphere, Russia has effectively managed to gain the upper hand in influencing the future of America and Ukraine. It is likely that Russia will have the ability to influence much more, however, if the country continues to promote ethnic-based conflict and/or other dividing ideas, then the idea of space as a global commons might fall short and transform into space as territory. If Space were to become territory, then we will see a repeat of our past of extraction, expansion, and dominion.

Already, a space war is playing out on Earth. Cyber War between state actors target satellites and cast a dark shadow over what it might be mean to have "dominion" over a satellite in Space. If state and non-state actors fought a full out war control over satellites and thus command of services on Earth—and the information within the satellite—would not be entirely unfeasible. However, the space war is not, and likely will not, only be confined to space. On Earth, it is likely that satellite stations will be targets for physical attacks. Already the Svalbard Undersea Cable system has been a target for numerous attempts at cutting off connection to SvalSat and other organizations in the region. This would entail that a war for space power would likely come part and parcel with a war for regional power on Earth.

CONCLUSION

Space is currently seen as a global commons. States and nonstate actors desire to enter space to utilize, find, and extract an abundance of resources not present on Earth, as well as to pursue business ventures. However, much debate takes place in siloed domains with some academics assuming aspects about human nature; state actors appear to focus more on space infrastructure and financing space programs. There is also dearth of literature that focuses on predicting how current conflicts and group memory might impact how individuals might organize in space. This goes hand in hand with analyzing current realities which appear tense, but not bleak. However, with social media acting as a funnel for state and corporate activity through noopolitik, a more accurate assessment needs to be made about how people perceive reality and thus who they may conflict with. Equally, understanding measures that prevent conflict will likely be vital toward governance in space. Current realities, if exacerbated, will prevent functional space norms from being promulgated—a diversity-based conflict—and will instead likely act as a large variable influencing the likelihood of conflicts for and in space.

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POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE INTERWEAVING PROCESSES OF WAR AND PEACE

HAYAT BOTAN

INTRODUCTION—POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

very political outcome begins with a psychological impulse. While it is obvious that the psychological field does Inot solely focus on political relations, especially on the international scale, politics is entirely psychological. However, it would be misleading to claim that every political move is driven by psychological motives, for then every genocidal wrongdoing would be attributed to a psychological shortcoming. Furthermore, psychology cannot solely change the political atmosphere of two historically challenged and passionate states. It is rather the international institutions, complex environments, and psychological influences that synchronously contribute to a state of historical peril and ceaseless attempts to establish conclusive peace. Nevertheless, from the broader perspective of politics and its implications, the human brain has been the sole dependable instrument to understanding the systematic processes of war and peace. When institutions fail and environments change to accommodate the international state of affairs, the evolution of a more comprehensive understanding of the human mind has strengthened the ability to analyze diplomatic relations that are contingent on pre-existing psychological configurations.

It can be said that the average and rationally thinking individual would prefer to manage disputes or misunderstandings without having to entertain the idea of all-out war, but historical volatility has suggested otherwise. Theorists, historians, and psychologists have grappled with the idea of war and whether

human nature has provided a predisposition for us to seek the satisfaction of biological needs (physical sustenance, belonging/ security, and self fulfillment) through violent means. For psychologist Kenneth Terhune, "the nation achieves relevance for the individual in terms of affective (sentimental attachment to the homeland), goal (motivation to help one's country), and ego involvement (sense of identity and self-esteem derived from national identification)" ultimately replacing a sense of worthlessness with purpose and emotional guidance through the state. This notion has brought wide ranging opinions and has ultimately found a way on the international scale through this very question: is war inevitable and what psychological forces are behind war, peace, and the diplomatic attempts to conduct war and peace? To some, "the history of mankind is a history of war" but to others, war is a breakdown of international institutions and political relations. Regardless of one's understanding of war, we can all admit that the history of nations and civilizations has been marked by endless wars and an absence of perpetual peace, or even a low propensity to fully trust cooperative efforts. For this reason, the processes of war and peace will be evaluated under the impression that the human psyche has remained the most dependable tool for exploring an ever-evolving and developing world of international relations.

Throughout this article, war will be seen as a learned event emerging from the biological mechanisms of aggression, allowing our focus to go beyond the systemic-level causes of war. It is,

rather, very clear that in the span of human civilization, we have leaned towards aggressive styles of negotiations and solutions that have often challenged the very essence of human dignity. The means of achieving these negotiations and their solutions has led to considerable complexities when approaching peaceful ends and reconciliation. The psychological approach to understanding the processes of war and man's arsenal of horrors will deem great importance and compel comparison to historical nuances. Under this understanding, the Yugoslav Wars (1989-2001) and the Vietnam War (1955-1975) will be examined through the lens of political psychology. The Yugoslav Wars embody the atrocious moral failings of leaders and the way personal ambitions swiftly transformed to nationalist self-glorification. Contrastingly, the Vietnam War demonstrated the dangers of optimism during an intensifying, protracted, and costly campaign to eradicate communism, along with the perception of mythical realities that present Thucydides's notion, "love of power." Physical and emotional recovery from war requires a sense of empathy and humanitarianism learned beyond the confines of academia. However, psychology has gained considerable ground in its efforts to influence better protocols and campaigns that champion the interplay of states' ability to provide recovery services and the international community's cause to provide safe havens. Through it all, from understanding the roots of war to peacekeeping, the psychological analysis on this basis provides a lens that is reflective of humanity's willingness to progress and unlearn belligerent behaviors, including war.

ROOTS OF WAR AND CONFLICT (AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REMEDIES)

War is a large-scale, manufactured undertaking whereby people are rewarded for their mental strength after countless blows to their psyche and for how much suffering they can inflict. This psychological perspective of war is one that has been unrecognized and underrated in the scope of international relations. Though the application of psychology to the political field has been on the rise, the concept of "identity" has remained a core continuity, often linking the concept to the outbreak of war. However, it would be unfair to argue or promptly diagnose identity as the underlying cause of war. Cultural identity leads to nationalist myths which are amplified by historical rivalries and grievances. Primal instincts have also contributed to the intensifying tensions between states that allow parties to fervently want to top the abilities of their counterparts through violent means and psychological tactics. In the most common sense, we often hear individuals blame nations for committing heinous acts, referring to the enterprise of the state as "a biological organism with a will of its own." This, however, is

semantic nonsense that diminishes the essence of group behavior and a state's institutions, as it is individuals (often in groups) who are driven by a variety of factors that inhibit their avoidance of war.

Identity, in the most natural sense, serves to be what differentiates those of a variety of backgrounds, cultures, and histories. Traditionally, religious intolerance, territorial disputes and the anarchic international system have been listed as the root causes of war and conflict. Kenneth Waltz labeled these classifications as "first-, second-, and third-image explanations, respectively" reinforcing these levels of analysis as a framework to assess war. But the reality is that war is legitimized by identity and the way international actors are able to exploit this concept through acts of revenge, fear, and victimization carries the potential of resulting in conflict. The most obvious and stark difference between identities is the American identity and Vietnamese identity. While the Vietnamese identity may be divided by geographical and religious differences in a study to analyze further divisions and ideologies, the Vietnam War illustrated the blatant and absolute split between Asians - and perhaps the East in general - and Americans. Furthermore, "this instantiation as both adversary and citizen led to an examination of the war from an Asian-American perspective which in turn strengthened the formation of a distinctly political identity as Asian Pacific Americans." As communism began to be associated with Eastern culture in response to events in Russia and China after WWII, the treatment of Vietnamese civilians shifted from considerate to one characterized by bigotry and intolerance. The American identity accompanied a racist approach to an already elongated and unwinnable war that intended to detach communist thought from the Asian mainland. The utter annihilation of America's promise to eradicate communism was overshadowed by its way of thinking which enabled its prejudiced agenda and, supposed, superior identity. This gave way to a war with a misguided purpose and a difficult road to reconciliation between these two stubbornly radicalized groups.

The Yugoslav Wars that involved large-scale disintegration were based on micro-level differences in identity between the Serbians, Bosnians, Croatians, etc. These microlevel differences between identities became apparent following the death of Josip Tito, the catalyst for and founding father of Yugoslavia. For as long as Tito was in a position to "conduct ethnic and religious cacophony with a blend of diplomatic skill and occasional brutality," his promise for a unified and loyal state was unquestioned. Along with the difference in language among groups in the region, "Yugoslavia consisted of three primary religions: Orthodox Christianity, Roman Catholicism, and Islam." While religion remained a factor in the beginning of tensions, political leaders exploited an

abundance of divisive nationalist rhetoric that ultimately fueled hatred and mistrust among ethnic and religious groups. As militaristic nationalism grew, the prospect of war became enticing. And, the unfortunate reality of war is that it takes very little to see ordinary men turn into killers who are praised for their nationalist performances. Most individuals "give themselves willingly to the seduction of unlimited power to destroy and all feel the heavy weight of peer pressure." When trying to understand the human ability and strength to resist group pressure, psychologists examine deindividuation and cognitive dissonance. The former of the two concepts is discussed prior to the end of this section, but cognitive dissonance creates a cushion that eases mental discomfort from carrying different morals, notions, and beliefs, as a result of situational tensions (from say, war). When faced with cognitive inconsistencies, "people may have to seek out new information or reinterpret old, realign or even abandon cherished beliefs, or change patterns of behavior," and it is this concept that explains how leadership and persuasibility thrive off of war's natural instability. As words begin to fuel a war that a collective entity the state - wholeheartedly supports, violence, displacement, and manipulation become more frenzied and familiar.

War is a force that gives life meaning. From a domestic perspective, the dull daily routines that are replaced with fighting for a larger cause (the state) restores the excitement and enthusiasm of one's purpose. It illustrates the deficiency that war provides. From the global perspective, it is psychologically appealing for individuals and groups to flaunt their gains and victories through conflicts that the world observes. When war becomes the only outlet for states to emotionally project their political desires and historical grievances, it is beyond the battlefield where leaders and citizens cement their international legacy. The first order of business for leaders that take advantage of nationalist myths and ethnically based agendas is to invade cultural spaces. These cultural spaces have served to represent the pride and histories of states, and the invasion of such points becomes the stimulus to resorting to war. When states send out a military order or declaration of war to target a cultural space, war is promptly approached by both parties. The destruction of cultural spaces is not limited to physical monuments or remembrances. Art, books, films, and a state's cause are ridiculed and transformed into racist entertainment that is championed during war, but is often regretted following an ambitious campaign. As both parties view themselves as victims of what seems like an attack on their individuality and integrity, the intensity with which war is approached is characterized by belligerence and a manipulation of reality. When a state targets another state's highly revered culture, it becomes a threat to conflict considering that it is one of the most

significant and sentimental dedications to a group - often being the most and incipiently targeted. And as the author of "The Moral Equivalent to War," William James, said: "War is the strong life; it is life in extremis; war taxes are the only ones men never hesitate to pay, as the budgets of all nations show us."

Victim mentality and entitlement is a focal point by which to analyze the psychological roots of war and conflict without directly taking into account states' interests and political motives at large. When two different groups place each other in positions that isolate them from the rest as a result of previous hostilities, it is relatively easy to ignore the other party and feed oneself with self fulfilling prophecies, justifying the level of violence employed to win a war - if war materializes. As communication between the two groups becomes extinct in the course of time, "the nation or the group falls into a collective 'autism,' to use a phrase coined by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, and does not listen to those outside the inner circle." It is in this stage where the populace seeks information that favors and "confirms already existing beliefs," a concept known as confirmation bias, strengthening a collective unit's cognitive biases and irrational availability heuristics. The repercussions of self victimization to avoid responsibility are seen on the international level and are dangerous to peacemaking and peacebuilding attempts. The distortion of history gives individuals the opportunity to rewrite history in a view they find beneficial to the future and survival of their state. The "victorious" are responsible for overlooking post-conflict agreements and engaging in activities that allow for its resurgence, while the vanquished undergo a humiliating journey that drains their political, economic, and social standing on the international scene. Functions of war have always included the rationalization of new political and social orders that are based on justice, but many have sought to find their justice through revenge and by galvanizing revenge-hungry populations. The given here is that so long as civil society - led by narcissistic and corrupt leaders - embarks on a mission to reestablish their legacies, war will be a likely manifestation of such objectives. This hostile cycle of collective victimhood employed by states is fueled by historical circumstances which will continue to be used as tactical advantages and justifications for a war's longevity and ruthless vengeance.

There are four instincts that psychology experts link to the causation of war: revenge, race-hatred, fear, and emulation. The ones mentioned above fall under the category of race hatred, as a large portion of identity is constituted by racial profile. The instinct of fear has been the focus of international political scientists not fully concerned with psychology. This instinct is naturally driven by psychological impulses to get ahead of everyone else for fear of subconsciously entering an impossible

and unwinnable competition. This introduces the concept of the "Security Dilemma," defined as states obtaining security by any means necessary in order to position themselves securely alongside its allies and adversaries in the event of war. As states become more insecure about others' growing acquisition of power, they also begin to seek methods of obtaining power, contributing to an endless cycle of insecurity, tension, and spiraling conflicts. States obsess over striking first, not when they are invaded, (because who wants to be humiliated on the international stage over fear?) "but when trade is interfered with, when any more citizens are killed on the high seas, and to liberate those whom [we] think outraged by other heartless people." This methodical approach fails to acknowledge the ruthless and misguided perceptions that accompany the decision to resort to war, as war is tempered by long-held grudges and resentment that engenders an environment conducive to unexplained and normalized cruelty. When the security dilemma is managed through conflict, it is relatively easier to measure the instinctual behaviors that lead to the competition of even greater power, with the main instinct being self-preservation.

Consider the root causes of the Vietnam War from the following perspective: according to the logic of the instinct of fear, states or leaders seek to strike first to avoid being overwhelmed with uncontrollable conditions. As WWII came to an end, the spread of communism became the greatest threat to the West. The United States' decision to initiate hostilities against Vietnam reflects the strong conviction that the spread of communism would coevolve with Asian culture throughout the continent resulting in a hemisphere dominated by the ideology. Eradicating communism would mitigate the security competition and concerns imposed by the collective enterprise of the state. While this was the perceived fear of the US, the reality was that "efforts like the Vietnam War were really aimed at maintaining America's general position in the world." A country's decision to engage in conflict requires a confidence that will shatter expectations, but the doubt of suffering great loss will always accompany their goals. Doubt, however, is overridden by fear. The gamble of striking first (triggering war) outweighs one's desire to be invaded or attacked before their own opportunity to act. Some would describe such emotional distress as terror; "terror is fear gone mad." And when terror becomes what armies and leaders act on, cruelty and heartlessness are what we see on the battelfield and through post-war resolutions. Furthermore, as the Vietnam War continued with no end in sight, "it became increasingly a policy based on appearances; Vietnamese realities did not matter, but the appearances of Vietnamese realities mattered because they could affect American realities." The moral disengagement, or "the suspension of moral principles that enables individuals to commit inhumane acts," that took place

during the Vietnam War served as a prelude to the vast amount of decisions that would be made by Western leaders in the name of moral justifications necessary to sustain existing conditions in the world. Thus, the usage and application of public relations and elite manipulation were required to have resounding influence to maintain support throughout a draining and protracted campaign.

Arguably, the most dangerous root of war is revenge. In the view of Barbara Ehrenreich, "original trauma that shaped the human response to violence" introduces the conflicting pulls between taking action when the occasion arises [revenge] and the discipline of mediation one experiences after a negatively lifechanging event [reconciliation]. This primal instinct pervades life outside of war and it is one that outlives all challenges and changes to our environment - political or not. While pure revenge may not be enough to start a war, it certainly potentiates the cause of an ongoing conflict. The most targeted and influenced by this universal phenomenon is the conscience of humanity, as "revenge [is] seen as an integral part of justice and retribution," resulting in actions that defy one's moral compass. The underlying premise here is that revenge (internationally) is very likely to be reinforced by more than one individual allowing for large scale destruction. This phenomenon, termed "deindividuation," explains an individual's loss of morals, social responsibility, and self awareness as they are immersed into a culture that can result in resentful and abnormal decisions. The larger the group, the greater effect deindividuation has on an individual, and considering that the declaration of war primarily involves a relatively large circle of leaders, seeking revenge may become a magnified objective. In truth, "Individuals can kill alone, but they cannot go to war alone. For this they need the large, complex social organization of government."

An integral component of the field of psychology is the study of the ego. The perfectly rational decision maker leads beyond his/her ego but in a tense situation like war, to separate ego from the state's culture and reality becomes an impossible task. When a leader has an overt personal vendetta against an individual or group, the idea of peace or bringing people back together is an endeavor a few fail to attempt. The behavior exhibited by Slobodan Milosevic, from promoting ethnic hate to creating nationalist mobs, was driven by his desire to create an independent Serbia and removing ethnic Serbians from Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, and surrounding regions. While it may not sound as far from how other leaders would rally support for their independence, Milosevic gave way to pathological patterns that stemmed from his yearning to be credited for the country's every success. These behaviors point to his strong need for power and self-serving bias as Milosevic was more willing to take responsibility for the successes that the world would see

compared to the failures his people were too afraid to mention. And once one's ego grows, "the more they are at risk of ending up in an insulated bubble, losing touch with their colleagues, the culture, and ultimately their clients [or citizens]." On the other side of the conflict - or, those who also took part in persecuting the war - included "Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić, who fancied himself a poet, and Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, who after a lifetime in the Yugoslav army began writing nationalist tracts about Croatia, looked at themselves as academics or intellectuals." The danger of having such leaders is that they view themselves as well-accomplished and deserving leaders and as invincible nationalist heroes all the while perpetrating crimes against humanity, thus distorting the international view of the state's culture. The effectiveness of this rhetoric along with egos that overshadow the majority and their wishes has resonated throughout the region, explaining how war has transformed from physical ability to complete hate that plagues one's mind. One's ego is often checked by a large circle of advisors, but even in these cases group behavior often involves conformity and irrational thought which can infiltrate society through nationalist fervor, turning one group against another. And, to a large extent, while some would assume that education would check one's ego and the horrific acts taken by leaders of this conflict, "education was no barrier to inhumanity."

The psychological roots of war and conflict are innumerable, with recent developments in psychology giving way to newfound roots. If psychology can be applied to understanding these roots, many question how it could be applied to finding remedies to the causes of war. The answer to this long-ended question is quite simple: psychology can be applied to the large or small, young or old, and different or alike, hence the field's wide ranging ability to equip challenges with a sense of understanding and peace. However, psychology is not meant to heal challenges or diseases (of say, the brain), rather it provides an outlet for practitioners of any field to use to employ resources in maintaining normalcy throughout destabilizing events. Though it sounds impossible, psychological remedies to the root causes of war and conflict exist to countervail the plagues of nationalism, instincts of fear and revenge, and victim complexes. Arguably, one of the tools society lacks is empathy, while it subconsciously carries innate dispositions of selfish intellect. Our ability to choose when to sympathize and what to hear at our own convenience has allowed us to neglect the suffering of mankind and normalize the impact the instincts of fear, revenge, and race hatred have on the battlefield and beyond. It is obvious that wiping out these instincts is impossible but establishing and emphasizing peace education and a global identity would direct the world away from militarism. It takes courage to

assert that psychological remedies will eliminate roots of war and conflict especially in a context in which the international sphere is driven by quick and productive results. Taken as a whole, the future of war revolves around these very remedies.

TACTICS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND CONSEQUENCES

War almost always involves the employment of physical resources to attain a desired outcome. Yet, often overlooked is the human capacity to maintain an emotional drive and competitive outlook when it feels as though one's work leads to unpromising and negative results after constant blows to the psyche. We may not recognize it, but mind games are one of the most politically and psychologically attractive resources used on the battlefield and beyond. There is no doubt that the human brain is the most complex organ the body retains, and once the psyche is emotionally and passionately swayed, scientific indicators suggest vulnerability and a drastic drop in endurance. International actors are in position to provoke emotionally distressing responses that trigger innate defenses exemplified by war's shift in momentum. We have been taught to be vigilant in recognizing the violent nature of war, but psychological tools that aim to injure a group's morale and enthusiasm have been used in full strength since the beginning of time, although much less brutal in nature than violent, human means.

Psychological warfare is defined as "the systematic process of influencing the will, and so directing the actions of peoples in enemy and enemy-occupied territories according to the needs of higher strategy." Often referred to as the "fourth arm" of warfare, the idea of destabilizing the enemy and one's own supporters introduces a vulnerable addition to human affairs on the battlefront. The dynamics of psychological warfare involve the perfectly timed usage of tactics that align with a state's sense of despair or if fortunate, a sense of victory. While emotional vulnerability can build resilience and innovation, when used effectively on the battlefield, individuals experience the exact opposite. Historically, WWII and the Cold War exemplified the zenith of psychological warfare. Hitler and Mussolini led armed propaganda teams that laid out great appeals to emotion and anxiety during WWII, fostering myths that allowed large groups to identify with symbolic historical grievances. The art of propaganda, often linked to the atrocities of WWII, centers on a conviction that propaganda provides groups the opportunity to use their words and beliefs to discredit their opponents and win the support of the masses. As this manipulation of reality intensifies and moral depravities contribute to a collective state of insecurity, the profound ground on which war entertains becomes difficult to resist.

The pan-Slavic vision that demonstrated the hope of

creating a powerful and united national identity was met with ethnonationalist policies amplified by propaganda tactics. Following the death of Josip Tito, the hope of a greater identification in the diverse Yugoslavia was substantially diminished. The heroic nature and emotional appeal felt from Milosevic's arguments vowing against Serbian aggression and hate welcomed rationales for war. To him, it did not matter what his words produced - whether it was violent unrest or even war. The considerable travesty seen in journalist's deliveries during Milosevic's rise in power was a grim reality that began with the seizing of communications assets. Overt use of propaganda (also known as "white propaganda") carried legitimate influence as people were likely to listen to authoritative figures with charismatic leadership (also known as "vertical propaganda"). Succeeding propaganda, mass mobilization and political oratory were psychological tactics Milosevic employed that catered to his focus of establishing enthusiasm for his cause. During a speech in Belgrade in which he vowed to acquire Kosovo, he said, "Every nation has a love that eternally warms its heart. For Serbia, it is Kosovo. That is why Kosovo will remain in Serbia." Although Milosevic constantly promoted the great symbolic value of Kosovo, his real objective was to be sensitive to sentiments expressed by those in the region he desired to get on his side. He successfully replaced his hate-mongering and incendiary opinions on Tito's divisive policies in Yugoslavia with positive interactions that were heavily construed as a success for paving the way for further psychological operations. The driving power of hatred stemming from blatant propaganda embraced what the war intended to accomplish: a divided and lost population.

Political oratory and Milosevic's media were key to deprogramming already reluctant and righteous attitudes. When war materialized, it was crucial to have domestic support that would prevent questioning morality about the (human) cost of the conflict. In this case, the mystical manipulation required in leadership that mustered support as a result of a leader's "higher purpose" would prevent a cause from being questioned. When political elites exploit their positions, they are ensured to manipulate the social realities upon which war is conducted. Then, such indifference to human life manifested through a leader's rhetoric is upheld by entertainment, education, and persuasion. From the perspective of an artist who aimed to perfect his tactics (Milosevic), the power of television was unmatched. As one of the most destructive weapons during the dissolution, it was frequently said that in the former Yugoslavia, "all victims died twice: first on television and then in reality." From misinformation to brazen lies, assailing enemies was not done for the mere satisfaction of inflicting pain - while this was certainly important - but rather

the satisfaction of attaining a superior image for Serbia's future statehood that impacted the consciousness of people in the region. The fact that Milosevic was able to spread an initial sense of triumph through emotional reactions following a campaign centered on revenge and ruthless disregard for humanity demonstrated the "product of coordinated activities between Franjo Tudman and Slobodan Milosevic," as both viciously exchanged egocentric attacks. As both exchanged attacks that challenged to match the intensity of their launches, the psychological threshold required to institute thin veneers of elitist attitudes spanning the region's every corner attested to the true moral inferiority of these leaders. The brainwashed state resulting from the continuous mental scarring of Milosevic's acts radically transformed individuals into puppets who failed to see past operations that dehumanized and ridiculed the emotional texture of war. The pursuit of power that occupied Milosevic's mind is arguably one of the worst abuses of psychology, considering the unchecked power he had accumulated.

Understanding a war like the Vietnam War requires high-level "intelligence and analysis of the so-called human terrain," or the cultural factors that are necessary to determine the most effective operations. If this step fails to be executed properly, the whole psychological operation often fails to provide a successful end. As previously discussed, the cultural confrontation between the Vietnamese and the West maintains a wide ground of differences and discrepancies that was only exacerbated through war. And, contrary to common belief, psychological warfare in Vietnam could not work with only winning over "hearts and minds". To conduct successful operations, it is necessary to question how a particular tactic would result in the change desired. Change had to be a measurable parameter that resulted in either growing support for the South Vietnamese government and/or dwindling influence of the Viet Cong. While the Viet Cong took advantage of face-to-face persuasion through rallies and platforms to appeal to all, the US utilized leaflets "to gain the allegiance of the South Vietnamese population, not to convert enemy troops or destroy their morale." As the Viet Cong worked from the ground up (within local neighborhoods), foreign forces struggled to communicate with the Vietnamese populations, often designing wordless leaflets. One of the largest shortcomings of this strategy was that the leaflets were not pre-tested for their efficacy. The fundamental question should have been: how might the intended message be interpreted and how might it result in a shifting of allegiances away from the South Vietnamese government? Given that intercultural communication fosters communities of learning and growth, the general focus of the West should have demonstrated a willingness to connect and ensure a sense of solidarity and devotion to the South's future. The dearth of knowledge surrounding Vietnamese history and political

culture contributed to a series of drawbacks for the US and its allies while the Viet Cong enjoyed propaganda development acquired from foreign presence.

Terror was another heavily employed psychological tactic that aimed to target "enemies of the people." These supposed enemies were Western civilians, those of foreign backgrounds and against the Viet Cong. From a broader perspective, the "enemies of the people" were symbolic targets that would inoculate Vietnamese society against the West, as Vietnam experienced historic growing "resentment against privileged, high-status foreigners and domestic elites" as a result of its long and brutal past of colonialism. The use of violence to instill fear in groups or individuals is another staple of psywar, but the psychological objectives ahead of this tactic lie in cultivating an environment that makes an individual feel on constant alert in hopes of proclaiming superiority over that group. While destructive in nature, terrorism generates enthusiasm for members who enjoy the support of ideological associates. The destabilizing events seen in the Chinese Civil War that involved the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang stoked the fervor of war through terror campaigns, introducing the world to impulsive and anxiety-ridden tactics. By means of terror, the ideational support of the CCP came in the same form that led to its victory over the Koumintang during the Chinese Civil War. Peaceful celebrations and holidays became the perfect arrangements for ordinary-looking and undisturbed bicyclists to harass villagers with grenades, verbal threats, and armed propaganda teams. It is quite difficult to measure the statistical effectiveness of this strategy from the international perspective of two states in conflict, but the dysfunctionality of this tactic on the societal level has certainly not gone unnoticed. Displacement is one of the fundamental tools used to prosecute a conflict, but generally is an effect of terrorist activities as seen in the Vietnam War. Terror deliberately isolates uninvolved civilians and inflicts wounds on the biological needs of belonging and safety. And, when the state fails to relieve such anxieties, its objectives of creating a disoriented society during war succeeds and only further distresses its enemy into involving itself to aid the marginalized, thus prolonging the war.

The efficacy of psychological warfare is met with wideranging opinions and studies. The tools employed have certainly added strategic influence to the battlefield but often require supplementary support in the form of military brutality, coercion, and aggression. When taken as a whole, psychological warfare does not win or lose wars alone. It is a "support weapon" that assists military operations and takes a state's policy objectives to another dimension during tense psychological standoffs between two (or more) armies. The operational environment in which propaganda, mass rallying, and terror are employed influence and dictate

the very nature of political relations that states seek to engage in following war. For the Yugoslav Wars, the use of nationalist rhetoric and the portrayal of deceiving behavior through media outlets amplified the level of persuasion necessary to "change attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours, with mutual needs being met." The "anchors" of these techniques provide the performances to target public sentiments on the grounds that war has become the last resort to once again settle conflict. This understanding is commonly found during wars along overarching ethnic, religious, and historical lines. To the contrary, the Vietnam War demonstrated the importance of geography and how cultural relativism ultimately affects a group's material capacity to win a war. Common psychological tactics such as leaflets and the meticulous use of terror are instrumental for wars that exploit the enemy's morale and cultural nuances, if used effectively. In the course of war, there is only so much psychological warfare can accomplish. Leaders ought to remain strong, "because in the world only force is respected" and one cannot declare himself victorious in a series of psychological operations as mind games never officially end. Nevertheless, this heavily emphasized style of war that challenges a group's acumen and mental capacity draws greater focus to resistance and the insecurities brought forth by systematic exploitation of the mind.

CREATING AND SUPPORTING PEACE: CAN PSYCHOLOGY BE USED TO **ENCOURAGE PEACE?**

There is no single great obstacle to world peace. The ambiguity of world peace details the concept of peace as the "absence of a state of war." While this understanding is prevalent during our daily lives, it is the international community that often determines peace when one surrenders to another during war, leading to a war-less but ravaged environment. In other words, victory after war very rarely turns two enemies into close companions because of "peace," nor does destruction transform itself through the attainment of peace. For the purpose of this section, "peace" will be defined as "the suspension of violent modes of rivalry between political units" after war. This way, our interpretation of peace welcomes all definitions and allows for divergent thinking. To conceptualize the wide ranging situations in which peace is attained, the Yugoslav Wars and the Vietnam War provide us with two distinct stories and perspectives. While the Yugoslav Wars involve a multitude of identity-driven conflicts, the Vietnam War presents the symbiotic relationship between ideological divisions and the perpetuity of conflict. In both situations, peace requires "an ambitious agenda that attends not only to traditional concerns about the nonviolent resolution of conflict but also to growing concerns about the pursuit of socially just ends." As peacemaking caters to reducing

the frequency of violence, peacebuilding uncovers the structural inequalities that lead to violence. The application of psychology to both can lead to constructive development but elusive consequences.

The two most common classifications of peace are positive and negative peace. Positive peace "refers to the promotion of social arrangements that reduce social, racial, gender, economic, and ecological injustices as barriers to peace," while negative peace include "efforts to reduce violent episodes." The multilevel and comprehensive analysis of peace leads us to explore the ever changing logic of how episodes of violence can be handled. Achieving either classification remains quite difficult, with positive peace being the more ambitious and crucial assignment, which by itself can lead to diverse and accommodating social groups. Positive peace and its current paradigm involve a congruence between human emotion and a state's eagerness to engage in systems of justice. The complexities of human rationalities preface the consideration of emotion and most importantly, motivation in the course of achieving peace. Psychologically speaking, peacemaking initiatives are self-regulating and cycles that are not arranged in any specific order.

United Nations peacekeeping generally involves "tools of persuasion and trust to limit fighting between armies engaged in conflict." While these methods lead to successful ends, complex emergencies as with the bloody conflicts in Yugoslavia require more complicated mixtures of psychological interventions. During the time of the country's dissolution, it was known that the roles played by the UN were limited to begin with. The temporary answer to all politically driven violence came in the form of urging cease-fires while diplomats engaged in on-the-ground mediation efforts. To the war-torn civilians who were apathetic and immune to rhetoric brought on by their leaders, ethnic identity surpassed territorial boundaries as the determinant of peace each individual enjoyed. Furthermore, organizations like the UN whose internationally recognized purpose is to aid in peace and security efforts, often inflicted further psychological damage on suffering individuals. What seemed like the naked possession of power to perform such that manifested itself in prerogative treatment of those they vowed to serve. The war created "a new elite, foreign class." Foreign individuals who enjoyed the war's lawlessness were caught eradicating every ounce of morality left and pouring inhumanity and impropriety, fanning the flames of war. Safe havens that intended to reinstate some sort of protection generally and unintentionally welcomed threats, considering that people of all different backgrounds concentrated in one region perpetuated risks of violent disagreements. In theory, safe havens sound like a logical and necessary feature to war, however, they have acquired

a tarnished reputation for the violence they have unleashed. The complicity of violence within safe havens has indirectly welcomed humiliating and anti-humanitarian efforts to dislodge individuals from resources. When the Bosnian situation hit a low point in 1995, Dutch troops failed to stop the deadliest atrocities of the war while being complicit in the assault of women and children. However, this also attested to by the very few resources and people the UN had on the ground, considering that international organizations only rely upon external contributions dictating their levels of engagement and mandates. Nevertheless, the power dynamics of foreign and international forces seen during war often reemerge during peace efforts in subliminal ways.

Cultivating peace in the heart of the Balkans is a complex endeavor. It involves reconciliation and providing the appropriate resources necessary to instill peaceful normalcy back into the lives of uninvolved civilians. The normalcy that international peacekeepers often envisioned was different from what the people needed and the wishful thinking that occupied the international community blinded them and kept them from understanding the perspectives and needs of those suffering from leader-inflicted pain. In simple terms, Western style therapeutics were not effective for the people of the Balkans, whether they were combatants or not. The idea of "buying peace" was thereby a stubborn and elitist goal. For the innumerable ethnicities residing in former Yugoslavia, uniform and unspecialized post-war healing is expected to yield poor results. The lofty goals of rebuilding, reconciliation, and recovery all within a short time frame should have begun with relearning in-group and out-group differences, with the hopes of catering to peaceful interstate and intrastate living conditions as the war had established newly drawn and recognized borders. In the view of these two concepts, their general focus forge communities that are aware of their past antagonistic interactions and that are capable of maneuvering through these very divisions. As intrastate communities formed social bonds against their adversaries after war, the first point of understanding is that peace is a self-regulating process. By wholeheartedly understanding these cautions, the timing of acknowledgement, apology and forgiveness, and justice fundamentally require the expectation and acceptance of vulnerability for the realities we manufacture during war. The most important of these three healing tasks are acknowledgement and apology. Acknowledgement recognizes and takes responsibility for the suffering caused; apologies "admit falling below certain standards of human behaviour, standards they now agree should apply to them." Peace as a means of living alongside enemies without hostilities erupting thrives off of the integrity of these two functions, but a culture of peace warrants self-driven behaviors and psychological responsibility for one's actions, without the

direct involvement of external international forces (while they do provide exceptional resources).

The broad contours of the Yugoslav Wars inordinately created blocks of nationalist insurgencies resulting in independent states. While nationalism is not inherently violent, it engenders an environment conducive to interstate and international conflict bounding intergenerational civilizations. In this respect, nationalism can drive individuals towards conflict and violent means. However, many wonder whether "nationalism-which advocates territoriality, hardened borders, military might and political independence—[can] produce world peace?" Since the formation of nation-states in 1648, systems of governance have relied on nationalist fervor to measure legitimacy during war. The foundation for this influence seldom succeeds without war's ability to bring individuals together. Peaceful resolution to war is driven by the very content of this nationalist drive. It was ironic to discern the considerable importance of war and peace to nationalist fervor, as one thrived off its values (war) while the other struggled to get on the same wavelength (peace). When militarism accompanies nationalism, it is quite difficult to anticipate peace between parties rendering nationalism an outlet that threatens even the lesser desirable classification of peace, negative peace. It is abundantly clear that Serbian-led aggression contributed to greater loss throughout former Yugoslavia, but one's nationalism and the pride they have for themselves rarely makes them apologize. This, however, tends to apply to rewarded war criminals who have yet to experience social repercussions for their actions, as they are provided international havens that only seem to prioritize moral infernos found in war's lawlessness. On the contrary, "Embedding reconciliation processes in community structures is crucial for building peace; groups in conflict must be brought together not only to articulate their past pain but also to envision an interdependent future." And, as Von Clausewitz reminds us, "action can never be based on anything firmer than instinct"; if one chooses to embark on instinctive nationalist strategies as a means to exemplify its superiority over another group following war, it is fitting then to assert that nationalism very rarely results in peaceful societies and, rather, results in diplomatic relations lacking the understanding and mutual respect for cultures.

Crafting peace following the Vietnam War required cautious international involvement on a level never seen before. As the war ended with military disaster for the US and despite the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, the North Vietnamese government possessed greater authority in establishing favorable institutions and enforcing "rules of the game." This conclusive end to the war reinforced the importance of state power shared and divided through institutions within the country. To resettle two groups

separated along ideological lines - although of the same ethnicity - introduced fears of polarizing politics and leader-led oppression. While proponents of third party mediation deem concrete and on-the-ground involvement necessary, their role is often limited to observing a state's compliance with post-conflict settlements, hoping to evaluate the state's ability to tame violence in highstress environments. On a micro level, ensuring non-threatening power systems generates a decrease in the apprehension of former combatants (especially ones fighting on behalf of Western forces). The additional benefit of power sharing and power dividing polities is the cultivation of an atmosphere that encourages descriptive and substantive representation in government. The psychological underpinnings of power sharing and power dividing can be traced to an individual's willingness to compromise and ability to trust. Without these anxiety-ridden political and apolitical sacrifices, it takes great courage to imagine what one's future holds.

The active terms used when understanding peace often overlaps with cooperation and subsequent efforts to establish diplomatic relations. Taken as a whole, the idea of cooperation requires the open dynamics of two willing individuals who intend to offer one-another the reassurance of their bargain. Often, when war ends, it is common to observe small skirmishes and residual infighting, and while this post-war stage is often overcome, parallels of history have exemplified the importance of cooperation and communication throughout this process to prevent another provocation of war. Complementary policies of "reassurance" and "commitment" enjoy the support of all parties and establish a dependable framework of references that endures all defeats and misunderstandings. In the case of the Vietnam War, open hostilities between the governments of the North and South, ideally, would have to result in a reconciliation that emphasizes universal desires such as nonviolent methods of negotiation and restoring the country's cultural glory. The greatest shortcomings of this strategic way of achieving mutual respect and peace are when one party is unfaithful to their end of the bargain or when one party benefits more than the other without dedicating the same amount of effort (also known as social loafing). Psychology calculates the efficacy of cooperative efforts in relation to an individual's emotional experience and ability to identify their position within a group (better known as group identification). Taken together, the conscious process of disintegrating rivalries through cooperation overcomes the psychological hurdles of postwar vulnerabilities.

Though a diverse field in itself, the concept of Orientalism and the psychological logic it accompanies opens the door to combatting our condescending understanding of different communities and cultures. Orientalism is defined as the subtle and patronizing perspective of Eastern cultures, often rooted in the vestiges of colonialism. Orientalist mentality has infiltrated the political realm reinforcing Western constructs that obstruct peace efforts appropriate for each culture and environment. From the standpoint of Western understandings, we view those of the East through aspects of power and structuralism - the very way that creates endless cycles of mutual mistrust and hostility. The type of peace achieved from diverting away from this mindset is unconventional to the study of war and peace, but therapeutic to those who feel that their identity is overshadowed by Western savior complexes and "constructed through ideological interpellation." By virtue of Western generalizations, post-conflict Vietnam suffered through the "radical and discriminatory" rhetoric leading to sentimental loss in social fabrics. Orientalist discourse has survived and upheld centuries of hostile engagement with Eastern cultures, but most consequential of all was how this mentality legitimized violence in the eyes of politicians. If there ever was a war in the postmodern era that inflicted the greatest psychological damage on both the combatants and noncombatants, while enjoying the relative proximity to manage communist "spillovers," it was the Vietnam War. To the many involved with the political aspect of conducting the war at first and later the humanitarian aspect of rebuilding societies after war, the responsibility of establishing peace instilled a sense of relevance for politicians and a dependence mentality for war-torn civilians (the very essence of Orientalist thought). While this has sowed deep seeds of enmity between the East and West, the "casual forgetting" of the war and subsequent policies that manifest such mindsets ultimately underpin the casual rationales to remain in a state of war. Despite efforts, Western endeavors have aided rebuilding strategies after war but this approach rather explores how Orientalist ways of thinking and neocolonial complexes withhold innocent civilians and combatants the psychological stability and inalienable right to peace.

The presentation of peace following war is not applied in a linear progression. One of the greatest implications presented to us through the West's involvement with Vietnam and Yugoslavia post-dissolution is the domineering approach of codifying peace through agreements and providing therapeutics without dedicating research to already existing cultural sensitivities. While codified peace and psychological healing are necessary to post-war relations and rebuilding efforts, it is often that we view peace linearly because of how these gradational affairs are conducted. As discussed, the dynamics of peace suggest the exploration of the types of peace, Western roles, peace through nationalist sentiments, the psychological influences of cooperation and Orientalism. Peace lacks the expressed acquiescence of delivery. Within the realm of

reason, when carried out appropriately and *in respect to already existing cultural norms*, it is expected that peacemaking can drastically improve a state's ability to carry out duties revolving around human welfare. As Kenneth Waltz contends, "peace is fragile" and it is imperative that we champion institutions and cultures of peace to ameliorate the roots of conflict in hopes of building a world that manifests peace.

CONCLUSION

War is a drug and when legitimized and regarded as the first step towards attaining security, "it creates an addiction that slowly lowers us to the moral depravity of all addicts." We begin to act under the same moral code that abhors mass killing of innocent civilians by hijacking language. Enemies become identified by vicious and beastly rhetoric that becomes the fundamental basis for war. Nationalist urges and themes that were racist at its core become the strongest addition to the battlefield and are used to bring out immoral heroic ideals. The psychological disillusionment and social incoherence "that accompanies the failures of the post-war dream" is encouraged to be forgotten while the evil that war promised to eradicate continues to be carried out through a diplomatic crusade that determines future relations. And as years pass, we regret lives lost but nonetheless new generations carry the same bitterness and deeply ingrained resentment to the international political climate. For as long as humanity moves through life with the same grievances, it can be confidently said that war will continue to mark the nature of the international system. And, from this perspective, it can be said that war promises something. The tensions that drive a universal struggle present among all intellectual stratas, socio-economic classes, and political spectrums towards war explains a phenomenon supported by countless psychologists, anthropologists, and political scientists.

Similar to the forces driving war, there is no single or correct way of achieving peace. International organizations and states have undergone a fair share of challenges that involve debates surrounding the ever-so crucial topic of sovereignty and when external support is necessary. By virtue of psychological understanding, the differences that lie between individuals and cultures call for unique and personalized treatments to deal with the emotional textures of war. The greatest deficiency in modern strategies of attaining peace are demonstrated by the way of thinking that encourages war because of ethnic differences, instincts of fear and revenge, and egotistical behavior. Lack of communication, transparency, and acknowledgement cultivate cultures that view war as the strong life, yet often overlook the innocent civilians who consistently demand tranquil political transactions and improved domestic conditions. Identity can be a

beautiful thing. Sub-identities and multiculturalism build on our cognitive schemas that define who we are and the groups we feel most comfortable in. While this innocent concept remains as a key psychological premise, inner justifications that glorify war have taken these concepts to an international stage that often struggles to approach misunderstandings through diplomatic certainties. In the words of Martin Luther King, Jr., "Those who love peace must learn to organize as effectively as those who love war," and it is imperative that we reject all selfish intellects that fail to condition peace and its indicators.

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REPATRIATION: HOW LONG WILL EUROPE HOLD AFRICA HOSTAGE?

GABRIELLA VIOLETT

epatriation is not a novel or particularly revolutionary concept. As long as nations have been invaded and plundered, the injured parties have wanted those plundered items returned. But as the old truism says, possession is nine tenths of the law and Europe has been clinging onto that concept as desperately as the artifacts they refuse to return. While the era of colonialism has supposedly come to an end, it seems that complete decolonization still has a long way to come. After all, can a nation truly be free of their colonizers if their cultural objects are being held hostage with little hope for return in sight? A 2018 report commissioned by French President Emmanuel Macron entitled "The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics" makes clear just how great the problem is. It explains that as of its writing in 2018, between 80-90% of sub-Saharan African artifacts reside in museums outside the continent, and the number of artifacts which have since been repatriated to Africa has not changed those figures in any statistically significant way. The Sarr-Savoy report, named for its authors, points out that throughout history it has been the norm for conquerors to take whatever they see fit and then to return home with those spoils of war. This plundering has several natural consequences. The colonized are deprived of their prized cultural artifacts which is painful enough on its own, but those artifacts are then put on display in the halls of their subjugators; it takes from the conquered - or in this case the colonized - their art, their religious artifacts, and in some cases the remains of their fallen dead and bastardizes them. Symbols of

national pride are made into symbols of their own subjugation; their treasures now decorate the halls of those who ravage their lands and people and they are made to feel all the more powerless for it.

Artifacts exist as tangible pieces of history. They are physical connections between the past and the present. They do not -and can not- exist outside of history or outside of context; the religious and royal artifacts plundered during the violent colonial occupation of Africa and displayed in European and American museums serve to glorify the methods by which they were acquired. The exhibition of African artifacts in European museums and, to an equal if not greater extent, the possession of them by private collectors without greater acknowledgement of and reflection on the bloody history of their acquisition is irresponsible and remains a cruel display of the continued disparity in power and influence between the global north and south. The artifacts stolen from Africa by Europe as trophies of conquest are forever tainted by the nature of their acquisition and the first step Europe must take is to acknowledge the pain caused to people, past and present, by colonialism and its lingering effects. To group all of the distinct and greatly varied ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities of the many people in Africa together and treating them as a monolith is reductive and does all of them a disservice. Even so, in the course of this piece it is necessary. While each people have had unique colonial experiences and relationships with their colonizers, broader themes are found throughout. Most relevantly, that of a great cultural loss at the hands of Europe.

Art and artifacts serve as a cultural touchstone, they have the

ability to bridge generational gaps; to connect people with their forebears in ways nothing else can. The many different people of sub-Saharan Africa, disparate as they are, share one commonality- one shared cultural experience. That universal experience is that of loss: the loss of language, of culture, and of history. There are few other touchstones they might use with so much of their history having been taken from them by force. In the op-ed piece "Give Us Back What Our Ancestors Made" by Nigerian artist Victor Ehikhamenor, he describes the pain and disillusionment felt by seeing bronze plaques from Benin being hung like laundry on a clothesline. Removed from their home in the Oba's palace, far from the shrines and altars they once rested upon, their meaning and their power is diminished. In the British Museum they are relics of England's colonial past, pieces within the temple devoted to the brutal destruction of Benin City. Should they be returned, the descendants of their makers would be able to look upon these icons, crafted with such love and reverence, without having to trek across continents and pay their historic oppressors for the right to do so.

There is a verb sankofa derived from the semantic ideology of the Akan ethnolinguistic group in Ghana, which is further broken down to include the Asante, Fante, and Bono ethnic groups among others. Sankofa means "to return for it" and a proverb derived from this is Se wo were fi na wosankofa a yenkyi which may be translated as "it is not wrong to return for the forgotten". To return to one's past and bring back knowledge and wisdom to the present in the hope of building a better future with that knowledge is a beautiful thing, but to do that one needs access to their past. If there is nothing to return to, no past to look back upon, people become disconnected from their own culture and the wisdom their forefathers left for them is lost. There is a great deal of discussion and debate which must follow in Europe and it must follow swiftly. There is a distinct lack of urgency in European responses and a great deal of foot dragging. Europe seems to be willing on some level to have a conversation on repatriation and the lingering effects of colonialism, at least superficially, but they are in no hurry to do so. The discussion however, seems mostly centered in Europe with the opinions of African anthropologists, historians, and other authorities on the subject receiving less acknowledgement. Africa is once again made to take a back seat in discussions concerning their own future.

The history of looting is long and storied, whether in times of conflict or during occupation, and the reasoning behind not only conquering a people, but stealing their culture is myriad though not hopelessly complex. Those spoils bring material gain to the aggressors and as well become material proof of their dominance to them as well as to their victims. The end of direct colonial rule of Africa by European powers did little to change the significance of their possession of African art. Decolonization is not a simple

process, nor is it one which can be completed in haste. True decolonization takes a great deal of time and effort on behalf of the colonizing party; there are amends to be made, economic obligations to be fulfilled, and there is great debt to be paid for the attempted destruction of the indigenous culture and, more often than not, the indigenous people as well. Africa was ravaged; its resources stolen, its people brutalized and massacred, its cities and villages sacked, and its culture mutilated.

There is no way to return those resources and that labor which left European banks replete with enough pieces of bloody silver to make Judas quake. There are no apologies with the power to return the lives taken in the name of gold and glory; no way to un-burn cities- no way to unring that bell. There is no way to erase the mark of colonialism on African culture. Be that as it is, the cultural objects of Africa may be returned to the surviving kin of those whose arms they were torn from. Refusing to do so and refusing to even try shows a complete lack of sincerity in the apologies issued to a land long taken advantage of. Continuing to display looted artifacts serves to glorify the methods by which they were taken and the colonial powers who took them. Europe certainly has the moral, if not the legal, obligation to return the works of art, the remains, and the other artifacts they stole from Africa and it is past time they do so. The ethical argument for retaining looted artifacts has long been lost.

To present a complete inventory of the artifacts taken from Africa in the 19th century alone would be impossible. There are many impediments to this process; one being the sheer volume of artifacts, thousands upon thousands. In the Musée du quai Branley-Jacques Chirac museum alone, there were nearly 70,000 artifacts within the "Africa" Cultural Heritage Collection's inventory as documented in a 2018 review; within the British Museum 60,000 and within the inventory of the Humboldt museum 75,000. Another is the number of artifacts being held in regional and university collections which more often than not lack a proper curator for their world cultures collection, to make no mention of a dedicated African collection. It is not unusual for such museums, and even the larger and better staffed national museums, to periodically find artifacts long lost or mislaid and others ill-cared for. One particularly large collection, spread out across Europe and the rest of world as well, is the number of artifacts collectively referred to as the Benin Bronzes. While this collection does contain many bronzes- plaques, statues, sculptures, etc.- it is not made exclusively of bronzes; it contains statues, carved ivory, body ornaments, and a variety of other artifacts ranging from royal to sacred to the ceremonial. The vast majority of these were taken during the 1897 sacking of the Royal Palace and the scorched-earth style march up to the city's walls. This attack upon the capital city Benin within the kingdom of Benin was one conflict among many in the latter half of the 19th century as tensions

between European colonial powers and/or European companies and indigenous African populations rose. This "small war" - an affectionate term for the brutal military provocation and suppression of African tribes and kingdoms - stands out for the sheer amount of loot which was carried out of the smoldering city and smuggled into Europe; some loot was given to the crown and national museums, but a great number of objects - the exact number being unknown - were carried away by the soldiers involved in the conflict. One difficulty often cited in excusing the refusal to repatriate art and artifacts is the struggle entailed in identifying the correct group to repatriate these items to. Because of the nature of their removal, that is through looting and colonial conquest, there is often no provenance to refer to, no documentation of any kind. Many of the communities of origin are now scattered across borders and even knowing which community the artifact originally belonged to cannot be taken as a given. These issues are not easily resolved and a museum may have genuine concerns over whose request out of so many they ought to honor.

But not all reasons given for refusing to repatriate artifacts are so excusable. So often requests for repatriation are denied on the basis that European museums present the argument that Africa's artifacts are safer in Europe, that they will be kept in better conditions than Africa could provide. Or that art is universal and displaying them in "universal" European museums is simply the best option. The nature of these arguments is inherently problematic in their perpetuation of colonial attitudes. Europe has once again - can it truly be again if it never ended? - appointed itself the steward of Africa and African interests. The first claim, that Africa is incapable of providing the necessary conditions to preserve their own history is problematic on two fronts: 1) Have the conditions in which the artifacts have been kept in European museums truly been beyond reproach? The mishandling of the Parthenon Sculptures which resulted in permanent, irreparable damage which removed precious original toolmarks and the leaking ceiling resulting in flooding near exhibits would seem to dispute this. The storage conditions of the Humboldt forum have also come under fire. Damages resulting from flooding, frost, insect activity, and general mismanagement including exposure to toxic chemicals have been reported by those inspecting the exhibits. And, 2) What does the claim that artifacts ought not to be returned to nations which lack the necessary infrastructure to care for them, are unstable, or are not democratic imply? These accusations paint Africa as backwards, in lacking the infrastructure with uncivilized, unstable and undemocratic societal features. As discussed, European museums also seem to lack the facilities and funding to properly care for these artifacts and in recent years multiple African nations have begun or have finished constructing museums capable of housing such exhibits. This casting of Europe



as the benevolent protector of African interests in light of their own incapability is hopelessly steeped in colonial apologist and Western supremacist language and yet the argument persists and is even embraced. It echoes the universalist view of Western thought and philosophy that saw colonizing Africa as a mission to civilize the continent.

And what does universal mean here? In this case, as in many others, universal in this context should be replaced with Western. A Western perspective is universal, Western interests are universal; why should African art be observed through a Western lens? This Western lens is the one which, just a century ago, saw these artifacts and their lack of resemblance to modern Western art as primitive. Africa was seen as a land undeveloped, a culture left stagnant, and a living glimpse into the lives of primitive man. This became fuel for further expansion and aggression. By othering the African peoples, by denying their humanity it became so much easier to continue ravaging the continent. These were the analyses made by the national museums who painted colonial action as a greater good, bringing infrastructure and development. They were not neutral stewards who simply happened to have African artifacts "added" to their

collections by some unseen and unknowable force. These were spoils of a war of a different sort and used as evidence of Africa's primitive nature to excuse colonialism. What sort of unbiased and deeper understanding can the continuation of that lend?

Treasures aren't the only things to be stolen from Africa. A far more insidious market arose, fueled by anthropological interest and its early connections with race science, that for human remains. In Wazi Apoh's article "SANKOFATIZATION AND DECOLONIZATION: The Rapprochement of German Museums and Government with Colonial Objects and Postcolonialism" he describes the anger his colleague from Namibia felt over the treatment of skulls taken during the Namibian genocide at German hands which took place between 1904 and 1908. Taken from their homeland, these skulls were stripped of their names and identities and instead given laboratory and museum inventory numbers. This dehumanization extends not only to the remains which can no longer be named and who are lost to their families, granted they survived the genocide of their people, forever. All throughout the continent, remains were stolen and taken to museums and private collectors; this tale is not unique. Some of those stolen were studied, their skulls and cranial capacities measured, and others were displayed in ethnological museums. Colonized people were often seen as remnants of the past, primitive people whose development had stagnated and therefore offered a glimpse into the far distant past. These findings were used to justify colonialism and the exploitation of Africa and other colonized regions; scientific classifications created to reinforce the racial superiority of colonizers. Now these are not used to justify and advocate for colonization on the basis of racial inferiority, instead they are kept to satisfy a different scientific curiosity. European remains belong to Europe, but African remains belong to the world.

The continued display and even simple possession of these remains by museums only serves to reinforce this power disparity between former colonizers and the colonized and remains a painful reminder of the dehumanization of Africans by European scientists. Throughout history, human remains have been commodified from the sale of relics, the mortal remains of Catholic saints, to the mummies of Ancient Egypt which have long been victims of grave robbing or the mokomokai - the preserved heads of Māori which became the obsession of European collectors in the early 19th century. The history of their acquisition has not changed, the museums and collections they are housed in have not changed, the reason for their continued retention in Europe has not changed time remains the only inconstant. Is the sheer scope of the history of desecration to serve to remove the sting and the insult done to the descendants of these nameless, faceless remains treated as objects and curiosities? Does the excuse that this is an age-old

practice decrease the pain felt by those who see the remains of their countrymen, their ancestors displayed as war trophies or reduced to objects for the benefit of scientific curiosity? Time could perhaps heal these wounds if the remains were returned to be laid to rest and honored rather than studied, but wounds cannot heal if they are continually opened.

Many grievances have been laid at the feet of colonial Europe and each nation has dealt with their past in its own way. Germany has been at the center with a form of Vergangenheitsbewältigung, this time focused on their colonial past, at its head. Vergangenheitsbewältigung can be most easily translated as coming to terms with one's past and while it has been most closely associated with Germany's response to the Holocaust and Nazism, in recent years its use has extended to other parts of German history. Prior to 2015 German acknowledgement of their colonial past was rare, the focus for most official apology and action being the Holocaust, but 2019 marked the centennial anniversary of the end of the German Empire with the Treaty of Versailles. The anniversary saw new debates and discussions over the legacy of the German colonial empire, some of which centered on the return of artifacts currently housed in German museums. Among these discussions were those of the Namibian genocide, long swept under the rug, which occurred between 1904 and 1908 and led to the deaths of tens of thousands, over 80% of the Ovaherero people and more than 40% of the Nama people. In 2015 the German Foreign Office invited representatives from Namibia, Cameroon, Ghana, Togo, and Tanzania to Germany to experience what was called a "Themed Tour of German Colonial History". This tour brought the delegates throughout Hamburg, a port city which was greatly influenced by the preponderance of ships traveling between Germany and the West German Colonies, and Berlin which in addition to being the capital contained the headquarters for the colonial army and became the host of demeaning human exhibits presenting Africans as savages. The tour was meant to facilitate a conversation going forward between Germany and the nations they previously colonized with the intention of reconciliation and achieving closure. Following this, the German government has made additional steps towards making amends with the return of artifacts.

In the spring of 2021 Germany became the first European nation to pledge the return of hundreds of artifacts to Nigeria. These pieces are only a small portion of the artifacts collectively called the Benin Bronzes, many of which were looted from the Kingdom of Benin during an invasion by British forces starting in 1897. This decision by the German government to return so many artifacts stemmed from what Germany's culture minister called a "moral responsibility." The returns are the culmination of years of hard work by the Benin Dialogue Group, a group of museum directors and representatives of

several European and African nations. They are set to begin in 2022, but the extent of these returns remains to be seen; German officials have expressed a willingness in principle to make returns, but they have been careful to leave themselves the ability to retain artifacts as well. Still, these pledges of mass returns seem to have sparked movements across Europe as France announced their own intention to return 26 artifacts to Benin.

Despite commissioning the Sarr-Savoy Report, the official French response to repatriation has been inconsistent at best. The first French president born after the end of the colonial era, President Emmanuel Macron has expressed his desire to mend the wounds of the past and has been vocal in his acknowledgement of atrocities committed in the course of European colonization. In his 2017 speech at the University of Ouagadougou, Macron pledged to make repatriation of African cultural artifacts back to Africa a priority. He acknowledged in his speech the damage which has been done in depriving sub-Saharan Africa from much of its cultural heritage, saying that within five years he wanted conditions in place for temporary or permanent returns in place; shortly afterwards he commissioned the Sarr-Savoy Report. In 2021 a collection of 27 artifacts, called the "Abomey Treasures" named after the Abomey palace from which they were stolen in 1892, were finally returned to Benin after French lawmakers voted in favor of a bill put forward by President Macron. French Culture Minister Roselyne Bachelot was careful, however, to stress that this law was specific to these 27 artifacts and was not an acknowledgement of a general right to restitution. France seems doggedly determined to deal with the issue of restitution and restitution in a painfully slow and arbitrary manner which seems to depend on the whims of President Macron. With November 2022 and the end of his self-imposed five year time limit fast approaching, it seems extremely unlikely that Macron will be able to establish these conditions for an easier repatriation process. In an attempt to court conservatives in a bid to secure a reelection, there has been a marked reduction in Macron's enthusiasm for and efforts towards repatriations to Africa. As he begins his next term as President of France, which Macron will the world see? The centrist who seems to be further and further right? Or, will the man who denounced France's colonial past actually make good on his promise to return Africa's stolen treasures? Macron will pursue whichever policy furthers his own goals and supports his own bid for power, what remains to be seen is whether or not the French people care to hold him to his word.

One nation which is notoriously opposed to repatriation and restitution of artifacts is England. While their refusal to return the Parthenon Sculptures is often discussed, even more so as the United Kingdom moves to leave the European Union, the thousands of artifacts removed from sub-Saharan Africa have garnered less

attention. The long-standing position of the British government is that museums ought to "retain and explain" their more contentious artifacts, but some museums have independently taken an opposing stance. In March of 2021, the University of Aberdeen in Scotland declared their intention to return a bust the museum had acquired in the 1950's prompted by ethical concerns. A particularly fierce advocate for the repatriation of African artifacts is Professor of Contemporary Archeology at the University of Oxford and Curator of World Archeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Dan Hicks. In his book The Brutish museums: The Benin bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution, he challenges the notion that European Museums can be unbiased stewards of sub-Saharan art and artifacts. As he explains, objects both of religious and great cultural significance obtained through violent looting and massacre displayed in European museums serves to perpetuate the colonial attitudes which led to their acquisition and continues to reward those museums monetarily even now.

Europe has long acknowledged the pain which accompanies having one's cultural property stolen and the natural desire, as well as the moral obligation, for its return - at least regarding other European nations. Following the Napoleonic Wars, in 1815 the Four Great Powers: Austria, the United Kingdom, Russia, and Prussia convened with France under the newly restored House of Bourbon during the diplomatic conference the Congress of Vienna, and created the most comprehensive European treaty up until that point. At the Congress of Vienna, among many other things, a principle of justice was established - requiring the restitution of art and artifacts taken by Napoleon. This legal obligation to return looted valuables was echoed less than a century later at the Conference of Brussels in 1874 and later at the First Hague Convention. In 1899 the "Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land" was written during the First Hague Convention; this was an attempt to establish international laws concerning acceptable conduct in war, continuing the work of the Conference of Brussels, which was never ratified or formally adopted. It contains expected treatment of prisoners of war, prohibited acts of hostility, but most relevantly it contains several articles concerning the treatment of property. Article 46 establishes, among other things, that private property must not be confiscated and article 47 prohibits pillaging. Article 56 was added which stated the property of institutes of art and science, religious institutions, and even state property was to be considered private property and so must not be seized or destroyed.

These rules of conduct do not solely apply in times of conflict or to national armies, they were considered to be applicable to groups under the command of a superior, carrying weapons, identifiable at a distance by a recognisable, fixed emblem as laid out in Article 1.

STUDENT ARTICLES

The Treaty of Versailles, written after the conclusion of World War I, likewise in the special provisions of Section II makes clear the importance of cultural property for a people. Article 245 gave Germany six months after the treaty came into force to return items including artworks, trophies, and historical souvenirs taken during World War I and the Franco-Prussian War. Clearly, the importance of cultural property was known and acknowledged by European powers, but such niceties did not extend, evidently, to nations outside of Europe and the pillaging continued in Africa. These treaties establish a clear acknowledgment and recognition of the importance of a nation's cultural heritage and the physical manifestations and creations of that culture. Even if one were to abandon a modern perspective and lens, at the time, these actions were known to be reprehensible. In 1815 a precedent was set with the legal obligation of France to return cultural objects taken during military campaigns and while the Brussels Declaration in 1874 was not binding, it illustrates the general consensus at the time. The Sack of Benin by British troops occurred in 1897, two years before the Hague Conference, but well after both the Congress of Vienna and Conference of Brussels.

There is also the difficulty in cases such as this, where a nation may claim that historical looting was at the time legal, or at the least not expliciting determined to be illegal. Whose laws are applicable? In the case of the Bangwa Queen which is held in France by the Dapper Foundation, is French law the determining force? In France the sticking point remains a law dating back to the 16th century which renders all property of the French Crown inalienable and therefore restricts the return of property held by the national government. For Bangwa the looting of such a figure was illegal and its return demanded. Should international law reign supreme? In international law, objects of cultural heritage have a protected status with objects of religious or sacred interest having an even more privileged position.

In 2006 the United Nations Human Rights Council adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (hereafter referred to as UNDRIP) and in 2007 it was likewise adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. This declaration explains that the transference of cultural objects during occupation by a foreign power is prohibited and objects which are unlawfully exported must be returned. It intimates, however, that in the case of historical claims or those which predate international conventions, these conventions cannot be applied retroactively. This is not to say that such transactions as looting in the colonial era are excused or legitimized nor should claims be ignored. Declarations by the United Nations, while not legally binding in the strictest sense, are to be considered of the utmost importance and significance and there is an expectation that member nations will comply with such

declarations. In Article 3 of UNDRIP, the right of self-determination for indigenous people is formally established and within that they are given the right to pursue their social and cultural development. One could argue, as many African scholars have, that the cultural development of Africa has been hamstrung by the absence of so much of their cultural heritage.

Much of the hemming and having over the return for looted artifacts comes from the lack of framework for a system which could accommodate such returns and a simpler legal path for such returns to follow. Europe seems content to fall back on centuries old legal codes and precedents, and a purposefully narrow set of them at that, and their supposed intractability. If the only argument is the difficulty in establishing new legislation and the basis for such, documents like UNDRIP and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, or the Faro Convention as it is often called, provide policy frameworks. The Faro Convention also requires that states establish processes to deal with competing claims on cultural heritage items. Once again, while the Faro Convention does not create legally binding and enforceable rights, it does establish the need for and obligation to create new legislation within its member states. An approach based not simply on legal obligation, but on moral and ethical obligations seems not only to be the way forward, but inevitable as well.

En masse the European response to calls for repatriation from their previous colonies has been lacking. This continued double standard only serves to highlight the colonial attitudes still present in Europe and European academia. European museums would see themselves as impartial and unbiased conveyors of history, but they remain the original depositories for those items looted during the colonial era. The archeologists, anthropologists, and historians at those institutions being the successors to the colonial legacy of such institutions. The leaders of European nations whose countries not two centuries past were raping and ravaging Africa are the successors to the leaders who gave such orders and justifications for colonial violence. The cultural property stolen from Africa must not be separated from its history - both that of the context of its creation and significance and that of the way such property found its way to Europe. Europe - its leaders, lawmakers, museums, and citizens - must decide whether it desires to put its colonial past truly in the past or whether it wants to continue to benefit from the violence inflicted upon Africa. One may not condemn their past while still clinging to it and Europe may not claim to have decolonized Africa while still reaping the benefits of colonialism and celebrating it by displaying looted treasures.

The era of colonial rule in Africa is over, but the effects can still be felt. They can be felt in the statues of colonizers, monuments to those who came and ravaged the continent to benefit lands across the

sea. They can be felt in the imposed boundaries which have caused so many conflicts. One stumbling block in the road to healing, to regaining what was lost and what was taken is the multitude of artifacts which remain in European museums. A conversation about repatriation remains at its core, a conversation on decolonization. An open and honest conversation on repatriation of artifacts and remains begins with addressing the reason why repatriation as a process is necessary in the first place So far, most repatriation has been dealt with in piecemeal fashion, if it has been dealt with at all, and the exceedingly slow process in which it has been done demonstrates the need for greater policy changes.

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THE UN VETO PARADOX

IIMMY GUZMAN

he United Nations is an intergovernmental organization, which was established in 1946, that promotes the cooperation of various countries, and is currently made up of one hundred ninety three members and two non member observer states. Being that is the largest such global institution, the United Nations plays an extensive role in worldwide diplomacy, by attempting to use collective problem solving to pursue universal peace. Member states appoint delegates who participate in United Nations' meetings, these delegates are chosen by their perceived ability to serve their countries interests on such a platform.²

One of the main bodies of the United Nations is the Security Council, which is composed of fifteen members, and has a constitutional responsibility under the United Nations Charter to maintain international peace and security. Its functions include identifying threats, settling disputes peacefully, imposing sanctions, approving admission of permanent members & authorizing use of force. Five of its members are permanent and ten are non-permanent, the seats of the non-permanent members are divided among global regions. Five for Africa and Asia, one for Eastern Europe, two for Latin America and the Caribbean, and two for Western nations. Non-permanent members must apply to join the council and are elected by the General Assembly in a secret ballot by two-thirds majority, five are elected yearly to serve two year terms, and nations may not apply for reelection immediately upon retiring. The five permanent members are the United States, China, Russia, the United Kingdom, and France, they were the

winners of the second world war and continue to have a hand in how the international system runs its course.3

Resolutions by the Security Council go through the voting process laid out in Chapter Five, Article Twenty Seven of the United Nations Charter.⁴ In this system, each member has one vote and nine affirmative votes are necessary for decisions to be accepted, the concurring vote of all five permanent members is vital on account of veto power, members may also abstain from voting. The right to veto was created as a checks and balance system from within the organization, instead it has added to the strength and influence of global leaders. During the new millennium exploitation by veto has been exemplified by the United States, Russia, and China. A breakdown of veto use helps understand how permanent members view this authority: Since 1991 the United States has used veto power seventeen times being the only nation to cast a negative vote in these instances, sixteen were related to the Israel-Palestine Conflict. Since 2005, China and Russia have teamed up either by veto or abstention, failing to condemn human rights violations in Syria or to approve a ceasefire in Burma. The United Kingdom and France last used the veto in 1989, the United Kingdom last abstained from voting in 2006 and France in 2001.⁵

Exploitation of the right to veto by the United States is exemplified by the conflict regarding the territory of Palestine, contemporary problems began in 1947 with the United Nations Partition Plan, which divided Palestine into Muslim and Jewish areas under a British mandate.6 In 1948 Israel was granted

statehood, perpetual war followed and rounds of negotiations have yet to bring a solution to fruition.⁷ In 2012, one hundred thirty eight nations voted in favor of granting Palestine non member observer status, through a vote by another United Nations organ called the General Assembly, all members participate in this vote and resolutions cannot be vetoed.8 Palestine meets the criteria of state recognition by the United Nations: it is a defined territory recognized by the majority of members, with people who live in it and comply with government decisions; still it will not recieve full admittance without the approval of the United States considering the authorization of the Security Council is required.9

A potential agreement is referred to as the two state solution, it would establish an independent state of Palestine alongside the state of Israel, allowing Israel to keep its Jewish majority and secular government as a seperate entity from Palestine's Muslim majority and divine government.¹⁰ An issue is failure to agree on where borders should be drawn out, although Palestine has agreed to divide the City of Jerusalem, which both parties consider their capital, a holy city and embodiment of culture, Israel desires control of the whole city. The United States exacerbated this issue when the Donald Trump administration moved the embassy of the United States in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, in doing so recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, while also canceling funding to United Nations agencies which provide humanitarian assistance to Palestinians in need. 11 A resolution was drafted to condemn these actions, fourteen voted in favor, the United States casted the only negative. 12 Nikki Hayley who at that time was the United States Ambassador to the United Nations went as far as to declare the veto was done "in defense of United States sovereignty," and the other members of the Security Council should be "embarrassed." A similar vote set forth in the General Assembly was approved by one hundred twenty eight nations', these votes are not legally binding or enforced.14

Evidence that Israel does not abide by international rules set forth in the United Nations Charter was illustrated through the passing of Resolution 2334, which the United States abstained from voting on.15 The resolution was a reaffirmation by the Security Council that Israel's settlements in the area of East Jerusalem, have no legal validity and constitute a violation of international law, this called for immediate steps towards diplomatic negotiations, and for both parties to act under the basis of international law set forth by the United Nations Charter. 16 Immediately after this resolution was passed, former Israeli Ambassador Danny Danon declared Israel's refusal to recognize this vote, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu stated he will not "abide by this decision." Palestinian Observer Riyad Mansour viewed the resolution as a positive step towards "keeping hope alive" in regard to the two state solution,

note that Palestinian delegates are referred to as observers rather than ambassadors, since they are there to just observe and not participate.¹⁷ The fact that Palestinian officials seem more open to diplomacy proves Palestine is deserving of membership, without Israel's consensus it seems unlikely that its partners in crime, the United States, would allow Palestinian participation. Palestine becoming a member of the United Nations should not be a trap in purgatory as a nonmember observer state.

Exploitation of veto power by Russia is illuminated by none other than the leader of Russia himself, Vladimir Putin, while addressing the seventy fifth anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly.¹⁸ Putin discussed his ideals on why veto power is essential in maintaining diplomatic relations, declaring the inclusiveness of all countries' interests can only be sustained by veto power and its abolishment would lead to further absence of compromise. These ideals were echoed by former Russian Ambassador to the United Nations, Vitaly Churkin, while responding to the idea that Russia over uses the veto, Churkin advocates it is the tool which allows the security council to produce balanced decisions, allowing the "minority opinion to be reflected."19 Giving the example of saying "some wish veto power was used in 1937." Although not specified, it is likely that Churkin is referring to the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese war, which was the first event that eventually led to World War Two.²⁰ This seems to show a level of arrogance, because with hindsight taken into account any rational person would have desired to circumvent the atrocities of World War Two, Churkin closed his statement mentioning that absence of veto would prove to be disastrous.

In the aforementioned Putin address he insists that the United Nations has a mission to pave the way for diplomacy, going on to mention both environmental protection and climate change as areas of focus, and that specialized conventions, treaties, and protocols have proved useful.²¹ Putin then called on states to comply with working towards achieving the objectives of the Paris Agreement on climate change as the only way to carry out the mission and provide a decent life for present and future generations. Although Putin is a philanthropic speaker, many of his statements have been contradictory to Russian action. Resolution 8926 was voted on only three months after Putin's statement, and called for integrating climate related security risks as a central component of conflict preventive strategies by the Security Council, the vote was vetoed by Russia and India, while China abstained.²² India's representative declared that the Security Council is not the place for dialogue on climate action. China's ambassador, Zhang Jun insisted that "while climate change has the potential to impact peace and security, the nexus between the



two is complex." Russian delegate Vassily Nebenzia viewed the resolution as a western approach, and completely disapproved of democracy by claiming that, although one hundred thirteen members of the General Assembly approved the resolution, the international community is "deeply divided" on climate change. This confirms that Moscow does not have critical intentions of combating climate change, and their idea of diplomacy is veto power as an instrument of the Security Council working to its advantage.

In 2020, Russia and China vetoed a resolution which would have extended humanitarian aid to oppressed Syrians by way of Turkey. Russian representatives argued that aid should be passed directly through their allied government of Syria led by President Bashar al-Assad. Under al-Assad's administration hundreds of thousands of people have died and over thirteen million have been displaced.²³ Early 2022 a resolution condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine was drafted, demanding immediate withdrawal, the vote was held on February 25; Moscow vetoed it, while China, India, and the United Arab Emirates abstained.²⁴ Further demonstrating how United Nations leaders have become impediments to action.

China's exploitation of veto power is illustrated by the issue on Taiwan, which will not even be brought to the table.²⁵ This began with the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, until October

1971 Taiwan held a seat as "permanent" member on the Security Council.²⁶ Resolution 2758 resulted in the official recognition of the People's Republic of China as a sole government and to depose Taiwan as a permanent Security Council member, also China's demand to strip Taiwan of United Nations membership was met.²⁷ China has worked to develop relations with many governing bodies of the world and its efforts to increase resources and influence throughout Africa and Asia have proven fruitful since over one hundred seats are held by countries within these continents.²⁸ China's regional trade has been accelerating,²⁹ and they are the European Unions' number one exporter and number two importer,³⁰ as well as the United States number one trade partner in the East,³¹ and the leading global exporter of goods.³² China's standing as the hegemonic trade partner is a reason a resolution seeking to reinsert Taiwan as a member of the United Nations has not been sought.33

Many United Nations' briefings seem to be filled with false reflections, by way of veto power it has established a system that camouflages blame. Permanent members attempt to prove themselves as "the good guys" through Security Council debates, recently this argument has shifted from "we are better than them" to "they are worse than us." This inability to accept blame or seek diplomacy along with actions undermining democracy may lead

to the downfall of the United Nations. Inappropriate use of veto has been detrimental to universal democratization. A phenomenon explaining this is that International politics waits for nothing, particularly for inferior nations to catch up to global power houses. Globalization has allowed modernization to travel at varying speeds from country to country, but in the form of veto power, it has also hampered the goal of world wide democracy. Promoting democracy is a core value of the United Nations, therefore reform should be pursued.34

Security Council reform is sought from many angles. One such angle is the French proposal, which seeks reform due to the sentiment that veto power is not a "privilege," instead it carries a "responsibility" granted by the Charter. 35 Regulation would involve voluntary and collective efforts to abstain from vetoing matters in which mass atrocities are associated. The criteria has not been defined, but would include: genocide, crimes against humanity, and large-scale war crimes. France declares the definition of mass atrocities would come from either the Security General of the United Nations or the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Pragmatism arises from all sides and other permanent members seem content with the current structure, when voted on by the General Assembly the proposal was supported by one hundred and four members.36

The Federal Foreign Office of Germany declares that pressure from citizens has pushed them along with the other Group of Four nations: India, Brazil, and Japan to seek Security Council reform, their proposal includes adding six new permanent seats, one seat for each of them with an additional two seats for Africa while also adding four or five non-permanent seats.³⁷ Security Council reform is also sought by African leaders. President of Malawi, Lazarus Chakwera declared reforms are overdue and seeks to create two permanent seats with veto power and 5 non-permanent seats for Africa, in what would become a twenty six seat council.38 If a nation from Africa becomes a permanent member of the Security Council it would give leaders a better perception of issues from the African perspective. It is unlikely that permanent members would agree to either proposal, also more members with veto power could add to the stagnation that makes it impossible for the United Nations to intervene in conflicts.39

Another approach to reform was laid out by Kofi Annan, a Ghanaian representative who previously served as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. When asked how he felt about veto power, Annan responded by saying that "tricky issues" arise when it comes to reforming the Security Council. 40 Annan's ideal solution would be to withdraw veto power altogether, this is improbable since the Charter was written in a way that would require the consensus of permanent members, Annan proposed the idea of adding more permanent seats to the council without veto power. Under Annan's approach, the focus would be to add two seats, one from a Latin American nation and one from an African nation, as neither of these continents are represented under the current model. While Annan was Secretary-General, he proposed adding India as a permanent member, who would not accept the terms without veto power, also when the question of if Japan and Germany should be added to the council arose, Italy declared their desire to be added considering they shared World War Two status as Axis Powers. These competitive positions add to the difficulties of global representation within the Security Council.

During a General Assembly meeting in November of 2021, Security Council reform and veto use was discussed. 41 Australian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mitchell Fifield stated that new global challenges can only be combatted within the structure of the United Nations, and mirrored Kofin Annan's perspective in regard to the Security Council better reflecting "geopolitical realities." Spain's representative María Bassols Delgado emphasized that establishing veto power was a mistake and that it could be done away with. Ukraine's delegate Sergiy Kyslytsya declared that progressive efforts to interrupt the cycle of "repetitions of positions" should be implemented in order to ensure future diplomatic success. French representative Brice Fodda suggested that enlarging the Security Council would expand representation and authority, while "preserving its executive nature." United States delegate Thomas Carnahan claimed that the United States is open to negotiation if it is accompanied by broad consensus, also noting that expansion of the Security Council must not reduce efficiency nor "alter nor expand the veto." These contradicting ideals, in addition to the fact that Russia, China, and the United Kingdom did not send delegates to this meeting signify that attempts at reform are nowhere near being realized.

Permanent Security Council membership does not reflect today's world, abuses of veto power, and lack of efficiency in the decision making process prove veto reform necessary, also on several occasions permanent members have chosen to not follow the Charter rules and hide behind the veto. 42 Permanent members benefit from intrastate conflicts of subordinate nations that weaken their ability to organize in a productive manner and choices of individual nations are restricted by their standing in the global order. 43 David Bosco, a professor of International Affairs at American University, declares the United States is not likely to push for Security Council reform due to the "good deal" under the current structure not being in its national interest.44 Considering the controversies of Security Council performance and its dominant role in the international system, it is easy to understand why it remains an intense debate among scholars and policymakers.45

The word veto stems from the Latin word "vetare" which translates to "I forbid." 46 Rather than forbidding, the United Nations should follow their four pillars: peace and security, human rights, the rule of law, and development;⁴⁷ and their Charter which is the foundation of the institution and articulates its goals and promises,⁴⁸ its preamble begins with, "We The Peoples Of The United Nations Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."49 The motto of the United Nations is peace, dignity, and equality on a healthy planet.⁵⁰ The outcomes of the abuse of veto power has created a counterintuitive system - where peace is relative, dignity is not universally respected, and positive equality is restricted to the powerful. The ideological framework of the Charter, the four pillars, and the motto gives a foundation to base actions around. These established goals of the United Nations take time and effort to fulfill, but only one detrimental action can throw progress down the drain, highlighting the importance of diplomatic exchanges on an international level.

The right to veto is a relic and is likely here to stay, because every proposed reform augments as many issues as solutions,51 it has also rendered the effectiveness of the United Nations impotent on various occasions.⁵² Carl Von Clausewitz declared that "A conqueror is always a lover of peace; he would like to make his entry into a state unopposed."53 The right to veto has made this unopposed entry easier for aggressors to accomplish their desires, which is one reason a prerogative of permanent members is to maintain the status quo. There is nothing in the international structure that holds the United Nations liable, and lack of enforcement mechanisms does not spark compulsion to change. The United Nations must aspire to accomplish the feats it was originally assembled to and not follow the whims of its more powerful members at the expense of its less powerful members or nonmembers, to hold member states accountable a proper system of checks, balances, and transparency is imperative.⁵⁴ If hostilities are not pacified, these cycles of global rivalries will be an eternal problem sabotaging the latent goals stated in the Charter. Although many ponder the benefits of the United Nations, it is impulsive to believe that the world would be a better place without this international outlet, also it is inevitable such an institution would be invented.⁵⁵ Still, it must not be stuck in tradition, and objectives should be met with the same fortitude expressed at the time of formation, as former United States president Dwight D. Eisenhower declared, "defects" and "failures" included, the United Nations "represents man's best organized hope to substitute the conference table for the battlefield."56

When the United Nations was created no one could have planned for what was to move society into contemporary struggles.

Now that it has become the primary institution for organizing global leaders, and its spot on the totem pole of the world and history has been realized, it is time to manage contemporary problems. Rather than being used to push rhetoric, United Nation's platforms should be primary examples of freedom of speech with a considerable amount of attention paid to the speaker, and a properly executed response by the intended audience, diplomatic exchanges in this manner are more likely to yield positive results, compared to those intended to only serve domestic interests. In a sense it does seem that the United Nations strives for the unattainable, which forever leaves room for innovations and improvement. Simple adjustments can lead to progress in today's world where institutions are vital in the battle of democracy against anarchy.

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THE NEW EMPIRE: EXAMINING FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER MACRON

MICHAEL BERHANU

he nation of France is in the midst of interesting times. Internationally the United States foreign policy under Trump, vacillating between isolationism and indiscrete unilateralism, had left a gap that Macron's foreign policy has attempted to take advantage of both on Europeans stage and as well as in the MENA and West Africa region. This new muscular foreign policy was not solely determined through external factors, as domestic turmoil centered around discontent with the results of the status quo polity seems to have played a large role in its formation as well. Economic precariousness combined with increasing religious and ethnic tensions are strong motivators and seem to be the culprits behind Marcon's attempts to assert French agency on the world stage. Before attempting to analyze French foreign policy, understanding Macron's domestic situation is vital in showing the causation between France's domestic strife and its increased activity in both the MENA region and in Europe.

ELECTION MATH

The 2017 French Presidential run-off election represented sea-change in the nation's epolitical landscape. For the first time in it's history, the Fifth Republic's most powerful office was not being contested by a center-left or center-right party. The position espoused by both Marine Le Pen's Front National, and Emmauel Macron's En Marche both represented a break from the status quo social-democracy in France. The proverbial ground was ripe for such a break-out, President Francois Hollande drift right-ward had split his base and empowered more left-wing defections in

the National Assembly. Macron's liberal-democratic movement represented the other side of that particular coin, with his resignation in 2016 as Hollande's Minister Finance and Economics largely hinged on the latters hesitancy to embrace moreunpopular liberal market reforms.² On the traditional right side of the aisle the situation was no rosier, Francois Fillon of the Les Republicains started as the favorite running on a promise to curtail public spending, including by not limited a promise to cut 500,000 civil service jobs; needless to say the breaking of the news story that he had paid his wife over million dollars to function as a secretary regardless of her never actually fulfilling such a role hampered his chances.3 This weakness in the traditional right benefited Le Pen, as she had tailored her campaign and party against the overt xenophobia and Antisemitisim the Front National was known for, in favor of opposition to further globalization and more neomercantilist economic policies.4

Despite the benefit of hindsight it is not hard to imagine Macron's 66% victory over Le Pen as contingent on a myriad of factors outside of his control.⁵ The actors behind the leaks of campaign emails and the sowing of supposed disinformation seems to have fallen afoul of the law of unintended consequences, as Macron's accusation of Kremlin interference seemed plausible to France's fractious constituency. While the nature of the cyberattack and the methods used were so generic as to not implicate any nation in particular, there has been an informal consensus that the leak was an attempt by Russian agents to influence the French election in favor of Le Pen.⁶ The exposure of potentially more

intimate economic entanglements between Le Pen and Russia's premier internet propagandist Konstantin Rykov, should come as no surprise given the former's party being the recipient of over 40 million Euros in financing from Moscow's First Czech-Russian Bank.⁷ While the generic nature of the attack prevented the French security apparatus from leveling its accusation directly at the Russian state, it would seem that voters had no such compunctions as they rallied to Macron and his En Marche party. Less than a month after his own election En Marche and its allies won a commanding 350 seats out of 577 seats.⁸

While the Fifth Republic's semi-presidential structure places in-ordinate power in the hands of the executive, this large base of support in the assembly served Macron well as he enacted his rather unpopular labor reforms. As his support in the National Assembly kept the worst of the public back-lash in check.9 Macron wasted little time exploiting his advantage, as by the end of his first year in office he had already lowered the tax burden on corporations and investments, while pushing through labor reforms aimed at reducing labor protections.¹⁰ Macron lowered worker's protection especially for those under 25 in an attempt to address that nation's 26% unemployment rate in that particular demographic.11 Prior to the onslaught of Covid-19, Macron's labor reforms seemed to have had their intended effect, with the nations job market at the highest point of employment it has seen in 10 years; with reforms focused on removing barriers regarding the hiring and firing of workers as well as the curtailing of labor's unions ability to bargain sectorally.¹² Despite their success, talks of further reforms remain contentious, with the eruption of the Yellow-Vest movement in large part as a response to the increased tax-burden of working and middle-class French citizens. What began as a protest led by lorry drivers against Marcon's proposed fuel tax hike has transformed into an overarching and all-encompassing resistance against what they perceive as a re-alignment of France's social democracy with the interest of capital.¹³ This multi-year protest sparked Marcron's "Grand Debate" national tour, in which he sought to address these concerns brought front and center by the protest with a more conciliatory and less bombastic air regarding reforms.¹⁴ Macron's attempt to stem the alienation of working and middle class voters was not limited to the debates, as he walked back the fuel-tax as well as promising targeted tax-cuts for the working and middle class, but this should not be mistaken for the abandonment of his perceived mandate.15

A quote spoken by a member of the Yellow-vest movement taken by French correspondent for the Washington Post, James McAuley, summarizes his downward trending public perception well stating "I don't have the impression he will change things....

He doesn't recognize the movement as representative of the population"(19, Nov. 2019)16. While there are some outliers, given the scope and size of the movement, the demographics of these protesters seem to be reflective of the population of France as a whole. Given the intensity of the back-lash a full scale reversal of policy would not be shocking. The continuation of his reforms, particularly the third rail that is the French Pension system, would be career suicide in other era's of French Politics. Macron's plan of raising the retirementment age to 64 and unifying the public-sector workers pensions down from 42 down to 1 are drastic attempts to bring down public spending, which as of 2019 was 56.5% of French GDP.¹⁷ Macron's position correlates to the standard liberal economic school of thought that equates growth in the private sector stimulated by closer economic integration into the European Union, despite broad opposition in the working class, as the most suitable form of action. This combination of policy and ingrained societal and institutional opposition leave Macron and his centristbase vulnerable to splintering across either side of the political spectrum and evaporating his power to enact further reforms. With the contingent factors that were in play during his 2017 victory, the specter of a collapse in support for the En Marche Party and himself in 2022 is far from impossible.

THE POWER VACUUM

While this drive for reform seems detached from the tightrope act that is Macron's domestic political reality, when combined with the opportunities and pitfalls apparent rife in the shifting sands that is the international stage, Macron's action seems more rational if not endearing. The Presidency of Donald J. Trump represented an enormous shift in the tenor of European-American relations especially in regards to French interest and foreign policy. Despite being deeply polarizing enough for members of the far-right like Le Pen seeking to distance themselves, Macron's attempts at parlaying Trump's rather inscrutable foreign policy to the benefit of French interest is in keeping with the Gaulist-tradition.¹⁸ The early-stage of the relationship between the two leaders can best be characterized as Macron attempting to recreate the Obama-Merkel repertoire that had defined European-American relations, positioning France to be the favored interlocutor for the hegemon in the European region.¹⁹ These attempts seemed to have little to no effect in curbing the tone and rhetoric of President Trump in regards to N.A.T.O, with the relationship being punctuated with threats of American withdrawal and decreases in funding throughout his Presidency.²⁰ While never openly antagonistic towards President Trump, Macron's comment to the effect that "What we are currently experiencing is the brain death of NATO", indicates a significant loss of faith in American-back security. (7, Nov. 2019)21

Macron's loss of faith in American dependability seems to have translated into a more ardent appeal for the creation of a more euro-centric model for security with tighter integration between state's individual security apparatuses.²² Macron sees the potential benefits of a more united Europe and the benefits in it for France, journalist Natalie Nougayrède strikes at the heart of the matter in her piece regarding Macron's European policy for Foreign Affairs:

> On this front, the French think it's only natural that their country take the lead. The United Kingdom has become obsessively inward-looking- almost a disappearing act, to France's deep regret. In continental Europe, France remains the top military power, and the only one with a nuclear deterrent and a permanent seat on the U.N Security Council. For historical reasons, Germany is still reluctant to expand its military and put soldiers in harm's way. France has no such qualms, and its political culture allows the president to act militarily without much parliamentary oversight.23

It is at this junction that the rationale behind Macron's fixation on economic reforms becomes more apparent. His proposals for tighter security integration are part and parcel of larger E.U reforms centered around further integration.24 Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany has affirmed Macron's publicly, but has internal political hurdles of her own to face, with growing backlash and euro-skepticism based on the growing perception that German tax-payer's are bailing out less fiscally responsible E.U member states.²⁵ If Macron wishes to jump-start the Franco-German engine as a driving force on the international stage, his domestic economy must be brought to heel as a measure of instilling a sense of confidence on the other side of the Rhine.

The motivation behind the doggedness of Macron's economic reforms become less opaque and questionable when combined with both regional and French security interests in mind. At the regional level the threat posed by Vladirmir Putin pursuit of Russian interests is omni-present. Macron's recent comments regarding the establishment of a more stringent response to the Russian annexation of Ukrainian territories and further potential provocation dove-tail well into his arguments in support for collective security.26 Regarding Russian aggression, even illiberal leaders like President Andrzjez Duda of Poland and Prime Minister Victor Orban of Hungary, both firmly in the euro-skeptic camp, could see the appeal in more E.U coordinated deterrence.²⁷ The broad appeal and utility make the measure clear cut without need for much further analysis. There is a clear correlation between worsening Western-Russian relations and European interest in opposition towards further encroachment, with former President Trump's wavering dependability acting as the impetus for change.

This summary is reductive but it captures the major factors in play regarding European security interest. Macron's goal of greater French integration into the E.U both militarily and economically are tied to each other intrinsically.

THE SAHEL

Where the connections become more nebulous but still significant is the increased French activity in both MENA and West Africa and its correlation to Macron's appeals to nationalism and more right-wing rhetoric. It would be disingenuous to claim that Macron's tenure represented the first time that France has favored interventionist policies, with a record of 19 interventions in Africa alone between 1962 to 1995.28 What distinguishes contemporary interventions from France's foreign policy during the "la Francafrique" era is the nature of the motivations; through a web of informal and formal relationships French economic interests were managed by local elites.²⁹ Whatever ideas of development and cooperation and sense of indebtedness that served as the service level justification for intervention served as cover for the continuation of extractive economic relations. The action of Jacques Foccart, right-hand man to De Gaulle and Chief Advisor on Africa, shows a history of realpolitik maneuvering to benefit French economic interests.³⁰ This past era's interventions can be summarized as France attempting to maintain the benefits of regional hegemony, while navigating the Cold War post-colonial landscape. Foccart served as the primary architect and focal point of French-African relations and his official tenure through 3 different Presidents can serve as an analogy for economic focus of French interventions in the region.³¹

With French economic policy currently re-focused into integration into E.U, French interest and action have shifted to a new paradigm of counter-terrorism and regional secuity best typified by French Military operations in Mali, Libya, and Syria. In the broadest sense they all represent regions of instability that the French are attempting to bolster for relatively self-serving interest of moderating the threat posed by fundementalist terrorism. This is most notable in French operations in Sahel in the northern portion of Mali. French led operations have been active against the (ISGS) Islamic State of the Greater Sahara have been well underway since 2013.32 In the past 8 years the conflict between the mulit-national French dominated and led coalition and ISGS has led to the death of 10,000 West Africans and the displacement of over a million.³³ An encapsulation of events in the region would read startlingly similar to the narrative of events of the American intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan, with the French Army chasing the militants from strong-hold to strong-hold, only for them to reform as soon as armed forces leave the area.³⁴ The porous nature of the borders

of the Sahel nations of Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Chad, and Burkina Faso has hindered the effectiveness of the French response while aiding the more mobile jihadist groups. Tensions between French forces and the African governments over the latter's perception of the ineffectiveness of French operation and the former's frustration at the lack of cooperation have dominated headlines in the region. Hese tensions culminated with Macron's "summons" to the leadership of these five African nation regarding growing civilian opposition to continued counter-terrorism opposition in the region. The threat of withdrawal given at the ensuing meeting was not taken seriously, apparently with good reason, as Macron soon increased the French troop commitment in the region. Whatever hardline Macron appears to take in terms of his posturing and rhetoric, he cannot ignore the irredentist threat posed by islamic jihadist groups in the French sphere of influnces.

M.E.N.A

In this vein the growing disaster that was the French dominated intervention in Libya serves as a reminder to the cost of failure. French President Nicholas Sarkozy's support of the rebel groups attempting to overthrow the government of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 has had major consequences that have yet to finish reverberating globally.³⁹ What was billed as a limitedengagement has backfired into a long-term threat to regional stability. While there was a semblance of stability following the first Libyan Civil war; the National Transitional authority had failed to turn the disprate and factional militias vital to the overthrow of Gaddifi's Regime into a united force with a cogent Libyan identity. 40 The election and cessation of legislative power to the General National Council only further exacerbated issues of factionalization culminating with the beginning of the Second Libyan Civil war in 2014 with an Islamist-domainated faction governing from Tripoli and the more secular western back faction led by General Khalifa Haftar following the formers failed attempt in seizing total control of the Nation.⁴¹ This extended conflict has led to a multitude of foreign nations pursuing their regional interests through the use of proxies. For the scope of this paper the most important is the balancing act between Turkish, Russian and French interest in Libya and the ramification they may play in the larger geopolitical stage. Turkish support for the successor of the GNC, the Government of National Accord, is relatively straightforward and in line with President Tayyip Edrogan attempts at establishing Turkey as regional power in the Mediterranean, with Turkey openly flouting the U.N arms embargo only after the internationally recognized GNA committed to the signing of a controversial 2019 maritime deal which allows the Ankaran based government accesses to hydrocarbon deposits off

of the Libyan Coastline in exchange for Turkish military mainly consisting of drones and armored personnel carriers. $^{\rm 42}$ Erdogan continued support for the GNA as ties into his "Blue Homeland" doctrine, a response to the formation of the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum(EastMed), composed of governments of Greece, Greek Cyproit Association, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Italy and France with admittance pending.⁴³ Ankara's government perceives this forum agreement to share hydrocarbon resources between member nations as a not so subtle attempt at boxing it out of potential hydrocarbon resources and justifies its continued intervention in the region as intrinsic to the pursuit of it geopolitcal interest. 44 Russian actions in Libya during the Second Civil War can be distinguished from Turkish counterparts by their more covert and opportunistic nature. While Turkey has supplied frontline fighters from Syrian militia groups active in the fight against Asad and his allies; in an attempt to maintain relations with the GNA Russian aid for Haftar's forces has been predominantly been supplied through the Wagner Group, a private mercenary operation with close ties to the Kremlin and Putin. 45 Russian interest in supporting Haftar's attempts at unification seemed to be limited towards extracting concessions from Edrogan in other areas, like the current ceasefire in the disputed zone of Idlib in Syria, where both nations are currently running joint-patrols in an attempt to ratchet down tensions between Moscow and Ankara over the Syrian conflict.⁴⁶ With this reductive picture of the labyrinthine conflict in Libya in mind, it would be a fair to ask why Macron's foreign policy necessitates any action in the region at all? At a glance it seems like neither side has interest which aligned cleanly with either Macron's economic reforms or European integration. Macron's clandestine support for Haftar's forces is at odds with its general opposition towards Russian interest. The death of 3 French Special Forces soldiers working with Haftar's forces in 2016 led to the disclosing of information that showed significant French involvement, the most significant of which being an operation ran out of French base in Northern Niger targeting isalmist factions friendly to the GNA.⁴⁷ This involvement predates Russian and Turkish proxies on the ground making Macron's condemnation and demands for the removal of both nations' forces ring hollow. 48 Macron's opposition to further intervention on humanitarian grounds is surface level, underneath it lies the more self-serving interest of avoiding another Syria closer to its borders and interest. 49 Macron's support for Haftar is rooted in the idea that Libya requires a strongman as a guarantor for stability; working forward from the idea that even a non-majority Isalmist faction within the GNA legislative body is a threat to the French security interest in the area and domestically.⁵⁰ While Russian involvement in supporting Haftar makes for an alliance of strange bedfellows,

French support for Haftar makes sense with Macron's domestic interest, if not his rhetoric on the matter.

This intersectionality between the domestic and the international of French foreign policy is best accentuated by the presence of French nationals filling the ranks of the Isalamic State of the Levants forces. Over 400 of these Nationals were being held and tried locally by Kurdish militia groups prior to the Turkish offensive that pushed them back and forced France to attempt to repatriate and try them in the court of law.⁵¹ France, with Western Europe largest Muslim population, has had an estimated 1,600 of its citizen involved with Islamist terrorist organization ISIL and ISIS in the peorid between 2015-2017; a factor that the no doubt is linked with major domestic terror attacks like the Charlie Hebdo shooting, the Bataclan theater attack, and the Nice event.⁵² Even prior to the influx of Syrian refugees tension between France and is Islamic minority have run high, the continuance of cultural clashes and stochastic violence has led to the political viability of measures targeting practioncers of Islam throughtout the nation.53 This potential for the seizing of a mandate that could be used to drive his vital economic reforms can not have been lost on Macron or his cabinet. His reforms and rhetoric targeting "Islamic Separatism" have been a major point of contention in France's Muslim community and seem to be indictive of a calculated appeal to the right-wing nationalist constituency that comprises his potential 2022 rival Marine Le pen's base of support.⁵⁴ It would be an understatement to say that Macron's economic reforms have cost him popularity and support with an approval percentage around 37%, and his party regularly neck and neck in the polls with La Pen's reformed Rassemblement National party, this demographic may be the determining factor.55 While the 2017 election went in Macron's favor, analysts have pointed to the depressed turn out, one of the lowest on record, could potentially favor Le Pen's more motivated base given the general unpopularity of Macron's reforms.⁵⁶ While this last part is pure conjecture based on observation of voting habits of the working class in nations where populist candidates, or candidates who have adopted populist rhetoric have fared when competing against more centrist and moderate candidates. Macron's attempts at sapping Le Pens base seems part and parcel of a larger strategy of pushing his economic reforms across.

In an attempt to connect the ideas covered in this report a quick breakdown may prove helpful. Macron's goals of economic liberalization are tied to further security integration in an attempt to increase French prestige and power on the international stage throughout the vehicle that is the European Union. The vacuum left by the isolationism and unilateralism that best typifies foregin policy under Trump left potential opportunities and setbacks for

Macron's foreign policy best characterized as increased pace of military intervention both clandestine and open. The unpopular domestic economic reforms have been cost him support that he seeks to offset through the embrace of more nationalistic rhteroric coupled with laws targeting minority groups already vulnerable to alienation and radicalization. In summary, Macron's economic mandate seems to be a driving factor in foreign policy if only indirectly.

ADDENDUM

On the 200th Anniversary of Napoleon Bonaparte's Death Emmuanel Macron laid a Wreath on the former Emperor's tomb. A symbolic gesture that is fitting given that this paper covers a relatively intransigent French leader pursuing their perceived mandate of taking apart a republic and reforming it as an empire. While Macron's comments regarding Bonaparte were mealymouthed at best, the fact that he is honoring the man at all is a break from the behavior of most Presidents of the 5th Republic.⁵⁷ While reading too much into such action is about as effective as reading tea-leaves, the action does seem to be indicative of at least a more of the same right-leaning rhetoric from the French President. Whether it will stop at rhetoric is a matter that remains to be seen. Macron's determination to push his economic reforms seems to outweigh his aversion to Le Penn's appeal. This calculation seems to have paid off so far in the first round of the 2022 Presidential election; Macron's appeal to the natioinalistic element of Le Penn's base has led to the gap between the two widening relative to the 2017 election. A pessimistic take on the analysis present in this article could attribute this gap to Le Penn paying the cost for associating too closely with Putin following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. But if that is the case then where is Macron's comeuppance for misreading Putin's willingness for conflict and characterization of NATO as brain dead? Macron has been able to crest the shock of the conflict into increasing polling success in a manner that seems to have overshadowed his criticism of the supernatural organization, even refocusing the narrative on French forces contribution to security. Rather than being trampled under foot of the crisis, Macron seems to have leveraged it to suit his internal and domestic interest of placing France in a more central role in Europe.

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ETHIOPIA: AT WAR WITH ITSELF

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INTRODUCTION

onflict can either result in unification or separation within an ethic group. Ethiopia's past year has been filled with violent attacks aimed at the Tigrayan people which have resulted in millions forced from their homes with thousands dead. The group responsible for this is the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front). The TPLF previously held political power in Ethiopia up until 2018 when the power was successfully transitioned to the new Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed. Ahmed was set on dismantling the TPLF and their connections within the government which caused concern among Tigrayans and opposing forces. Ahmed made the decision to hold the country's first democratic election, but due to COVID-19, decided to push it back. This created tension within the TPLF as they proclaimed that it was an "unconstitutional extension of Ahmed's presidential term" so they decided to take matters into their own hands. The TPLF conducted a regional election which resulted in favorable conditions for its state council, but Ahmed claimed the election was illegitimate and thus invalid. Ahmed became a central figure to the TPLF as someone who needed to be watched closely. Ahmed needed to show legitimate influence on governmental processes to his citizens and removed many Tigrayans from positions in government to counterbalance opposing-TPLF members. This turmoil ultimately led to the attack of five military bases which was publicly proclaimed on television to be the work of the TPLF. Following this event on November 9th 2020, a TPLF militia invaded a town called Mai Kadra and conducted

ethnic cleansing which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of Amhara citizens. This massacre initiated violence fueled by hatred from the Amharic government which created a cycle of hostile attacks on the Tigrayans. The effects of this violence have spiraled into many more attacks targeted at the Tigrayan people resulting in horrific and grim ordeals. In light of these events, this article intends to explore the intensity of relations between Ethiopia's ethnic groups and how these realities have adversely affected the collective conditions of females, children, and the moral health of an ethnically-diverse country. The ideals espoused in Ethiopia's constitution have long fostered practices that aimed to unify the nation and involve all ethnic groups, but this civil war has only attested to the damaged histories and rivalries between neighboring regions, risking large-scale Balkan-style disintegration.

BRIEF HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA (AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE TPLF)

From the very beginning, Ethiopia had a long history in which politics and violence became intertwined. In 1895, Italy made an attempt at invading Ethiopia and ended up failing but in the process gained control over a territory called Eritrea. Again in 1935, Italy made a second attempt at invading Ethiopia but ended up failing due to the help of British troops who aided Ethiopia. At this time, Haile Selassie I was the Emperor of Ethiopia and made the decision to annex Eritrea in 1962. After years of false promises promoting change and political reforms, in 1974, the government was ultimately

overthrown by a group known as the Derg. The time period from 1977-79 was known as the "Red Terror" in which the leader of the Derg, Col Mengistu, conducted a violent political campaign that aimed to defeat opposing groups and in the process killed thousands of people. This time period allowed for the emergence of the TPLF to gain political traction in order to secure regional autonomy.

Under Haile Selassie's rule, the government created a partnership with the British Royal Air Force in order to respond to the citizens in southern Tigray who were rebelling against the government due to inequalities that plagued the nation. Many innocent citizens lost their lives due to strategic bombing in cities such as Mekelle, Hintalo and Corbertta. This aggressive repression against the Tigrayans continued as citizens had land confiscated from them as well as higher taxation in which it "cost peasants 5 times more than they had paid under the Italians."2 This resulted in increased Tigrayan nationalism as familiar change in leadership allowed for the continuity of hereditary leaders to rule the nation. Dissatisfaction towards government was carried to the next generation leading to more rebellions and the crumbling of central power. Eventually, this continued dissatisfaction created the perfect opportunity for a seizure of power.

A spontaneous revolt broke out in 1974 and is known as the Ethiopian Civil War in which Emperor Haile Selassie was removed from power and replaced by a military regime. Ethiopia became a Marxist-Leninist state in which treatment was much more brutal than prior ones. The group responsible for the coup d'etat was called the Derg and were classified as a military junta at the head of a communist government. On September 12, 1974; the Derg officially claimed power as Haile Selassie was placed under house arrest. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam became a central leader whose motto was "Ethiopia First" and in time, the societal conditions imposed by the regime became worse due to the military dictatorship. The Derg "regarded Ethiopia as a monolithic society, thereby declaring any ethno-nationalist grievance or demand for self determination as contrary to Ethiopian unity and interests."3 There was a small glimpse of hope for the Tigrayans as new leadership would address the unfortunate situation the Tigrayan people were facing but it seemed as though the opposite would occur. At this point, many Tigrayan ethno-nationalist groups emerged in order to fight off oppression and claim back power within the government.

Addis Ababa University (previously named Haile Selassie I University) became a breeding ground for college students to express their distaste for the government and discuss grievances among like minded individuals about the corruption suffered by Tigrayans. This encouraged many anti-government groups to form and cultivate ideas on the preservation of Tigray. In the early 70s, Tigrayan University Students' Association (TUSA) was formed



and participated in political discussions and published newspapers highlighting the issues facing Tigray. Within TUSA, the Tigrayan National Organization (TNO) was created. The TNO understood the severity of the Derg regime and prepared for an armed struggle. The TNO became focused on preparing for this uprising through increased propaganda, increased young recruitment and community based political work. Many TNO members had to flee as they were likely going to be assassinated. The TNO became an armed organization by February 1975, and its armed forces were known as the TPLF. This group gained momentum and was able to appeal to the people's needs with the intent of securing the "self-determination of Tigray within the Ethiopian policy"4 which led to the success of winning power in Ethiopia in 1991 under the name Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) up until 2018.

ERITREA'S SIGNIFICANCE WITHIN THE TPLF

Understanding the history of Eritrea is crucial to develop a complex understanding about the trials Tigray faced leading up to gaining power over Ethiopia. In 1962, Haile Selassie annexed Eritrea triggering an armed struggle. Shortly after, Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) was formed and shared many similarities with the TPLF as they both fought for independence from the Derg. As this alliance continued, "The TPLF recognized the EPLF's right to fight for the independence of Eritrea, while the TPLF itself resolved to be in the vanguard of the liberation of the whole of Ethiopia from the authoritarianism of the Derg; the movements renewed a tactical alliance in the late 1980s, and together overthrew the Derg, with Eritrea becoming independent."5

In May 1991, the Mengistu regime fell which allowed the rebels to take over and conquer power over Addis Ababa. Tensions remained heightened between the TPLF and EPLF which resulted in the TPLF leading a war in Ethiopia against the EPLF in 1998. As a result, Eritrea remained an independent state while staying in an authoritarian regime which tightened its military defenses due to the devastating border conflict fought in Ethiopia. In 2018, the relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea flourished when

newly elected Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed offered a peace accord to Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki to end the country's long conflicting past. Many promises were made such as "Ethiopian recognition of Eritrea's remaining border claims, the opening of bilateral trade with Ethiopia, the promise of joint investment projects, and the hope that the peace agreement might lead to the lifting of UN sanctions on Eritrea'6. This agreement allowed Ahmed to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019 for his efforts in reunifying the two conflicting nations. Due to Ethiopia rekindling a relationship with Eritrea, both Eritrea and Amhara (mainly residing in the capital) had been cooperating with federal soldiers causing tensions with the Tigrayans. This move expanded the backing of the coalition because many of the war crimes such as rape and abuse had been committed by the Amharic and Eritrean soldiers.

THE PROVOCATION OF WAR

Abiy Ahmed's rather quick uprising in power at the government level had faced large amounts of backlash. He gained traction as a result of the Qeerroo movement, a movement that was dedicated towards the ideology of Oromo nationalism, leading it to ignite the youth population of Ethiopia. As a result, the transition of power from Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn to Ahmed was peaceful. Ahmed had promised to successfully transition Ethiopia into a democratic nation and keep his promises once he was in office. However, as soon as he believed he assumed full command over the major federal branches, Ahmed started to abuse this newly acquired power. His first operation was to purge the government of individuals who resided with the Oromo Democratic Party (ironically, his own regional party). In order to achieve this quest of having ultimate power, he had to betray some of his closest associates such as Lemma, a former president of Oromia. Lemma had advocated for Ahmed in order to secure his position within Ethiopia's government system. Ahmed had unconstitutionally removed Lemma from office in 2019 and replaced him with Shimelis Abdisa within the same day. This betrayal in relations caused Oromia to be divided. His irrational actions caused many to become worried with the state of Ethiopia and the possibility for future violence. His second operation was to deal with the youth, specifically the Qeerroo. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) had returned to Ethiopia following its exile from Eritrea in 2018. In order to reach an agreement, a peace deal had been fabricated between various bodies. The OLF "agreed to be part of the political process by integrating its military wing, the Oromo Liberation Army, into the regional armed forces."7 Thus, it came as a huge shock when Ahmed stated that the Qeerroo had to be dealt with as soon as possible in fear that it could potentially interfere with his agenda. Following this meeting, Ethiopia's media led a mass propaganda campaign against

the Qeerroo in an effort to dehumanize the group and its efforts. As a result, many youth leaders were assassinated and arrested in Oromia as a response to their successful propaganda tactics. Due to this widespread violence towards Oromo youth, many either laid low or joined arms with the OLF.

When Oromo nationalist and singer Hachalu Hundessa was assassinated in June 2020, the Oromo youth were devastated. Before his death, Hundessa had publicly criticized Ahmed's "emboldening of those who aspire to restore the imposition of Amharic language and culture over the rest of Ethiopia on Oromia Media Network, a private broadcasting enterprise that had effectively served as a media wing of the Qeerroo movement from 2014 to 2018."8 The government's response to the killing was that it was rebel forces and simply brushed it aside. Hundessa's death led Ahmed to discover key leaders in Oromia who opposed his government and thus, immediately issued mass arrests. He held them in prison for over 18 months which ironically coincided during the June 2021 election, as these individuals were no longer in a position to run for office or voice their political opinions through elections. Both the Tigrayan and Oromo nationalist sentiment shared a similar view of making more self-governing states in Ethiopia. Once Ahmed felt that Oromo nationalism was dwindling, he began to focus on the TPLF by refusing to merge them into the Prosperity Party and not allowing them to hold elections. Ahmed's urge for absolute power led the pathway for a series of events that evolved into the Tigray War.

The tension within the nation incipients with the election of Abiy Ahmed as the Mekelle-capital of Tigray and Addis Ababacapital of Ethiopia clash about how the future political scene should be run. Ahmed purged the government of leaders who came from Tigray in order to get rid of the TPLF's influence within the scene of politics. Tigrayans took this as an incursion towards their livelihood as Ahmed continuously tried to dissolve the group. The Prosperity Party was announced to replace the TPLF which was met with division as it "represents a constitutional breach and comes against the will of the Ethiopian people, who elected members of the parties that formed the coalition."9 Tensions continued to run high when the federal government made a decision to extend the terms of both the federal and regional governments due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which was considered a constitutional breach. Despite being aware of these political accommodations, Tigray went ahead with the regional elections knowing that the results would be illegitimate. The turnout for the region was about "98%, with approximately 2.7 million voters, according to the Electoral Commission of Tigray, where the TPLF won a majority of the 152 out of 190 seats." 10 This infuriated Tigrayans as this electoral law was believed to be passed in order to fit the prosperity party's agenda. The impact of the supposed illegal regional election caused the federal government to cease all



funding to Tigray and instead use it towards local administration, infuriating Tigrays leaders.

REALITIES OF WAR

Conflict officially began early November 2020 when TPLF besieged the Ethiopian National Defense Force's (ENDF) Northern Command headquarters located in Mekelle, Tigray. Rebels infiltrated the compound which housed fellow comrades in arms who opposed the takeover and unfortunately lost their lives. Many pieces of equipment such as tanks, missiles and rocket launchers were seized in the attacks but have since been destroyed in the face of the aerial campaign. Abiy and fellow cabinet members responded by declaring a state of emergency which resulted in Tigray losing electricity, telecommunications and internet services for six months. This catastrophic event has resulted in "nearly three million Tigrayans urgently needing assistance."11 Many citizens don't have access to water, food or even basic medical assistance. Those who were able to escape before the rebels seized Mekelle had been displaced and many had broken apart from their families. Tigrayan leadership in Mekelle has expanded its coalition by creating the Tigray Defense Forces. It is commanded by former Tigrayan leaders removed from power as well as former Ethiopian National Defense Force officers. This group resides in the rural areas of Tigray whereas the federal officers patrol the main roads and areas. Ahmed is dedicated to hunting down these rebels and putting them on trial for the severity of their crimes in Ethiopia. The TPLF is growing larger in numbers as many Tigrayans are swelling with anger over political discourse that threatens their voice and perpetrates crimes against humanity. Both parties have been reluctant to give off a definitive victory with no end in sight to this war which could be detrimental to Ethiopia and its geopolitical influence.

The living conditions in Tigray were appalling as, "aid agencies estimated on 5 March that 4.5 million people in the region, or more than two thirds of the population, needed emergency food supplies."12 Many areas of Tigray such as the eastern and central regions had been under famine conditions, where humanitarian

aid had been blocked access into Tigray up until February 2021. There had been major pressure internationally to provide more humanitarian services for Tigray, but considering that the Tigray Defense Force occupied the territory suggests that aid would not be able to reach certain areas of Tigray without some sort of negotiation from both parties. Allowing aid workers into Tigray could've helped provide services to those who had been subjected to acts of violence, especially rape. Unfortunately, many of those who witness these crimes or are victims themselves never speak up due to the fear of being killed, and thus the evidence supporting these claims is limited. Sadly, women and children are subjected to the majority of the war crimes which include gang rape, sexual harassment, and cruel violence. As the fighting intensified, riots between civilians and the Tigray forces created a gradual empowerment of this newly found power that became attainable towards protecting the innocent. Abiy had made some questionable remarks regarding the abuse that has transpired, saying that those abusers will face their crimes but then declaring that Tigrayans will face "misery" if their leader does not surrender. These contradictory statements had made the public weary of Abiy's power especially those of Tigrayan backgrounds giving rise to extremist activities. There had been reports of mass sexual abuse in western Tigray where federal troops had intervened way before Amhara was taken over by the TPLF. Armed confrontations also increased as many had gotten the courage to fight back due to the spike in violence towards Tigray citizens.

PRESENT DAY ETHIOPIA & FUTURE **PREDICTIONS**

After many grueling months of constant violence towards some of Ethiopia's ethnic groups, a new chance at peace within the country may be possible with the release of many prominent leaders from prison. This action signifies a willingness to balance the "power hungry" mindset found among its officials with a desire to restore order and cultural glory back to Ethiopia. There is a concern that this peaceful gesture could negatively impact the Prosperity Party which relies on both the Amhara and Oromo population getting along. False narratives have been put out labeling the Amhara group as "the main constituency for war and spoilers of peace...depicting them as seeking political dominance of a centralized unitary state in which their language, Amharic, is already the lingua franca."13 In reality, the Amharas had been victims of suppression for many decades and were the victims of many government led campaigns in an attempt to shame, ridicule and dehumanize in regions where they were a minority. Recently, TPLF attacks have resulted in thousands of Amaharas losing their lives and millions of dollars in destruction. The goal of the TPLF has been to control certain areas of Amhara and Afar in order to gain leverage in anticipation of an end to this war.

In the 1980s, the TPLF seized land that was historically a part of Amhara territory which then became an important area in Tigraythis is where the TPLF rose in power. Due to constant disputes over land the Amharas possessed, the TPLF began to silence many of Amharas' leaders in the ERPDF using harassment, vandalization, and death. When the Tigrayans took control of the land, the TPLF forced Amharas to only speak in Tigrinya which was spoken in the Tigray and Eritrea regions. Generations of oppression and dehumanization led Amhara to become vengeful towards Tigray. This only increased after the TPLF launched the attacks in November 2020 which began the war. In an effort to take control of the contested land, Amharas worked closely with the federal government in order to stop the TPLF. Since the land was controlled by Amhara, it became an opportunity to govern without consequences. This led to reports of killings and of human rights violations targeting Tigrayans, leading to mass migration from the land. In order to bring about peace within the region, Amhara must be a key partner rather than characterize them as the barrier towards peace or there will be no way for any reconciliation to happen.

While an effort to restore harmony within Ethiopia is possible, both sides must come into an agreement on the next steps. Abiy needs to deal with the TPLF rationally because any effort to rid the organization violently will spark new waves of violence towards other regions, exacerbating regional relations and statuses. The major issue with these reconciliation efforts between different groups would lie in bringing forward the soldiers who engaged in heinous crimes against humanity, and considering how these individuals are hesitant to withstand international courts of justice, it can be said that ethical and local level aspects of justice may be harder to achieve. Abiy had promised that it will be dealt with through the justice system and in the presence of a court, but the amount of evidence incriminating specific soldiers appears to be slim to none. During the times of these actions, no media or news outlets were being let into Tigray which could have provided some demographic and statistical information on the conditions in Tigray at that time. Since the war lacks concrete evidence, it is difficult to imagine the standard attainment of justice for these appropriate crimes. Now, this could lead to revolts and protests especially among the female population, as heightening tensions from involuntary sexual advances perpetrated by war officials have encouraged them to seek justice. Consequently, these revolts could be another way in which the TPLF can gain traction in which Ahmed would need to tread carefully.

In particular, Ahmed needs to come up with ways in which to gain his country's confidence back especially in regions such as Tigray by freeing previously withheld medical aid, distributing food, rebuilding infrastructure and funneling money in areas that are struggling (all of which would uphold the country's international legitimacy). Ahmed needs to scrutinize a deliberate way to distribute governmental power by letting go of this megalomaniac mindset in which he entered office with. This will allow for relationships and alliances to be built in the case of another attempted coup or provocation of war. Dealing with the TPLF will be elusive considering that many members have gone into seclusion in fear of being discovered and killed. The youth uprising will be another pressing issue as these impressionable minds have been subject to violence, especially with how Ahmed reacted to the Oromo youth which could lead to further conflict within the government. At this point, it is safe to say that there is a new found opportunity for both political and diplomatic forces towards reconciliation.

Throughout the violence, a common theme of unity encompassed the nation as the TPLF wanted to restore Ethiopia's cultural glory it had longed for. The repeated false promises and actions were leaving thousands without faith in government thus creating a breaking point in which the ideology of revolutions comes into play. Unfortunately, this notion of swift change consequently follows with violence, leaving a nation full of despair. The nation that was once governed under the TPLF showed a new opportunity for real change including rapid economic development and many wanted to get back to the previous status that Ethiopia held. President Abiy Ahmed needs to create a nation that promotes inclusivity rather than aiming to marginalize certain ethnic groups due to past conflicts in order to become a nation that works in harmony.

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XINJIANG: FROM JIHADISM TO TERRORISM

PAULA LY

after being accused of being a "separatist". According to Eli's daughter, Eli invited ten of his friends over during Ramadan. There, allegedly, he and his friends discussed separatist topics. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison, but his family claimed that he was never involved with politics, let alone believed in separatism. After the terrorist attack in 2001 in America, China took their own measures by targeting the Uyghurs, who mostly believe in the Islamic faith, and controlling every part of Xinjiang to "preserve 'national unity".

INTRODUCTION

Xinjiang is one of the most diverse regions in China. Its official name is the "Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region." It consists of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and the Tatars, representing Turkic-Muslims. The Uyghurs are the most populous ethnicity in Xinjiang. Many countries, including China and Russia, once had eyes on Xinjiang due to the large amounts of resources, such as oil and cotton. The region was also an important stop along the Silk Road as one of the paths to enter China through their neighboring countries and Europe. Of the powers, China and Russia were the most involved with Xinjiang and made many policies and actions to control the people in the region. This paper will be exploring major events and changes of Xinjiang from the Qing Dynasty, and how it all led to the establishment of the re-education camps in Xinjiang.

HISTORY: THE QING DYNASTY

After the Qing dynasty invaded and began ruling Xinjiang in 1646, their first task was to weaken the Zunghars, the most powerful warriors of Xinjiang. The Qing dynasty used their "barbaric" behaviors of the people in Xinjiang as an excuse to take advantage of their region. Their goal was to colonize Xinjiang, not only for their resources and land, but also for the sake of piety towards the emperor. Piety is the devotion of an individual to someone or something. This can be traced back to a policy paper from the Ming Dynasty. Chang Chu Cheng, a leading Chinese Strategist during the Ming Dynasty, started to treat the Uyghurs of Xinjiang as "dogs...if they bark again, then more beating." Several years after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, China and Russia were thriving. Little did they know that there is a movement rising from Xinjiang.

UYGHUR ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE FIRST INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT OF EAST TURKESTAN

Fast forward to the 1910s where Jadidism emerged in the Uyghur community. The members of the Jadidist movement believed in their own identity and wanted their independence from imperial powers such as China. The origins of the enlightenment came from a variety of sources. One is Jamal al-Din al-Afghani's writings. It discusses how Turkic people suffered for their "backwardness" due to the colonization of the imperial powers. The Uyghurs were

also inspired by resistance and oppositions from Turkish citizens against other imperial powers. The Jadidists in Xinjiang also wanted freedom from Chinese and Russian imperialism. This can be seen as a form of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism because the Uyghurs wanted to unite with other Turkic people to resist against China. Wang Ke, one of the authors of the book Authority and Power: Political Structure of the East Turkestan Republic in Wartime, stated that one of the most important concepts of Jadidism is that of foreign teachers and studying abroad. Other Turkic people such as the Tatars and the Ottomans traveled to Xinjiang where they taught Uyghurs about their ethnicity. The universal schools were also one of the earliest schools where Uyghurs received an education without Chinese influence. More books in the Uyghur language were created, leading to the rise of Uyghur intellectuals and opposition to the Chinese and other imperial powers. The goal of the Turkic-Muslim community in Xinjiang was freedom of Islamic faith and to become independent from Chinese rule.

RUSSIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

One important opportunity that the Uyghurs took advantage of was the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. It weakened Russia and gave a way for the Tatars in Kazan to focus on Muslim politics and cultures. Uyghurs reached out to them, wanting to create a strong bond due to their similarities. Ottoman Turkey was also a considerable influence on the Uyghurs in the form of a Turkic teacher named Ahmet Kamal. During World War 1 when the Ottoman Empire was declining, Ahmet wanted to spread and develop the "Turkic consciousness of the local Uyghur population," which could affect the Uyghurs to support the Ottomans.

THE FIRST EAST TURKESTAN INDEPENDENCE and the first etr

In 1931, the Kumul rebellion started the "First East Turkestan Independence Movement". Jin Shuren, a warlord ruling Xinjiang, wanted to abolish governments based on hereditary leaders and "institute centralized governance." The first targets were the Kumulik Uyghurs, who were Kumul Khanate (a feudal, semiautonomous form of authority by a khan) chosen by the Qing government. There were slogans demonstrating independence such as, "Turkestan is the birthplace of the Turks, and must naturally become the land of Turks."

Two men, Sabit Damulla and Hoja Niyaz, were leaders of two groups in the independence movement. Damulla was the leader of a nationalist group consisting of intellectuals who protested in the south of Xinjiang (where Kashgar is also located); Niyaz was a leader of a different group consisting of rebels rebelling against the Chinese in the northwest. Despite some differences, both groups

have a similar Islamic faith and culture. Damulla played a big role in the south by using the concept of an "Islamic jihad" being formed in southern Xinjiang, where Muslims fought in wars in order to protect their Islamic faith, inspiring other Uyghurs in the south to rebel against the Chinese. Both Damulla and Niyaz worked together and eventually Damulla created the Turkish Islamic Republic of East Turkestan (also known as the first Eastern Turkic Republic, or ETR). Wang summarized the impact of the Uyghur Enlightenment and the independence movement:

The facet of the independence movement was influenced...[by] a reflection of the reality of contemporary Uyghur society: only the 'righteous cause' of Islam could serve as a vehicle to achieve political unity between different regions and across the diverse classes and interest groups of Xinjiang society.

However, the political structure of the first ETR was nowhere near democratic. Damulla and Niyaz (the leader of the first ETR) created the "Founding Principles" and mentioned the concept of "institute secularism" of Islam. Not only that, the TIREC modernized their republic by believing and relying on modern ideas and science. Despite these ideologies from the independence movement and their republic, the republic still lacked power to outrun China and Russia. The warlord Jin Shuren continued ruling Xinjiang until a man named Sheng Shicai stepped in and took his place. Thus, the republic was very short-lived and lasted for only a few years.

UYGHUR'S GROWING TOWARDS CHINA AFTER SHENG SHICAI'S RULE

Out of the powers of Russia, China, and sometimes Britain, Japan finally took interest in Xinjiang as their own sphere of influence grew and they wanted more power. Russia and Japan were hostile as both wanted to claim Mongolia and Manchuria for their country. Sheng Shicai, a recent leader of Xinjiang in the 1940s, created the "Six-Point Policy" that emphasized pro-Soviet and anti-Japanese sentiments. Other points in his policy were ethnic equality, integrity, peace, and construction. In fact, Sheng is the first ruler who recognized the minorities in China (he left the GMD that focused more on the Han people), and the term "Uyghur" was utilized officially. Russia took the advantage of the Six-Point Policy and used Sheng to drive out Japan to keep them from taking control of Xinjiang. The Soviets sent some of their military, including trade and agriculture, to Sheng to warn Japan from entering Xinjiang, and also benefitting the land of Xinjiang by acting as a "satellite" towards government officials. This time, the dual power structure replaces China with the Soviet Union instead.

Sheng gradually became a dictator and distanced himself from the Six-Point Policy. His suppression of Uyghurs gradually became worse. One problem was the leader of the Soviets, Joseph Stalin. Like Stalin, Sheng led great purges that killed around 50,000 to 100,000 non-Han political prisoners- it is likely that Sheng wrongfully arrested those prisoners. At this point, Sheng also began to side with Japan, and it became clear to the Uyghurs that Sheng had become a fully-fledged dictator. Meanwhile, the GMD went against Sheng and not only because they just lost their trade partner, the Soviets. Ultimately, the Soviets, GMD, and the Uyghurs overthrew Sheng out of his rule over Xinjiang. The GMD and the Soviets controlled Xinjiang again. The GMD treated Uyghurs and other non-Han very poorly because of their belief in the Han Chinese superiority over minorities in China.

THE SECOND ETR: CHANGES WITHIN THE **UYGHUR PEOPLE**

The GMD saw Jadidism and the Islamic faith within the Uyghurs when they entered Xinjiang and replaced it with the Han people and their culture. Wu Zhongxin, who strongly supported Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD, took over Xinjiang. Despite his reforms of "humanism" and freeing innocent prisoners, he ultimately wanted "ethnic assimilation." Everything went back to the Qing Dynasty where Han Chinese replaced the non-Han people. In addition, the GMD increased taxes towards the non-Han minorities for the military as punishment for losing the USSR as a trading partner under Sheng. Unlike Sheng, the GMD did not recognize the Uyghurs, Kazaks, and the Kyrgyz. Adding to the tax increase, the GMD tried to replace Xinjiang currency with the National Chinese Dollar, which increased inflation severely. Naturally, citizens from Xinjiang were infuriated by GMD's policies, and started a rebellion in the Ghul Jia province in Xinjiang. This rebellion started the "November Revolution," or what Chinese called the "Three Districts Revolution."

THE GHULJA UPRISING AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECOND ETR

Unlike first ETR, the second ETR was more organized - created by the Ghulja Uprising. This uprising was led by a large social underground network called the "Ghulja National Freedom Group" headed by Ilhan Tora. He worked closely with Abdulkerim Abbasow who created the Marxist-Leninist Association in the USSR. On November 7 of 1944, a rebellion broke out in Ili district of Xinjiang led by Abbasow, and soon extended to Ghulja. However, it is unknown if unexperienced, local Turkic-Islamic citizens participated in this rebellion. Eventually, with the help of the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet members like Abbasow, the second ETR expanded to two other districts: the Tarbagatay District and the Altay District.

Tore became the leader of the ETR in Ili, and referenced the

concepts of Jihadism within the Muslim faith during his speech, similar to the first ETR:

All Muslims and all soldiers shall reform our armies, take up arms, and as the prophecy Muhammad says, spare neither out lives mor out property to fight against the regime of tyranny.

In summation, Tore believed that the ETR had the right to wage war against China because of their oppression of the Uyghurs. However, this concept of Jihadism was misused when Tore and his people massacred Han civilians after the Ghuljia Uprising.

The term "Jihad" means to struggle or exert to protect the Islamic faith, but there is no clear definition of Jihad so it often becomes misinterpreted or abused. In addition, the Quran emphasized non-violence and peace within the Islamic faith. In Tore's case, he abused the concept of Jihad and used it to kill Han civilians. The events turned more extreme and violent than the first ETR. This can be connected to the ISIS today with their extremism and the use of Jihadist ideology in their terrorist attacks.

The second ETR was not independent because the Soviets played a significant role into the uprising and rebellions. Most of the rebellions were led by pro-Soviets such as Abbasow, and they utilized their ideology of communism (where people heavily rely on the Soviet Union) to the ETR.

THE FALL OF THE SECOND ETR: WHAT WENT WRONG?

There is little to no concept of democracy when the ETR was first established. Suddenly, the citizens of the Soviet Union took over most governmental positions rather than supporters of leaders such as Tore. The Turkic-Muslim citizens did not have any right to participate in politics within the Interim Government Council. Naturally, most of the "backroom politics" were controlled by the Soviet Union. In addition to the people's antipathy towards the Soviets, there was conflict between modernism and traditional society. The Interim Government emphasized the importance of education to expand and modernize their new authoritative state as soon as possible. Still, the Interim Government did not include any of the Islamic faith in the political system. Tore did not keep his promise and the government was not based on Islam. Additionally, the Soviets had more power than Tore and other leaders of the three districts.

The second ETR occurred during the final years of Word War 2. Unlike the first ETR, the government system of the second ETR was more uniform and organized, but the timing for it was wrong. The end of the Second World War strengthened the Soviets and China which became the ultimate weakness of the second ETR. As a result, the Soviets took advantage of and exploited citizens of the second ETR. Wang Ke stated that the ETR "could very well have followed

in Mongolia's footsteps to win its independence from China" if the Second World War continued longer.

In the end, did China's reoccurring repression of Xinjiang cause the Uyghurs and other Turkic-Muslims to become more radicalized and violent after creating the second ETR? It is very likely that Sheng Shicai and the GMD worsened the hatred of Turkic-Muslims in Xinjiang the most, but the situation is more complex due to Soviet involvement during the Ghuljia Uprising. Had the Soviets not helped National Freedom Group, perhaps the "November Revolution" would not have been successful. In addition, it is unknown if the citizens of ETR wanted the ETR established in the first place. Nonetheless, the citizens opposed China, and now the Soviet Union, for taking advantage of the people in ETR. Ultimately, the second ETR only lasted for 83 days beginning in November 1933. Assabow and other intellectuals eventually accepted that the Xinjiang Province Coalition Government work with China in 1946. The coalition later failed after the Mao Zedong and his supporters attacked the GMD. Xinjiang was now back to square one with China. This time the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), accepted Xinjiang as part of the People's Republic of China established by Mao Zedong.

THE USSR: THE IMPACT OF CHECHNYA'S SITUATION ON XINJIANG

In the early nineteenth century, the Chechens experienced a surge of interest in Islamic faith similar to the Uyghur Enlightenment. The Soviet Union initially supported the Chechens in the 1920s, until Stalin rose to powers and the changed the policies from support to hostility against the Chechens. The discrimination escalated to the point where millions of people were forcibly deported from Russia to the Kazakh Republic, and half of them were Chechens. They suffered from disease and starvation, and many of them died before arriving at their destination. The mass deportation left a permanent mark on the Chechens even today.

Xinjiang is in the southeast of Kazakh. The mass deportation serves as a warning from Stalin not to challenge him or the Soviet Union. However, the National Freedom Group and the pro-Soviets chose to ally with the Soviet Union and established the second ETR. The second ETR resulted in opposition toward the Soviets, and some Uyghur leaders such as Osman Islam from the Altay District attempted to rebel against the government and even forced Sharia law onto the citizens of the ETR. In the end, there was no independence for Xinjiang, the Uyghurs remained trapped between China and the Soviet Union. However, the impact of trauma is clear, both on the Chechens and Uyghurs, who changed their identity and ideals of their Islamic faith later in the 2000s.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1949, the CCP, led by Mao Zedong, defeated the Guomindang (GMD) and ruled China. Mao broke his promises to the minorities of China in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Mongolia for independence after he defeated Chiang Kai-shek. This time, the repression of minorities in Xinjiang became even more hostile. In fact, this can be seen as one of the signs of ethnic cleansing. Mao's events such as the Great Leap Forward caused severe famine in China including Xinjiang, but the Cultural Revolution worsened the economic situation and hurt the Turkic-Muslim culture of Xinjiang. Mao's ideology of unity of the Han people forced Uyghurs and other minorities to follow Han culture and ideologies. In the end, the CCP continues to control residents in Xinjiang today.

XINJIANG TODAY

According to the United Nations, a genocide is "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group." The CCP established a large network of re-education camps in Xinjiang that detains Uyghurs in 2017. According to BBC, satellites show that the camps have grown rapidly from 2017 to 2020. Have the Qing Dynasty, the first and second ETR, the GMD and the CCP from the 1950s all been part of one genocidal process? Why did the CCP start the re-education camps now - and not after the fall of ETR? There are many factors to consider: the series of terrorist attacks from the 1990s to the 2010s, international relations on the topic of terrorism or Islamic faith that counts as a threat to the CCP, and Xi Jinping's new Silk Road.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE IN **CHINA**

The CCP started mobilizing Xinjiang against the "three evil forces" (terrorism, separatism, and extremism) in the 1990s. In April 1990, 200 men caused a riot in Baren, a town in Xinjiang. The CCP claimed that it was caused by "Islamic Holy War Force" who paid the men to start the riot. In response the CCP tightened their religious policy. However, it is likely that CCP's response made things worse, because a series of attacks followed, including a bombing of three busses in 1997. Thus, China launched the "Strike Hard" campaign against the violence by banning religious which led to many arrests and some executions of Uyghur, religious students. It is likely that the rapid changes of Xinjiang and increased military input caused any Uyghurs to experience "internal displacement."

The violence escalated even further from 2008 to 2009. The PRC reported that a Uyghur women attempted a suicide bombing during the spring of 2008, and attacks on the police followed during that year. In July 9, a major crackdown occurred between

the Uyghurs and Han, which resulted 200 people killed and 1,700 injured. At this point, the CCP drastically increased their presence and added new security in areas of Xinjiang. In 2013, three Uyghurs in a jeep crashed into tourists in Tiananmen Square, and killed all three and two tourists as a result. Later in 2014, four men and one woman, together, killed 29 people and injured 140 by attacking them with knives in a train station. Shortly after, the Chinese media reported two suicide bombings in May. Xi Jinping was announced as president in 2013 and he proposed a new plan for Xinjiang, and also created the "Strike Hard against Violent Terrorist Activity, which started a "transformation through education." It can be argued that this was the start of the reeducation camps, but it wasn't as severe as the re-education camps in 2017. The duration of the camp is short but "concentrated" with education on transitioning into Han culture. The irony of this was how the US -lead by George W. Bush- supported the CCP at the time, and drove the CCP to greater enforcement of policies against Xinjiang.

TERRORISM FROM ABROAD

In 2001, two planes attacked the Twin Towers. The CCP reacted to the attacks with fear, expecting terrorism occurring in Xinjiang; the mobilization within Xinjiang increased drastically. In 2002, the CCP connected the Uyghurs with Jihadist groups, and found an unknown group called the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) created by Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP). This sparked and spread fear among the Han people, because they feared that the Uyghurs were associated with Jihadist military groups like al-Qaida. However, the threat of the ETIM was debatable according to different scholars. One scholar argued that the ETIM "was not an active militant organization...Rather, it was at least initially created as a training organization that could give aspiring Uyghur militants (...) experience with weapons," that it was too disorganized to plan an attack. Nonetheless, the TIP did praise Uyghurs who attacked tourists in 2013, and other violent attacks in China. It is also important that there was little evidence toward the Uyghur's relation to the Jihadist organizations. Therefore, the CCP spread fear because "of the links among Uyghurs in China... remained a theoretical possibility rather than an operational reality."

That was the case until 2014 to 2015 where it is clear that there were contactse Uyghurs and jihadist military groups outside of Xinjiang. Members of these groups were arrested or even shot by officials in the Philippines, Indonesia, and other parts of Southeast Asia. In addition, the fear from CCP increased after finding evidence of "Uyghur participation in military groups in Syria." Videos of Uyghurs in northern Syria were posted by TIP. As a result

of the movement, many Uyghur militants wanted to stay in Syria, but some wanted to bring their combat experience to China in order to "fight for the Eastern Turkistan."

CHEN QUANGUO

Chen Quanguo, who previously managed the Tibet Autonomous Region, similar to Xinjiang, became Xinjiang's Party Secretary in 2016. He applied some his policies from Tibet, but the regulations and policies formed in Xinjiang by Chen were worse than in Tibet. Massive detention facilities and prisons were established around spring of 2017, and the XUAR government used the method of "de-extremification." De-extremification is a process of "transformation through education" for Uyghurs who were deemed as religious extremists. In August 2017, Meng Jianzhu, a Secretary of China's Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission, visited the re-education camps and expected the "education" to "reform [the prisoners] toward a healthy heart attitude." Meng's viewpoint of the policies implemented towards Xinjiang degrades the severity and the consequences of de-extremification towards the prisoners.

THE NEW SILK ROAD AND "FUSION"

In 2013, Xi Jinping launched an operation create the "Belt and Road Initiative", also known as the New Silk Road, in order to "modernize" their economy and push their power towards the west. Xinjiang plays a major role in connecting China to the west, so the CCP had to prioritize mobilizing Xinjiang from increasing security to re-education camps.

In addition to the New Silk Road, Xi Jinping and the CCP had always agreed on "plurality and unity" of Han people, which "contradicts" what they called "ethnic problems" between the Uyghurs and Han Chinese. Xi Jinping and other scholars and government officials within China utilized the contemporary term "fusion." The term fusion originally came from "contact, communication, fusion" after the major clash between the Han and Uyghurs in 2009. The goal of "fusion" was initially to end "relentless struggle with Xinjiang separatist forces" and "resolving the ethnic problem." Now, Xi Jinping and other officials used this term to support and developed "unity and security" of Han Chinese rather than plurality and diversity of all ethnic minorities in China.

IS CHINA'S MOBILIZATION IN XINJIANG A GENOCIDAL PROCESS?

All this leads to one question: does this count as a genocide? According to David Tobin, a lecturer on East Asian Studies, genocide is a process and it does not have to be immediate violence. The UN listed behaviors of a genocide:

- a. Killing members of the group
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- d. Imposing measure intended to prevent births within the

e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group Based on this list above, the situation with Xinjiang meets several of the requirements above. The CCP tightened the security in Xinjiang due to frequent terrorist attacks in China, but it led to mental and physical harm towards imprisoned Uyghurs in re-education facilities and other forms of discrimination. One Chinese official stated his opinion of Uyghurs in the re-education camps:

You can't uproot all the weeds hidden among the crops...re-educating these [Uyghurs] is like spraying chemicals on the crops. That is why it is a general re-education, not limited to a few people.

In their perspective, they do not want anyone to stand out and instead want all to follow the Han way of living. The re-education facility is the only way to "cure" or non-Han people treated as rehab patients for their "extremist" behavior.

Furthermore, there are two methods of genocide China uses on Uyghurs in Xinjiang. One is called "ethnic cleansing." According to the UN, there is no punishment for ethnic cleansing because the term is fairly new, having been developed since the 1990s, and the definition is not clear. However, according to United Nations Commissions of Experts, the current interpretation of ethnic cleansing is, "a purposeful policy design by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas." They also include coercive behaviors such as torture, rape, and arbitrary arrests. The CCP already followed the methods of ethnic cleansing in the re-education camps. Uyghurs who used to stay in the re-education camps experienced rape, frequent beating by enforcements, and families finding their children or relatives missing.

Going back to the beginning, Sadir Eli was arrested because the CCP claimed him to be a separatist without any evidence. Eli and his friends discussed the issue about separatism, but there were no plans to attack of induce violence against Han people. This act of arrest counts as arbitrary arrest or detention in accordance to ethnic cleansing. It is likely that the enforcement arrested Eli because his occupation as a businessman interferes with the productions of "New Silk Road".

GENOCIDE BEYOND RE-EDUCATION CAMPS

In addition to the re-education facilities, Uyghur children were separated from their parents and put into poorly conditioned orphanages. Other children are transferred to kindergarten schools that only practice Han culture and education. Local Uyghur schools are behind in technology, so children were pressured from their parents and even the Han Chinese to go to "Xinjiang Class," schools with better teaching material and updated technology, but there is little to no education of Uyghur culture or Islamic faith. They are similar to Native American Schools, because the teachers were seen as superior toward the students. The teachers judge Uyghurs depending on their performance in Han culture, history, and education. After education, most Uyghurs feel isolated and unhappy because the difference between their ethnicity and Han people in China. The CCP manipulates students who studied abroad into returning to Xinjiang, and their families also pressured them return. Some students do not return and live in America or other countries, while others had to go back and work in China.

Often, working in China does not help Uyghurs where employers threaten them with re-education camps if they do not do well in their jobs. The police and other authorities require Uyghurs to show their identity cards, and one student was forced to script an propaganda interview about her reasons for moving away from China. According to Joseph E. Fallon, China also coerced Uyghur women into marrying Han men, violating section D of UN's policies of genocide. Chinese schools, the propaganda and coercion used against Uyghur families, and Han Chinese discrimination towards Uyghurs in Xinjiang violate all of the sections in Article II of genocide.

Currently, China denies the existence of re-educations camps and dehumanization of Uyghurs, and warns the United Nations not to interfere or investigate. The UN does not have the power to enforce an investigation in Xinjiang, and few people from the America are aware of the re-education camps in China. However, many journalists have attempted to record the lives of Uyghurs in Xinjiang and were watched by cameras and police force, and even followed by a few Chinese authorities.

CONCLUSION

Considering the history of the Uyghur Enlightenment and the recent formation of re-education camps in Xinjiang, will there be news of Uyghur resistance against China in the future? The second ETR shows how the focus shifted from Uyghurs protecting their ethnicity and independence to Uyghur intellectuals forming violence against the Guomindang. How will the process of genocide change Uyghurs in the future? The CCP officially named the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the 1950s. However,

STUDENT ARTICLES

Xinjiang was never fully autonomous, not even during the second ETR. The CCP had more control than the administrators of Xinjiang, and the CCP has complete control over the Uyghur citizens' lives today. Will there be a mass resistance or even a revolution in Xinjiang in a bid to finally become an autonomous state? Will western countries play a part in supporting the Uyghurs? The answers are, as of now, unknown. Currently, the United Nations and the western countries speak of putting a stop to Russia's invasion of the Ukraine. Perhaps China's involvement in the ordeal will be an opportunity for the Uyghurs. Otherwise, they must wait for a new opportunity to rise and resist against China as the CCP increases mobilization of Xinjiang in the future.

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DO YOU SEE WHAT I SEE? RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA ON UKRAINE FROM A US PERSPECTIVE

SOPHIA FIELDS

INTRODUCTION

ith an emergence of war in the modern age comes a war of information. The news and editorial reporting have received an increase in criticism for the spread of disinformation in recent years in the United States. However, this criticism of mass media and apparent usage of propaganda is now being highlighted in Russia after its recent attacks on Ukraine. To the outside world, it seems as if Russian citizens have a completely different idea about why these attacks were carried out on its neighboring country. Major networks' creation of propaganda has evolved into an increasingly important political tool. How do we know when we are being fooled if the information being fed to us is so heavily regulated?

INTRODUCTION TO MODERN PROPAGANDA

The most socially accepted way of distributing modern propaganda is through the use of major news outlets. We are currently living in a world of mass information and hyperconnectivity through the internet. With these advances, more people are seeing how misleading the most "trusted" of news sources can be. Our tumultuous political environment in the United States has led viewers to question the intentions of these mass media giants and caused consumers to become more cautious of how they acquire and digest their information. As people are being exposed to greater amounts of information, at an exponentially faster pace, from more diverse media sources,

consumers have been questioning how the major networks get away with blatant dissemination of disinformation. The consumer is increasingly aware that the largest news outlets have become tools of propaganda and sounding boards for the political parties. Propaganda is defined as, "Information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote or publicize a particular political cause or point of view." Modern propaganda paired with the lenient rules that media outlets are allowed to legally follow, creates the perfect opportunity for the spread of disinformation.

It is common knowledge that politics in America have become increasingly polarized, and it is equally well known that there is money to be made in the media from catering to a particular political viewership. This idea is now being exploited on a whole other level with the emergence of the war in Ukraine. As politics have become more polar in the United States, news networks have become more biased to a particular political party, what some refer to as sounding boards or echo chambers to their political beliefs. However, in Russia, there is only one party that is allowed to offer their perspective, Putin's regime. In Russia, propaganda has become increasingly worse with the recent ban in independent news outlets. Russian citizens are comparing the reality of the regime to the dystopian society in the well known dystopian novel 1984 by George Orwell. Now, if a viewer wishes to obtain unbiased news in both Russia and the United States, they are torn between which news outlet to believe for their information, engendering an environment of distrust and vulnerability. Unfortunately, "it

has become the audience's responsibility to differentiate between the truth and 'fake news,' that often takes the form of modern propaganda." An analysis of major news networks and the information they distribute is necessary to avoid becoming a victim of modern political propaganda.

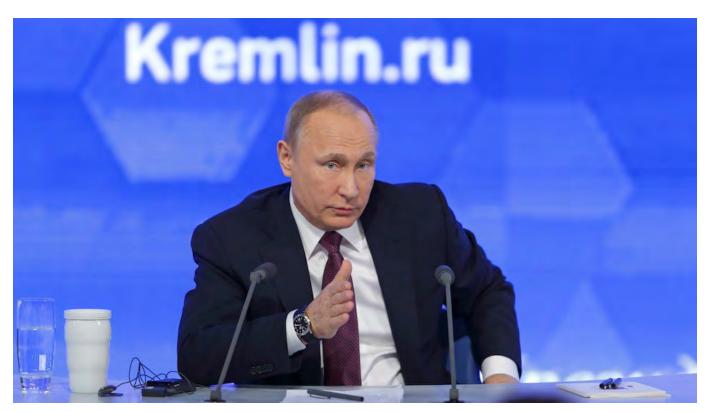
THE SEVEN TYPES OF PROPAGANDA

According to most marketing groups, there are seven types of propaganda. Each category can be used to sway the general public, that is, if they are not willing to further research any and all of the information that is disseminated to them. Often, these types of propaganda are simply used by advertisers to convince the general public to buy their products. However, these techniques can be just as easily used by large media corporations to get their audiences to "buy into" certain ideas and ideologies. The first and most common type of propaganda is called "Card-Stacking Propaganda." It describes the technique of withholding information that can negatively affect the image of a person, product, movement or ideology, in order to preserve its reputation. The second type of propaganda is "Name-Calling Propaganda." This technique is exactly as it sounds; it uses negative language to describe an opposing target in comparison to oneself. The third type of propaganda is called "Bandwagon Propaganda." This technique describes the use of psychological manipulation to make people feel they are taking the most popular stance on a particular subject. The audience is influenced to believe that the majority of people feel the same way as is reported, and this convinces many to "hop on the bandwagon." The fourth type of propaganda is "Testimonial Propaganda." This technique utilizes the testimonies of high profile figures (often paid) to influence a popular and positive outlook on what is being reported. "Transfer Propaganda" is the fifth type of propaganda that commonly uses deeply embedded psychological symbols, archetypes, and memes to link good or bad emotion in their audience to a particular person, product, idea, ideology, movement, or brand, etc. The sixth form of propaganda is "Glittering Generalities Propaganda." This technique is similar to "Transfer Propaganda," but uses specific words or phrases to positively influence one's decision concerning their targeted goal. The final technique is called "Plain Folks Propaganda." This technique describes the use of "real experiences" with a particular product, person, idea, etc. and how this experience impacts "ordinary people." This reinforces the idea that people similar to them are impacted equally by the targeted goal. Once we recognize these seven techniques, it becomes simpler to see the persuasive impact they have on society.

THE HISTORY OF PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES VERSUS THE HISTORY OF PROPAGANDA IN RUSSIA

It is likely that if you received an education in the United States you first heard of the term "propaganda" in your history classes. We often hear about this term in a negative connotation when learning about the World Wars and Nazi Germany. WWI is known as "The First World War where mass media and propaganda played a significant role." The United States government used propaganda in WWI posters to help convince soldiers to enlist in the army. They selected images and words for these posters and newspapers that made the army look exciting and tempting to the eye. They also used patriotic phrases and images that convinced men it was their civic duty to their glorious country to enlist. One poster read "If the cap fits you, join the Army today." These carefully selected images and phrases, however, became even more prominent in WWII. WWII created many of the propaganda images that we continue to see today. Iconic images of the beautiful Rosie the Riveter working in the factory to support her country continue to conjure feelings of duty for Americans. Uncle Sam with his pointed finger exclaiming "I WANT YOU" is still seen and used today as a symbol of loyalty to the United States of America. American citizens were persuaded to purchase war bonds, work in factories, and engage in many more life-altering choices all for the sake of our country. Also, images depicting the evils of Adolf Hitler were used to rally a common hatred toward the enemy. Although the aforementioned goals of the government can appear noble and worthwhile, the idea of being heavily influenced by our government isn't necessarily something to show great pride in. The United States is supposed to be a government "for the people" not, "over the people." As people become more sophisticated in their understanding of political influence, it would be interesting to see how the American people react to the manipulation of cartoon imagery and simple language. In contrast, modern forms of propaganda have become much more discreet than those we see in our history books. It would seem suspicions should run higher for modern forms of secretive manipulation.

It is no surprise to learn that Russia has a similar history with their usage of propaganda, especially surrounding the first and second World Wars. Russia utilized similar posters and newspapers to distribute carefully selected images and cartoons glorifying service in the war and gathering support for their country's military. These cartoons and phrases were not only utilized to bring a more nationalistic outlook to Russian citizens, but also as an attempt to lessen the severity of the implications brought about by the wars. For example, WW1 caused a famine for much of Eastern Europe, and in Russia, citizens were burdened



with a severe food shortage. Propaganda distributed by the Russian government at this time included depictions of food as a source of evil. In some of these cartoons, for example, men are seen drowning in a sea of champagne. Another popular image of the time shows a bowl of Russian porridge defeating an Austrian sausage in battle. Images like this seem so blatantly obvious and comical in their portrayal of a serious issue for so many, however, given their historical context it is hard not to appreciate the cleverness and wit it took in creating this effective form of propaganda.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPAGANDA IN THE MODERN WORLD

The increased polarization of politics and the speed of information from the internet require a rapid evolution in propaganda. Propaganda has evolved into many forms to meet the modern age of technology. Through a "wide range in signs, symbols, and media." propagandists are able to better convey their messages. The problem with recognizing modern propaganda is that it is disguised as regular news that is reported earnestly. It is estimated that "Americans see about 4000 to 10000 advertisements every day." This statistic includes political advertisements and because every political advertisement contains a form of propaganda, the American public is being constantly bombarded with political propaganda. While it is not extensively studied due to the nature of Putin's regime, it is safe to assume that this is a similar issue in

Russia as well. This propagandization is additionally magnified in exposure because the modern media consumer no longer sees propaganda on posters and newsprint; instead propaganda is pervasively encountered in every part of their social lives and communication. The average person is now influenced by propaganda in social media, email, text, and internet search. As I am attempting to research this very paper, Google and other search engines are attempting to influence the information I seek.

Most people who are targets of propaganda are shocked to learn that, in the United States, public officials aren't protected by the same libel and slander laws as independent citizens. Simply put, the media is given a loose reign to lie about public officials with no effective legal recourse. We often see this in elections when opponents make use of the "Name-Calling Propaganda" technique. While an independent citizen could sue someone for the slander of their name and defamation of their character, public servants do not have these same legal protections. According to Justia.com, "In general, public officials may make statements that adversely affect the reputation of others without being exposed to liability. This is because an absolute privilege against defamation applies to the President and other executive officers, even when they knowingly make a false statement or intend to harm the subject of the statement." Also, there are no laws designed to protect events as they do individuals. For example, a news outlet could lie about the number of attendees at a political rally or event, using the "Bandwagon Propaganda" technique without threat of legal

recourse. It is relatively easy to see a media unrestrained by fear of legal recourse is able to operate freely, with little regard for the truth.

As of August 20, 2012 defamation was criminalized in Russia. Vladimir Putin signed into law amendments of the Criminal Code that would deem defamation as a felony punishable by fines up to 170,000 USD or forced correctional labor. These laws include the defamation of citizens, public officials, and the state and its symbols although no indication was made for the punishment for defamation of the head of state. As of 2019, however, Russia's parliament passed a controversial law that allows courts to serve jail time to individuals who distributel online "disrespect" of government or state officials, including president Vladimir Putin. With Russia's invasion of Ukraine, these laws have only allowed Putin and his regime to further restrict the information being distributed to Russian Citizens. In early March 2022, Putin signed yet another law allowing for his agenda to be spread without opposition. This law not only criminalized reporting that contradicts the Russian government's version of events, but also caused independent media outlets to leave the country, shut down, or face extensive legal consequences and prison sentences. It is the goal of Putin's regime to enforce the idea that Ukranians want to be under Russian rule and their soldiers are being greeted as "liberators." Putin also wants his country to believe that there have been no Ukrainian casualties and the sentiment that his invasion is harmful only comes from misinformed Americans. In addition, the words "invasion" and "attack" are being completely censored in Russian media and citizens have not been made aware of any bombings that have occured in Ukranian cities.

MAJOR NEWS NETWORKS IN RUSSIA

In Russia, Russia-1 and Channel One are the most popular sources of television news and the most prominent sources of media in Russia. These media sources, available both online and through Television, are how over half of the population acquire their news. Channel One, emerged in 1995 "after the transformation of the Russian State TV and Radio Company Ostankino, which has its roots in the Central Television of the USSR." Whereas, Russia-1 was established in 1991 and is a state-owned Russian television network which is equivalent to their "channel 2." As previously discussed, with the emergence of the war in Ukraine these networks are more heavily monitored than ever before. While both networks have been a form of state television since the early 1990s, Russian citizens are now left with little to no where else to receive their information. Now that Putin has virtually eliminated the industry for privately owned media companies it is clear to see why Russian citizens are so drastically misinformed.



HOW AMERICANS CAN TAKE RESPONSIBILITY AND BE INFORMED AUDIENCES WITH CORRUPT NEWS NETWORKS

While Russian citizens do not nearly have the same liberties we do in regards to seeking information, it is important to recognize that as citizens of the United States we are always responsible for what we choose to believe. There are many steps that we can take in order to prove that we are properly informed and correctly rationalizing our ideals. One way we can make sure that our information is accurate is by analyzing the credibility of our sources. We can do this by making sure the information is current. Obviously, when attempting to inform ourselves we need to make sure that we are provided with the most updated version of the particular issue in consideration. Another way we can analyze the credibility of our sources is making sure the source has the authority to be informing others in the first place. Many people see information on social media and are the first to believe anything they see. This has especially become a problem on platforms like TikTok and Twitter, where issues of censoring information have recently become problematic. For example, although they are very expressive activists, Chrissy Tiegen and Kanye West do not have the proper authority to inform others on politics. Tiegen is often seen as a figurehead, and notable activist for the democratic party. Her and her husband spoke at Joe Biden's rally, piquing the curiosity of over 30 million followers on her Instagram platform and over 13 million followers on her Twitter platform. She is constantly voicing her opinions and informing her followers through these platforms. However, in no insult to her intelligence, she has had no history in politics nor a college education. Kanye West, on the other hand, received much attention when endorsing President Donald Trump and expressing his political orientation with the Republican Party. With over 30 million followers on his twitter account and over four million on his instagram account, Kanye has also been very vocal to his followers about his political opinions. With such a large following and an entire campaign in the 2020 presidential election,

Kanye never actually graduated from college. It has become apparent that influencers are now being utilized in Russia as well to endorse Putin's actions. On these same social media platforms, Russian influencers are being paid to distribute good sentiment for their country's leader. These individuals also encourage their followers to dismiss any information they are receiving, particularly when it contradicts Putin's agenda. A final way to check the credibility of a source is to make sure the source covers the information you are looking for. One should not go to MSNBC when searching for a recipe for creme brulee.

In order to not fall victim to modern propaganda we also need to make sure we recognise political bias. If one were to live their life solely watching one news network, unknowing of any bias, they would be considered seriously misinformed. When approaching any form of media, it is important to take in consideration the perspective that they are attempting to convey to their audience. Sometimes this perspective is completely factual, it can also be sprinkled with half truths, or even completely false realities. We should be aware that journalists have no longer made their priority the truth, they have now left it up to us to decipher. Also, libel laws enforced in the United States do not necessarily protect us from falling victims to disinformation.

A final way to avoid any influence from modern propaganda is to approach issues logically before involving any sentimental value. Many types of propaganda that were previously mentioned are specifically targeted to invoke emotion in their audience. If we give into these feelings that were deliberately targeted, it is hard to keep an open mind and explore all aspects of the information that is being distributed. Although emotion is important in making any opinionated decision, its influence shall have the least guiding force. Too many political and non-political discussions are soiled due to our emotions taking over when a logical compromise can be reached. Conversations led by logic with a consideration of emotional factors are crucial in keeping each other accountable and properly informed.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, propaganda is not just something we learned about in our history books and disappeared after the Second World War. The complex technological world we live in paired with the lenient libel laws required of the media makes modern forms of propaganda harder to detect, but nevertheless they still thrive in our media and political programs. As Americans, we also need to be aware of all possible biases the sources of our information can inherently carry. If our journalists are no longer trustworthy, it is now our responsibility to hold ourselves and others accountable through the way we absorb this very information. However, it

is important to approach all issues with logic before emotion so that we can properly analyze and communicate any information received. If we can focus on logical compromise or at least cordial communications, we can help eliminate some hostility within our ever-so contentious political climate. If we can inform ourselves in a way where we are aware of the effects of modern propaganda and do anything to do to avoid these effects, we can avoid being misinformed in our confusing world of politics. In the end, I did question the propaganda hurled upon me during this exercise, and found myself asking, "who is checking the fact checkers?"

At some point we must choose who to believe and no single individual who wants to live outside of news research is able to completely verify every source of information obtained to establish the truth. Therefore, each individual inevitably brings their own background, experience, and bias in creating their own version of the truth they decipher from the propaganda they consume.

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ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY

IESSE WHITE

he moniker "Arsenal of Democracy" was coined by President Roosevelt regarding America's role in World War II for its prowess in the mass production of goods for the war effort, in particular its ability to produce weapons such as tanks, fighters, bombers, trucks, and guns on a scale that no other industrialized country during that period could match. From 1940 to 1945 the United States produced 400,000 jeeps and trucks, 14,000 airplanes, 8,000 tractors, and 13,000 tanks just for Soviet Union alone under the Lend-lease act. The contribution was so impactful that Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin stated at the Tehran Conference in 1943, "The United States ... is a country of machines. Without the use of those machines through Lend-Lease, we would lose this war." This war would propel the United States into the number one position as the largest weapons manufacturer in the world. As interesting as this development of industrial might is, it is far more interesting to follow what happens to all those tanks, vehicles, and guns after they are not needed anymore. When the weapons for one war soon find another as they drift through the shadow economy and numerous grey markets like secondhand clothing at thrift stores or baseball cards at a garage sale.

The focus of this paper is not on the war winning capacity of the Unites State's vast Military Industrial Complex (MIC), instead it is an analysis of the price the world pays so the US can maintain its spot as the top weapons exporter, more specifically its production of small arms and how it helps (directly and indirectly) destabilize and fuel a cycle of violence around the globe. Although

the issue is not as straightforward because of the unique sociopolitical and socio-economic circumstances the US finds itself in that meld together like a perfect storm to perpetuate a cycle of international and domestic violence that no other country could facilitate. In order to address the violence, I need to talk about the globalized system that makes it possible known as the "arms trade".

The summary of the current state of arms trade is as fallows. The global market for firearms as of 2019 is estimated at north of \$118 billion which is an marked increase over \$95 billion for 2017; and it is estimated that the top 100 exporting companies (which the US is the largest exporter of) made approximately \$400 Billion in sales the same year of 2017.³ The other significant figure to round this list of cursory numbers off is the worrying fact that global military expenditure has increased to \$2 trillion as of 2020, which is a continuing trend as the that number is the highest it has ever been in recent history, surpassing that of even the last few years of the Cold War, with the US making up the largest share of that global expenditure at 39%.4 If we expand on this data to get a material sense of the scale of what these numbers actually mean. Then we being to see the sheer scale of the issue that these figures serve as red flags for. Such as the fact that there are now over one billion firearms in the world with the vast majority in the possession of civilians, or the unsettling morbid reality that there at least 8 million firearms and 15 billion rounds of ammunition are manufactured globally every year, \$7 billion of which is authorized for international small arms trade every year.5 Although this

number is presented as a conservative estimate, it is still suspect as the number of firearms produced in the US alone is stated to be at least 7 million in 2019 and 9 million in 2018 respectively (excluding the production of arms for the military and number of guns produced illegally). This conflictual data and information void is emblematic of the murkiness of the global arms trade. This is where the darker side of the story starts to unfold as we touch on the illicit side of arms production and exports.

That \$7 billion dollars of "authorized trade" is just that, what was officially authorized, it is just an estimate as countries withhold their true export data so there is a massive blind spot in the arms trade. On top of that these countries try to obfuscate the extraordinarily little data they do publish.7 This leaves researchers having to scrounge around just to extrapolate a conservative figure. Arms manufactures are notorious for refusing to divulge sales information and the abundance of countries under arms embargos and restrictions lead to the existence of black and grey markets in an industry that is also notorious for poor regulation and oversight. As the author Khadija Sharife points out, "The arms industry has less mandatory and enforceable international legislation than the banana or soy industry", so it is no surprise that experts claim that the arms trade makes up at least 40% of all corruption in global transactions.8 Also, the dollar amount of trade means very little as the value of firearms range wildly, depending on whether the seller is offering old surplus weapons that have been sitting in a warehouse since the fall of the Berlin Wall or brand-new equipment hot off the assembly line in some western country. Either way, the official figure from the UN's Register of Conventional Arms reports that just over 1.8 million firearms were exported in 2013, the glaring issue with this number though is the fact that only 25 countries reported on it.9 So it is not hard to see why other experts view this issue as criminally under-reported.

The other problem with arms trading is that manufactures ultimately do not get to control where a firearm ends up. There are so few international and local enforcement mechanisms that if a manufacture wants to move product to a buyer they are not supposed to, they have various means to do so, even if they did not intend to. Whether they look the other way or were just trying to conduct an honest transaction, the guns always end up somewhere they're not supposed to. Case in point, a Japanese man who was arrested in 2012 for stockpiling firearms which included a Russian made rocket launcher. This is where the illicit arms market comes into play. There is an illegal global market for trading guns that generates between \$142 million and \$270 million dollars annually, it comprises 10 to 20% of all legal firearms trade. This market as of 2015 was estimated to include at least 640 million illicit firearms just within the regions of the United Nations, which breaks down

to 1 firearm for every 11 people. 11 Though the true number remains a mystery because of the secrecy of arms manufactures. To further demonstrate with a humorous anecdote just how ridiculously pervasive and large the illicit arms market is, during the filming of the movie Lord of War which is about the life of an arms dealer. The Director while searching for prop guns soon found out that it is actually easier and cheaper to buy real guns, so he purchased a cache of 3,000 Kalashnikovs for the movie.12 This leads to the other point that needs to be stress, that the majority of illegal arms transaction are conducted by private entities compared to governments. Although governments still engage in illegal trade to some degree as demonstrated by numerous governments who breached UN arms embargos to sell Small arms and Light weapons (SALW) to armed groups in Somalia.¹³ I'll touch back on this point later on in the paper as it plays into the bigger picture of this paper but now I need to address the other aspects of the trade.

After explaining just how opaque and widespread the arms trade is I must clarify and shed light on the basics. I'll start by establishing the definition of what a "small arm" is, as defined under the UN firearms protocol "any portable, barreled weapon that expels a shot, bullet or projectile by action of explosive," which encompasses everything from revolvers and shotguns to light machineguns, although some have use it to classify other man portable weapons like rocket launchers.¹⁴ That's why the definition used going forward will be in reference to firearms, because rocket launchers and heavy machines guns are usually classified as "Light Weapons," and used acronymically in conjunction with small arms in the form "Small Arms and Light Weapons" or "SALWs." The definition is necessary as terms tend to get minced when it comes to this topic and leads to confusion about the specific statistics. Also, some hold preconceptions that it is only "military grade" weapons are contributing to this violence the distinction between military and civilian arms have been blurring over the years as the civilian firearms market has become more militarized. 15 On top of that, another misconception is that people think most gun deaths come from war zones and countries engaged in war. This is simply not true as there are more gun deaths in countries not engage in conflict from guns in the hand of civilians. 16 The other thing that must be addressed are main consequences and what makes this issue so important, which are more than 500 people are killed every day from gun violence or 250,000 per year and 44% of all global homicides involve gun violence, and the number changes significantly depending on the region and country such as Brazil with 72% and El Salvador at 91%.17 This disturbing trend has been likened to an epidemic by some authors and others bestow it the tragically ironic title of "The world's most silent plague." Either way this issue has continued unabated for decades with very little



attention being drawn to it for one reason or another even though 6.5 million people have died to gun violence between 1990 and 2016 and the numbers have been concentrated to only 15 countries, with the worst of it occurring the Americas.18 It is transnational health crisis that receives less attention than other higher priority concerns like the drug trafficking and terrorism even though it is a key component in both of them that's closely interlinked. The story of gun violence just like the cursory data just presented does not end here.

Homicides are not the full story when discussing gun violence. There are also the social and economic scars left behind by gun violence, such as the number of people injured by gun violence, suicides, and a myriad of other secondary affects that erode a functioning society. First, compared to the 500+ people a day that are killed by firearms there are an estimated 2000 that are injured with at least 2,000,000 currently living with gunshot injuries around the world; just in the USA there were 134,000 injured by gun shots in 2017.19 The degree to which gun violence harm a society and the state are generally overlooked by the larger population as the violence is usually directed at more invisible members of society such women, minorities, and the poor. The spillover effect from small arms proliferation and the subsequent violence start to erode democratic governance,

peace, and economic development as the state must combat lawlessness, banditry, and a host of other criminal activities as civil order disintegrates and the balance of power within the state is challenged as state authority is undermined.²⁰ This was best demonstrated by the 2019 "Battle of Culiacan" where in a failed attempt to capture the son of the Sinaloa cartel's leader Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, the Sinaloa cartel consisting of hundreds of armed members laid siege to the entire city of Culiacan (all 800,000 residents) to "negotiate" the release of El Chapo's son. In doing so the Cartel surrounded and overwhelmed the Mexican state security forces (Army and Police) in a humiliating defeat that resulted in them retreating and letting El Chapo's son go, making the state look incredibly weak in the eyes of the public.21 It also amplifies political violence, one of the best known cases such as Siege at the Palace of Justice in Columbia in 1985 where a group of left-wing rebels known as M-19 stormed the Palace of Justice taking hundreds of hostages including 25 Justices; after a lengthy stand off and numerous assaults by the military, dozens were dead, including 11 justices and thousands of criminal records were incinerated; cripplingly the Columbian legal system.²² Besides making the state look impotent having to divert resources to combat situations like these they also have to contend with the economic consequences of gun violence that includes increased funding for police, healthcare, and other social resources need to deal with the aftermath of gun violence. In the wake of gun violence victims need emergency medical care as well as long term physical and psychological rehabilitation from the immense trauma that they experience When this cycle is occurring hundreds of thousands of times per year is starts to add up, for instance, in Latin American gun violence consumes 14% of their GPD and in the United States it cost \$125 billion per year and \$5 Billion for Canada.²³ So not only does it threaten democracy through political violence and organized crime, but it also siphons money and medical supplies like blood for transfusions and hospital beds, not to mention valuable psychiatric care for victims when there is already global mental health crisis during the COVID pandemic. The illogical part of this cascading societal suffering is that that as a collective international community we have put so much emphasis on Biological and Nuclear weapons controls/treaties but have completely overlooked the one weapon that consistently produces the most casualties out of all of them: small arms. It is well understood by experts that the majority of combat deaths come from small arms and light weapons instead of tanks, artillery, and other sophisticated weaponry that have become synonymous with modern warfare. ²⁴ The former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan described them as the real "weapons of mass destruction" and others have called them WMD's in slow motion.²⁵



The US as an arms exporting giant has played a key role in proliferating firearms across the globe and in turn exporting violence. From the end of 1945 all the American guns just like the trucks, tanks, and planes became relics of a war no longer being fought. So just like everything else it was more economical to just sell them off than to ship them back home. And in the face of a new era with a new enemy in a new type of war they soon found a home in the armies of anti-communist and pro-American regimes that sought aid. This "lethal aid" manifested itself into three forms, state-to-state weapons transfers, proxy wars, or support to insurgent organizations.26 And it is not entirely about who the US sold the weapons to in the great power battle. It is more so about what happened to them after their military adventurism proved to be failures and resulted in them withdrawing or when their championed regimes that they propped up with men and materiel collapsed. Such as in Vietnam when an estimated 791,000 US supplied M-16's and billions of dollars of other various military equipment such as tanks, helicopters, and planes were "inherited" by the North Vietnamese Army when they conquered the South in April 1975.27 The footage of US helicopter evacuating personnel off the roof the US Embassy wasn't the last of the scars of US involvement in Vietnam. Not long after, all those captured South Vietnamese weapons that were graciously supplied by the United States soon were covertly sold abroad by the new government to various regimes and groups. Namely to the Burmese Karen National Liberation Army and then would make their way around the world into the hands of Communist groups in Latin America namely El Salvador in the 1980s where they would ironically use the Vietnam era M-16's to fight against US backed forces in yet another proxy war.28 The rest of the arms were then disbursed

through black market channels and scattered to the wind, now they can be found floating around in random places to this day, trading hands again and again. The rifle that my father was issued in late 1970 is probably laying across the lap of some child soldier in Somalia or stashed away in a hidden cache behind a barn in the Irish countryside right now. Unfortunately, it appears not much has changed after the very recent US withdrawal of Afghanistan in September of 2021 that eerily mirrored the previous one of almost 50 years ago, in which roughly \$24 Billion dollars of US supplied arms wound up in the hands of the people they spent 20 years fighting, of that figure approximately 600,000 small arms and various other sophisticated equipment. This equipment has already met the same fate as all the other US made war treasure from Vietnam as the Taliban sold off the stockpiles to arms dealers both locally and regionally, bound for places like Pakistan and the arsenals of ISIS, I'm sure the Indian government is incredibly ecstatic about that.²⁹ The US clearly has a propensity for arming governments that are either inept, corrupt, and or unstable. When those governments finally do implode, they generate a massive wind fall for the arms market and the US Military Industrial Complex (MIC). Most of the time though these weapons end up in the hands of groups actively harming US interests.

The track record of gross negligence that the US government demonstrates in its reckless pursuit to arm and support groups and regimes around the world seems borderline intentional at times. Just in the last 20 years the amount of weird occurrences with arms shipments raises several questions such as in Iraq when the US seemed very keen on indirectly (or directly depending on how you look at it) arming insurgents after 110,000 Kalashnikovs and 80,000 pistols supplied to the Iraqi security forces in 2007 mysteriously

disappeared but were soon replaced by the US without much as a second thought.³⁰ Parallel to this the US decided to arm the Afghan and Iraqi forces with anti-tank weapons even though the only tanks in either country at that time were American ones. Things only worsened when ISIS swept through Iraq in 2014-15 capturing numerous arms depots full of US supplied weapons as Iraqi forces defected or retreated.³¹ The list doesn't end here as the US has been responsible for numerous other embarrassing incidents like the time a shipment of small arms to Syrian rebels (a CIA operation) got lost, ended up on the black market, and then used to kill two US contractors in Jordan.³² In a similar vein, a shipment of arms inbound to Saudi Arabia and UAE disappeared, and as it turned out, they handed the weapons over to Al-Qaeda and Iranian linked fighters.³³ Then there is the more notorious incidents that have made their way into the American public's conscience. Such as operation "Fast and Furious", an effort by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tabaco, and Firearms which ended up allowing the sale of roughly 2,000 firearms to known gun traffickers in hopes of tracking them and by extensions their buyers to build a bigger case, but the plan fell apart, the guns were lost, and two of the guns wound up being used in the killing of a US Border Patrol agent.³⁴ Finally, there's the infamous Iran-Contra scandal that involved US officials selling guns to Iran to finance the right-wing guerrilla group known as the Contras who were waging war against the left-wing government of Nicaragua called the Sandinistas. The situation only spiraled out of control from there as Contras started committing war crimes against civilians and began trafficking narcotics into the US.35 It was revealed that the United States had sold multiple shipments of arms to Central America with each shipment containing anywhere from 20,000 to 75,000 pounds of small arms.³⁶ With numbers like these is hard to believe that the global death toll isn't higher. The sad reality of it is that this is only the tip of the iceberg that doesn't even cover all other "minor" incidents like the small arms being stolen or "lost" from US military bases over the years. Though one thing is clear, this is a pattern that is the result of reckless US export policy in these respective regions, and it is most likely going to get worse before it gets better.

The reason being that arm sales to the Middle East as a whole have grown by 87% between 2009 and 2018 with the United States making up over half of the exports in the 2014-2018 period; the largest recipient of which was Saudi Arabia who have increased their arms imports by 225% in the 4 years between 2013-2017.³⁷ Most likely in response to the ever growing instability in the region after ISIS made their world debut in 2014, the chaos from the Arab Spring in 2010, and a saber rattling Iran that has been using Yemen's Houthis as a proxy force to threaten Saudi national security. The way arms transfers are being incompetently conducted both by the Arab states and the US doesn't lead me to believe that this will quell or doing anything to resolve the conflicts and violence in the region. Aside from the Middle East, the US has also been providing billions of dollars in under their Security Assistance program to the Philippines, Mexico, Columbia, and Somalia since September 11th. 38 I guess they want to ensure that there will be no shortage of American guns appearing on the news in the hands of warlords and street gangs.

This is where the point I mentioned earlier in the paper comes full circle. The main issue is since the US is such an arms producing behemoth whose arms industries benefit from an economy of scale. That it can produce weapons at such a low cost that can easily displace other nations arms industries in the export market resulting in those nations having to engage in less scrupulous behavior to stay financially afloat by them selling arms to governments or groups that are under arms embargos by the US and others. 39 This is most evident in Africa where I previously mentioned that numerous governments were found exporting SALWs to armed groups in Somalia. Aside from causing indirect arms proliferation in despotic parts of the world by squeezing competition via an arms monopoly. There is also the other aspect of having such a large arms industry is that if the US devotes half of its federal funding for technological R&D on defense and defense contractors then there's the argument that the government has an economic incentive to relax and liberalize its arm export policies to better capitalize on its investment.⁴⁰ The other side of this is that arms sales are used as national security tools, so nations will sell guns to nations or groups to counter the influence of their rivals, as did Russia and America did in the cold war and do to this day. 41 This is where the next disturbing fact comes into play and the main reason why I don't believe the situation will improve. The unsettling reality that the five permanent member of the UN Security Council (US, Russia, China, UK, France) are also the largest arms manufactures in the world.⁴² One can't help but feel that the system is rigged when the people who are supposed to ensure international peace and security are the ones who have the geopolitical and economic incentives to do the opposite.

A side note, the other misconception that people make is thinking that US supplied arms equals US made arms. That is just not true as shown above, the US government will buy weapons from just about any country to arm groups. Whether it was Kalashnikovs or M-16's the US peddled them to any group it wishes, it was true in Central America in the 1980s when it armed the Contras with Warsaw pact weapons, the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan to fight the Soviets, and it is true in 2010s when they sold the Afghan National Army Colt M4s.⁴³

Finally, the other side of how the US fuels gun violence is

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through its domestic market via civilian ownership. This area is the socio-political and economic circumstances of the United States that help facilitate and perpetuate violence at home and abroad. It is the intersection between the small arms industry and the second Amendment of the US constitution. It is a multidimensional spectacle in how this paradigm functions, this is because in most countries their small arm manufacturers are state owned and closely tied with the defense industries, but in the US there are a multitude of private defense contractors and small arms industries that produce weapons for the military and the consumer market.⁴⁴ This is due to an extremely permissive gun culture, laws, and a right codified in the nation's constitution. So, there is very little in the way of regulation or political will to challenge it. With so many guns manufactures and a permissive culture that is obsessed with firearms that they view it as not only a god given right but also a patriotic duty, self-protection, and recreation. It is then no surprise that the US has the highest rates of gun ownership in the world, coming in at 393,300,000 firearms in civilian possession at a rate of 120.5 per 100 people the only country that comes close is Yemen with 52 per 100 people. 45 Neither is it a surprise that the US suffers the most gun death and violence in the industrialized world with just under 40,000 deaths in 2016, over half being suicides. 46 Nor is it baffling when those guns and gun violence inevitably spill over into neighboring countries via the illicit arms trade. The guns enter the grey and black markets through one of three ways: 1) illegal use of a legal firearm by its lawful owner, 2) guns that were illegally manufactured and sold, 3) guns that were diverted to grey markets i.e. stolen, sold illegally or to unauthorized individuals.⁴⁷ When it comes to how guns in the US wind up in the in other countries it is the latter. From there, they trickle through the porous north, central, and south American borders, finding their way into criminals' hands. Something not helping the situation is there are 12,000-gun stores along the border with Mexico, from Arizona to Texas. A study suggests that an estimated 212,887 guns were trafficked from the US to Mexico between 2010 and 2012, and out of 75,000 guns seized by Mexican authorities in the years of 2007 and 2010, 80% of them were from the US.48 It has become such a pervasive problem that a Mexican is more likely to be killed by an American made gun than an American in their own home.⁴⁹ This only partially why most of the gun violence is concentrated in Latin America.

The other reason gun violence has been concentrated in the Americas is through lobbying efforts by US organizations like the National Rifle Association. The NRA has become the bulwark for the small arms industry by pushing back against gun regulations, violence mitigation, and suppressing studies into gun violence. The most notable instances are where the NRA lobbied to pass the

Tiahrt amendments in 2003 that forbid the ATF from releasing gun crime and gun trafficking data to the Public and in the 1996 where they succeeded in getting the funding cut to the Center for Disease Control's (CDC) body that sponsors research on gun violence. 50 While at the same time, engaging in modestly successful pro-gun lobbying efforts around the world, in places like Russia, Australia, and Canada. It is most successful case was in Brazil where it managed to carry out a PR campaign that overturned a 2005 referendum that would've banned the sale of firearms and ammunition to civilians even though a poll showed 73% of the population supported it.51 Speaking of selling guns to the global south and the NRA, it another layer of irony that Oliver North became (for a brief time) the President of the NRA. It is no surprise then that the country ended up surpassing the US in the number of gun deaths in 2016, approaching almost 45,000 deaths from primarily homicides, and along with the United States, Venezuela, Mexico, and Columbia constitute the five countries with the most gun deaths in the world (excluding India).52

In conclusion the United States has an extraordinary track record of fueling the arms trade and thus global arms violence by not only arming its allies but also by providing its enemies indirectly through incompetence and world class negligence. It also has the ability to incentivize other competing nations to sell arms to despotic regimes because of its colossal industrial size and geopolitical goals, fueling instability and war. While its careless gun culture and abysmal gun regulation also allows guns to funnel their way into the global south to perpetuate a cycle of violence that fuels itself like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Americans are bombarded with images of murder, drugs, terrorism, and demonized immigrants south of the border, which prompts them go out to buy even more firearms that eventually get stolen or lost, and trickle down into the hands of a Sicario or that week's mass shooter.

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CASH, CURRENCY & CRYPTO

OMER ALI

"What even is money, how has it evolved, why do people feel the need to invent alternatives?"

umanity has been trading commodities even before the creation of organized civilization, but how has it changed over time? At first, it was done using a barter system of goods and services however as humanity evolved so too did the markets.

The first currencies were typically hard to acquire resources such as Buck pelts, Salt, and even Cacao beans. Aside from simple exchange value of the commodities came the creation of coin money minted by various governments. Unfortunately, these currencies were difficult to spend as they were heavy in large quantities and they could not be divided into smaller units easily which negatively impacted the currency's liquidity. To solve this problem came paper currency and the beginnings of the modern banking system. The wealthy would take their large quantities of heavy assets such as copper or gold and deposit them at banks in exchange for lightweight paper bank notes representing the value of the assets deposited, merchants who were paid this paper currency could at any time go to the bank and exchange the paper for the original asset; in theory. In practice, the banks would print more paper currency than they had assets to exchange creating a substantial risk of default.

The gold standard brought economic stability and limited inflation however as governments would find themselves fighting costly wars they would print the money needed to fuel their war machine as the U.S. famously did during WWII. Charles De Gaulle capitalized on this "exorbitant privilege" by converting his USD

reserves to gold in 1965.1 In 1971 Nixon officially lifted the Gold standard and soon after the rest of the world would follow suit in the creation of the modern fiat currency system.² In this era of fiat currency, value would be based on foreign exchange markets and other factors such as the currency's value in the Consumer Price Index. Some governments thought this fiat currency could be abused to pay off **foreign** debts by simply printing more money such as the Weimar Republic and as a result came some of the highest inflation rates since the Hajj of Mansa Musa. Other governments such as Japan would capitalize on this Fiat currency printing by issuing high levels of domestic debt to experience a short period of hypergrowth followed by painful economic deflation. In the Covid Era, we see many developed nations and Hegemons participating in similar behaviors as post WWII Japan as they pass trillions of dollars worth of practically interest free loans targeted at large multinational corporations such as Boeing and Marriott hotels. This global pandemic and never before seen international abuse of the fiat currency system (further exacerbated by fractional banking from the private sector) can be argued to be the catalyst that will bring mass adoption of cryptocurrency and virtual currency in the global economy.

WHAT IS A CRYPTOCURRENCY, HOW DOES IT WORK, WHAT CAN I DO WITH IT?

Due to the criticisms which argue that the government's interference in economic policy is detrimental to the global

economy as a whole, Satoshi Nakamoto would take matters into its own hands and create the world's first cryptocurrency: Bitcoin.

Bitcoin is not a physical currency and it is not merely a number representing cash stored on your behalf (such as the money in your bank account). Bitcoin is a decentralized digital currency which runs on the Bitcoin blockchain network; a new kind of money. No government has the ability to alter the "economic policy" or distribution of tokens hardcoded into the network. This Bitcoin uses a distributed ledger technology (DLT) where transactions are visible to a web of nodes on the blockchain.3 Nodes are compensated in Bitcoin for correctly recording transactions on each individual block, nodes are also compensated as every blockchain transaction costs the sender a "gas fee" which is then distributed amongst all the nodes (this concept is similar to postage stamps required for sending "snail mail").4

BTC is almost impossible to censor because of its economic model incentivizing the perpetuation of the network and the anonymity of users. Anyone with a strong computer and an internet connection can create a BTC node and wallet. In practice, this means as long as Bitcoin has a value there will always be a financial incentive for people to run nodes and perpetuate the existence of Bitcoin. Anyone with a smart device can create a BTC wallet allowing them to send and receive BTC without any form of identification or verification. In order to shut down the blockchain literally every single node would have to be dismantled; in effect so long as no one government has totalitarian power over the whole globe it would be inconceivable that a nation could "censor" or completely remove Bitcoin from the global economy. In terms of Bitcoin distribution it has a hard cap at 21 million coins and approximately every 4 years the mining reward for BTC gets cut in half. The tapering deceleration of BTC mining aspect creates a massive increase in value overtime especially when compared against Fiat currencies (1btc worth \$1 in 2011 now valued at over \$30,000).

Bitcoin does not have a monopoly on the Cryptocurrency market either as there are thousands of cryptocurrencies which run on various different blockchain ecosystems. These blockchain ecosystems have more utility outside of merely recording transactions. The digital nature of blockchains allows for the automation and programming of economic policy and financial services. Through the use of Decentralized Applications (Dapp for short) many financial products are available. Some Dapp's allow for the decentralized (and collateralized) borrowing and lending of crypto currencies such as "Block-Fi". This is significant because this allows for the borrowing of currency without a credit score or income check; most importantly in the United States and other countries paying back a collateralized loan is not a taxable event. The significance of cryptocurrency facilitating the "dodging" of taxes cannot be overstated especially when looking at other projects such as Monero. Monero is a privacy coin which uses a decentralized, encrypted, and "untraceable" system to ensure the transaction ledger is accurate and 100% anonymous (not even the nodes know who the real sender and receiver are). Some Dapps allow for the creation of unregulated synthetic assets. Synthetic assets are cryptocurrency tokens pegged to the price of various assets such as precious metals, foreign currencies such as USD (also called "stablecoins"), and even financial assets such as Stocks and futures.

At this point in time, cryptocurrency is still new and has yet to experience global widespread adoption and major institutional acceptance however given all the possibilities of the technology and censorship resistant nature of blockchains many would argue that it is only a matter of time before Cryptocurrencies overtake paper currency in utilization and adoption. Unfortunately as with any major technological advancement this blockchain technology can be used for more nefarious purposes as opposed to merely facilitating "free market ideals".

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE BIG BAD GOVERNMENT GETS INVOLVED WITH THIS TECHNOLOGY?

Cryptocurrencies can be disruptive to traditional banking and financial services, given that governments have a vested interest in shaping their own economies, there is increasing pressure by various central banks to regulate cryptocurrency some even seek to implement aspects of cryptocurrency to their own economy such as China and its digital Yuan.

Some governments (particularly those with smaller economies) see cryptocurrency as a threat to their currency and seek to ban it (why would people want to hold an inflationary Zimbabwe dollar when they can hold a USD stablecoin or BTC instead). India has recently proposed a bill that would criminalize mining, trading, and even ownership of Cryptocurrencies.5 This bill, if passed, would make India the first major economy to outright criminalize Cryptocurrencies in its entirety (punishable up to 10 years of imprisonment).6 The real fear is not that cryptocurrencies are a "ponzi scheme" as some Indian officials would argue.7 The unspoken fear that India and other governments have is severe capital flight. India has been working very hard in the past few years to end its current account deficit and has only recently begun to have a small surplus.8 With the current bull market cryptocurrencies are experiencing and the exponential growth in market cap it only makes sense that India is fearful of capital flight especially given its heavy investments in the technology sector which would facilitate it.

Some nations such as Singapore and the Philippines are quick to implement mass adoption of cryptocurrency because they think it can be beneficial to their current account.9 Not all small economies are impacted negatively by cryptocurrency and capital flight, that's because it can be balanced out with remittance payments. Cryptocurrency remittance payments are seen as more optimal than traditional methods such as wire transfers and utilization of 3rd party remittance companies. By transacting a remittance payment on the blockchain it protects the donor's investment in several ways. Depending on which crypto currency was utilized there would be no way for any government to track or stop the transaction, this would allow U.S. citizens to send remittances to Iran, Cuba, or Afghanistan for example. There is no middleman involved when using the blockchains meaning that the fees are drastically reduced compared to traditional remittance methods. Singapore and the Philippines are relatively lax in their regulation of crypto with the bulk of their regulation targeted at preventing the funding of terrorists however due to the nature of blockchain technology they are only able to prevent the liquidation of digital assets form potential terrorists not the sending and receiving of the assets themselves.

El Salvador has taken cryptocurrency adoption to the extreme by making bitcoin their official legal tender in September 2021. This was done in response to the increasing debt pressure from the IMF. By making a decentralized currency legal tender El Salvador is directly challenging the IMF's ability to impose sanctions in the event of a default. This is just one benefit of bitcoin adoption as El Salvador's legal tender as the influx of cryptocurrency investors has created the funds for the creation of the world's first "bitcoin city" according to president Nayib Bukele.

Another approach governments are looking at is implementing blockchain technology to their own currencies. The most famous example of this would be China and its digital Yuan. The digital Yuan is the world's first Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC) meaning it is a blockchain run by the state with tokens/units of currency distributed by a central bank.¹⁰ The digital Yuan is the first example highlighting the possibilities of blockchain technology when utilized by centralized entities such as the CCP. The digital Yuan is not hosted by a web of decentralized nodes as BTC is, instead the entire network is owned, operated and even regulated by the CCP. This creates privacy concerns as the Digital Yuan wallet is tied to the identity of the user, this allows the CCP the ability to view all transaction data and plug it into its existing intelligence collecting network.11 This means not only does the government know your name, face, smartphone data, and "social credit score" but now they have direct access to your funds.12 This level of economic control by a central entity is unprecedented

throughout human history. China has been quick to flex the power of blockchain technology in its new currency. The first experiment was an attempt to combat economic stagnation via an expiration date on the currency meaning that if you don't spend all the money in your wallet by a specific date it will disappear. There is theoretically no limit to the control the Chinese government can exercise on its own CBDC. They could also for instance limit transactions of "unfavorable" or "unproductive" assets such as alcohol or any goods made in the U.S.A.. Time will tell how centralized control of digital currencies will play out especially in relatively planned economies such as China but what is certain is that blockchain technology empowers the state far beyond what was previously believed to be possible.

Many other countries (particularly those of neoliberal ideology) such as the U.S. take a more hands off approach to cryptocurrency. In the U.S. for example the buying and selling of crypto currencies is completely legal however institutions that facilitate the transfer of USD to Crypto must abide by "Know your customer" (KYC) regulations. This is done so that all transactions classified as taxable events are recorded and traceable by the IRS; cryptocurrencies are taxed as "digital property". Furthermore, the U.S. allowed for the public trading of cryptocurrency stocks such as the popular brokerage "Coinbase" which IPO'd in April 2021. Other "neoliberal" based nations such as Germany and Japan require all cryptocurrency transactions to occur within license brokerages only allowing for more fine control over the implementation of Cryptocurrencies into their economies.

The power of the blockchain has yet to be fully realized in the international political economy however its possibilities are both terrifying and intriguing. On the one hand it empowers the masses to a vast array of new financial products and services whereas On the other hand it empowers the state to have totalitarian control over its currency like never seen before.

CRITICISMS OF CRYPTOCURRENCY

Aside from the potential for economic authoritarianism discussed above, there are plenty of criticisms of blockchain technology. From a regulatory perspective trying to limit cryptocurrencies from being used in money laundering and tax evasion can become a legal nightmare. For example, crimes can be committed in Country A by citizens of Country B that target citizens of Country C utilizing a cryptocurrency intended to be untraceable such as Monero; this would limit its traceability to the moment of purchase and the moment of liquidation if and only if done at a centralized institution or brokerage following KYC regulation. ¹⁵ In order to stop this would require international coordination and willingness to expend resources which can prove

to be quite costly. In this example Country C is most incentivized to stop this behavior however, countries A and B can technically profit through taxation and current account growth. Country A can be made to crackdown on the crime committed through international law, political pressure, and even economic retaliation from Country C such as embargo or tariffs. Even if Country A was to crack down on the crimes committed if the fugitives were to flee back to Country B or even a "safe haven" Country X would require an extradition which may or may not be agreed to. Without an extradition Country A and C would be left with no other legal options. An illegal and frowned upon alternative to extradition would be to extrajudicially exterminate or imprison the perpetrators on foreign soil such as the assassination of Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan by the U.S.. In essence the decentralized nature of Cryptocurrencies make accountability and regulation even more difficult than crimes committed with other assets.

There is considerable literature regarding the polluting nature of blockchain technology as well. When compared to the energy consumption of nations, the energy consumption of the BTC network alone would rank #29 in global energy expenditures pulling just ahead of Argentina at #30.16 There is more nuance to this however as the financial motivation for running a BTC node is only feasible in regions where electricity is cheap. Typically places energy is cheapest when harvested in a renewable fashion or when there is an abundance of oil/coal. If harvested in a renewable fashion then the environmental impact is limited to the production of the computer hardware itself. If the energy was harvested in a petrol abundant environment then it is without question that BTC is contributing to global warming. Some scholars would argue instead that the accountability should be on the international community to punish all nations with unsustainable energy practices as opposed to blaming the blockchain network itself for allowing the conversion of energy to currency.

In terms of overall economic impact the introduction of cryptocurrencies is very similar to the introduction of other asset classes and financial instruments throughout history such as the discovery of petroleum in 1859 or the introduction of options contracts to the stock market in 1973. Cryptocurrencies are merely a tool to be used to help facilitate digital transactions in a low friction, low regulation, and highly speculative environment. That being said, the lack of regulation is what makes cryptocurrencies the asset of choice for large illicit transactions as large amounts of capital can be stored, transferred, and potentially liquidated anywhere across the world instantaneously without anyone being able to freeze or reverse the transaction. This does not give criminals carte blanche to transact illicit sales without any repercussion as the highly public nature of blockchain distributed

ledger technology allows for digital forensic analysis which when combined with the existing powers of global financial regulatory authorities has been used to capture criminals utilizing cryptocurrency at the time of liquidation. In terms of the macroeconomic implications of cryptocurrencies, its overall impact is limited as the technology has yet to be fully realized and implemented. El Salvador's implementation of bitcoin as legal tender was a bold action taken to attempt to undermine the threat of IMF sanctions however in practice there has been little to no economic benefit seen in the nation. It will be interesting to see how the asset class develops and evolves over time. It is likely that as cryptocurrency gains more adoption that nation states will look to implement aspects of the technology to their own currencies such as China and their digital yuan experiments.

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AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE THIRD ESTATE AND THEIR GRIEVANCES

MADISON HINSHAW AND ALYSHA ROBBINS

he complaints of common people of France in the late eighteenth century began long before the events of the French Revolution unfolded. The general discontentment that led to societal upheaval can be traced to an agricultural system that was certain to fail and irreversibly came to a critical point ahead of the revolution. Nationwide food shortages, hunger, and poverty were commonplace in France. The people also withstood burdensome taxes, leaving laborers with little to no upwards mobility or ability to provide for their families. Examining the cahiers de doléances (ledgers of complaints) illuminates how the Third Estate, made up of the working class and peasantry, voiced these discontents which led to a greater desire among them for social change. The lack of fair representation that would occur when the ledgers were elevated to the Estates General in the summer of 1789 contributed to the escalation of forceful action and violence that took place during the Reign of Terror.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF FRANCE

The population of France during the French Revolution was approximately twenty-six million people- twenty-four million of whom constituted the Third Estate. The First Estate consisted of clergy and the Second, nobility. This small population of French society held more power and paid fewer taxes than the Third. Making up this estate was the upper "middle class" which consisted of practicing lawyers and academics, townspeople (comprising artisans, shopkeepers, waiters, domestic servants, etc.), and rural

peasants who made up around 80 percent of the total population of France. Future revolutionaries came from the privileged middle class of the Third Estate, and thus had an education that would serve them well later on when drafting a new constitution. "With rare exceptions they were among that exclusive group - only 1 or 2 percent of the population - who had followed the full cycle of instruction in the French secondary schools." Revolutionaries had a hunger for universality and a passion for knowledge, reading, and discovery. Some talked of reform but there was no vision in their readings and writings for what violence would be in store in their futures. Contrast the upper-middle class' education with the rural peasants of the day who, apart from the ability to sign their name and get by day-to-day, were largely illiterate. Revolutionaries were quick to point out the differences between them and the poor and common people: that they were foolish, politically ignorant and not becoming of the title of "proper people". It was this population of the Third Estate later altogether though, that would join as one force at the beginning of the revolution.

THE AGRICULTURAL CONTEXT

A significant part of the disgruntled nature of the French peasantry specifically was due to a pattern of harvest failures and food shortages, the effects of which can be traced to at least a century before the period of the revolution. During the reign of King Louis XIV (1643-1715), who was known for his great military strength, a commander of his army spoke "Several times we



thought that bread would absolutely fail us; then by great efforts, we got together enough for half a day; the next day is got over by fasting." This fasting was due to food shortages shows testament to a people and army that were dedicated to their nation and were patient with their King. Though persevering, they were growing weary, and as they trudged along their desire for change grew and they could see a need for disruption if relief was not found. Said the mistress of King Louis XV, Madame de Chateauroux, (Circa 1742): "I see plainly that there will be a general overthrow, if no remedy be used." This foretelling over forty years before the making of the revolution shows just how long the people held out for a modification of their bleak outlook.

Cropland in France was largely parceled out into tiny plots which made harvest yields generally unpredictable. Devastating crop failures in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had made small landowners risk-averse. Diversification of the type of produce sown was low and certain areas of France only grew

one form of crop. Due to a lack of farm animals in rural France, manure was in short supply also, leading to soil that was not at its highest quality. Maize and potatoes required more fertilizer than grain, so it was preferred over others. French farmers also routinely rested their ground which meant that large portions of land fit for harvesting were regularly uncultivatable. Only three harvests from 1770 through 1789 proved bountiful for the French population. As the population increased under Louis XVI, demand for crops increased and food production would be in short supply due to volatility. Flax, forage, and wine crops would fail in the years before the Revolution, and "As we approach 1789, Nature yields less and less. Like a beast over fatigued, unwilling to move one step further, and preferring to lie down and die, she waits and produces no more. Liberty is not only the life of man, but also that of nature." The worry of widespread famine would start to creep into the minds of the French.

Around two-fifths to one-half of France's land was owned by

peasants. Though positive as it were that French peasants had land rights, as they were able to "move about, buy and sell, work, and enter into contracts" The land was portioned out so small for purchase or lease that it was insufficient for a family to provide for themselves off it "let alone produce a marketable surplus". The lords who sold the land to farmers would impose dues, taxes, and obligations that the peasant had to pay in order to rightfully "own" it. Even then, lords could exercise feudal rights over land that was no longer theirs, which gave peasants less control over their crops even going so far as prohibiting the killing of animals that would creep onto lands and ruin harvests. Peasants also had to pay to use machines to mill grain and press wine, making all parts of the cultivation cycle costly. Even then, the large tax or the burden of the corvée, a tax that required peasants to work to maintain roads and bridges, meant that harvesters were gone from their own fields months of the year. The unfortunate way the entire agricultural system was set up meant that it was "organized so as to go on producing less and less, and paying more and more." Volatile harvests combined with poor productive measures induced by greedy economics leave little doubt as to why French rural communities were discontented.

AN IMPOVERISHED PEOPLE

Peasants who lived off of employment in the fields were reduced to poverty when harvest yields were short which necessitated begging in town streets. The impoverished population fluctuated from at least eight million people or a third of the French population to ten or eleven million people during the worst of times. Visually, poverty was inescapable in France and in rural areas it was most evident. Peasant men, women, and children would be seen without shoes or socks while working in the fields. In cities, the impoverished were reduced to begging and petty theft. Prostitution was commonplace, and the number of abandoned children had "tripled over the century". Fluctuating harvests and shortages of food led to high prices and nearing the end of the eighteenth century, "prices rose three times faster than wages". A manufacturer inspector in 1777, said of the average worker that they needed "twice as much money for their subsistence, yet they earn no more than fifty years ago when living was half as cheap." Lines into bakeries were long, food transportation was often disrupted and riots were beginning to become more frequent. To combat this, cities like Paris would regulate the price of bread but by the summer of 1789, "famine threatened everywhere", and for the average French person there was a waning belief in a government structure that could protect them and provide for their basic needs.

A PEOPLE'S CALL FOR HELP

The worsening social climate in France led Louis XVI to call an election of the Estates General, a legislative assembly of all three estates, that would take place from February to April of 1789. Electors were to bring with them to Versailles in May, ledgers of complaints, or cahiers de doléances. These cahiers would end up numbering 60,000 and this collection of grievances would showcase the views and concerns of all estates, most especially the Third. "All voters were worried about taxes, but the peasantry were overwhelmingly concerned with the burdens of taxation", which was almost entirely shouldered by the Third Estate at the discretion of the First and Second. But through the reading of the thousands of grievances, none of the cahiers could have anticipated the revolutionary measures that would soon be taken. Despite an overall sentiment of criticism of how the King had managed the country's finances, the cahiers contain no trace of doing away with monarchy and "did not imagine the abolition of nobility itself". Overall, the cahiers of the common people were varied but contained a desire for the "improvement of living conditions" and "reform or lightening of the tax system" such as the corvée. The grievances of the peasants were initially represented but as the elections carried on the more educated and privileged of the Third Estate were chosen as delegates to Versailles. Optimism was high as they were called upon but these hopes were crushed when they realized fair representation at Versailles would not happen. The Third Estate then broke off at the end of June 1789, calling themselves the National Assembly and created a new document or Constitution that would reflect their democratic values.

EMERGING VIOLENCE

Due to the dismissal of the King's finance minister, who was favored by the Third Estate, On the morning of July 12th 1789, the common people of Paris feared for the future of the newly formed National Assembly. Rumors of armed invasions began to circulate through Paris and Parisians felt it necessary to defend their neighborhoods and lives. It escalated so that on the afternoon of July 14th, a hastily-formed group marched to the Bastille. A prison fortress, the Bastille only housed seven prisoners at the time of its capture, but the townspeople understood that it would contain the weapons they needed to further defend themselves. The historian George Rudé identified most of the attackers as residents of the suburb Faubourg Saint-Antoine, close to the Bastille, and were comprised of skilled workers in workshops, artisans, tradesmen, or manufacturers. Of the hundreds of Parisians that stormed the Bastille that day, forty-eight were cabinet-makers, twenty-eight were shoe-makers, and twenty-one were shopkeepers. This vivid picture of who exactly stormed the Bastille that day shows the

disgruntled nature of the people of Paris and France at large. Initially, negotiations were tried but eventually, the governor yielded its capture to the crowd. The violence did not end, however, and revenge was called for. Later that day, the governor's head on a pike would be paraded throughout the streets. This first murderous act due to the refusal to negotiate would mark a new radical approach by supporters of what becomes the French Revolution.

Diplomacy is defined as the "skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility". Whether it be between nations or a governmental body and its people, diplomacy is crucial in the balance of negotiation to compromise from both sides. When diplomacy fails, wars can be waged which follows with economic, structural, or humanitarian failures. Backing one entity into a corner plays a key area in why diplomacy does not work in certain situations. The French Revolution highlights a governmental body leaving diplomacy behind when it came to its citizens' lives. The French Revolution was an uprising from the peasantry against the monarchy. The monarchy at the time being King Louis the XVI was plundering France's economy for personal gain while his lower class citizens starved. A level of understanding from the peasantry comes while living under a monarch and knowing that they are under a rule which they have to follow but when that rule takes advantage of its people, a revolution will inevitably happen. After a long period of death, strife, and hunger, the peasantry took the situation into their own hands to try and make a better life for themselves, and all the actions they took led to the Reign of Terror in which multiple governmental figures were executed for their service to the king. The peasantry felt as though they had no other choice but to let go of hope for diplomacy and commit the actions they did during the Reign of Terror and successfully created change to their livelihoods. The understanding of the Reign of Terror and events leading up to it show why diplomacy holds such an important role within our political system and why it is so fragile when a system collapses.

THE KING AND HIS GRASP FOR POWER

The most important essence of a revolution is the reason behind it, what people fear or feel anger towards the most. In France, that was Louis the XVI. Louis Auguste was born in 1754 and spent his life under royal rule. His grandfather Louis XV was king of France and was ready to hand down the throne to his son, Louis XV. He lost his son and so the throne went to Louis XVI. In 1774, Louis XVI began his role at the age of nineteen years old. In order to keep the power he was losing, the king decided to use the nobility to his advantage. With that, he attached the nobles to his court, and even though it worked, the cost of keeping them contained was very expensive and Louis used most of France's money to build large

armies to maintain central power. "As long as the commons exerted the inert pressure of delay, he watched the course of events. When at the end of five tedious and unprofitable weeks they began their attack, he was driven slowly, and without confidence or sympathy, to take his stand with the nobles, and to shrink from the indefinite change that was impending."

"December 1788, the king had unilaterally conceded consent to the Estates-General on taxation but he planned to retain the initiative in legislation, presenting laws to be passed by the Estates-General. This he was stripped of, and he was left merely with what he termed' an illusory' suspensive veto." King Louis knew that if he could break down the commoners, he could stop the revolution from growing bigger and bigger. Purposefully weakening their economy to grow his army bigger than ever and then forcing it upon them was Louis' plan as he carefully watched how the common morale was going to decline. A double negative can be seen in this tactic as king Louis shrank the commoners' economy, he shrank his own economy. Within the royal family, there were disagreements on Louis' rule and the new prices he was putting on the commoners' goods. Taking loans from different financial facilities, King Louis' advisors noticed the expenditure and started to get worried about the economic future of France. Not only did King Louis use France's economy to further extend his power, he also tried to hold on to central power in ways that betrayed his country and his allies.

COMMONERS HOPES

"The word peasant is highly ambiguous. For it covers several different social groups, and conceals a great variety of economic conditions." In France, the social hierarchy consisted of the king, nobles, knights, and then commoners or peasantry. With the peasantry being at the bottom of the scale, this left them to be affected the most by the king's expenditures. "Those peasants who have insufficient land eked out their living by looking for additional sources of income." Scavenging for work was nothing new to the peasants before the revolution due to the taxation. The peasants grew hungry as France grew poorer. One of the many attempts to try and cut the king of his power was the Tennis Court Oath. (June 20, 1789) "by which the deputies of the French people bound themselves to give France a constitution, and shall attempt to show that the incident was not the unpremeditated outcome of an invasion of carpenters, «hammering, sawing and operative screeching," but that the events of June 20 constituted in reality only a slight although politically important advance beyond the state of affairs on June 19." The understanding of why the Third Estate helped commoners is crucial when looking at why elites help the proletariat in revolutions. Many times, the elites see the

same problems as the proletariat and use it to their advantage to gain control for themselves. In order to overthrow the king and gain power, they have to help the commoners do the overthrowing in the first place. One of the many attempts was with the Tennis Court Oath. On an actual tennis court, the assembly was being forced to break up by the king and in his efforts locked them out of meeting centers. The actual Oath was taken in hopes of making a French constitution in which the people would live under and be protected by and not disband until they had. It was when the Third Estate invited the other two estates within the king's council to join them that the king started to revolt and revolution began.

In writing the French constitution, the parties involved hoped to have a civil and diplomatic conversation with the king. The king abided by entertaining the notion of making a constitution but took his decision back and started growing his army again. This led the parties to lose hope of having a peaceful transition of power and violence started to break out leading the peasants to get involved, ultimately, it brought on The Reign of Terror.

REIGN OF TERROR

The Reign of Terror (September 5, 1793- July 27th, 1794) can be described as an ongoing massacre. A person of interest during this time was Maximilien Robespierre, an important figure during the revolutionary period who fought for the suffrage of peasants and served as the president of the National Assembly. He came to power during this time and was one of the key figures as to why the killings started happening. "This period was characterized by ambivalence toward the memory of revolutionary violence, which was at one and the same time repressed and encouraged." 17,000 people were executed, Pillaging throughout the streets was at an alltime high with fires being set to government buildings and murders scattered across the country. The guillotine also played a big factor in this period. A tall structure with a sharp blade at the top was designed to make quick executions by beheading. King Louis the XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette died in the Guillotine.

Unfair Trials were put on by the peasants for governmental officials and Nobles. These were practically automatic death sentences due to the unfair nature of the proceedings. 300,000 people were suspected of being arrested during this time. Accountability is something that is constantly questioned when looking back on this time. Was it a heroic tale of how the commoner rose above and took back or was it senseless killing?

OUTCOMES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

After a ten-year battle within the country, the Monarch of the French Government was overthrown by its own people and abolished, leading the French people into a new era. The French people had to endure a lot and most of the time it led to the effects of trauma taking over people. Not only was this a political revolution for the French people but it was also a cultural one. "The result was a spate of wonderful books and shorter studies of literature, fine art, theater, dance, opera, song, architecture and design, festivals, fashion, and sometimes also the press, schooling initiatives, and even churches as they became enmeshed in the political drama of the last decade or so of the eighteenth century." In a sense, this cultural turnover was almost as if the French had their own enlightenment. Social issues were being solved and many movements such as the feminist movement started to gain traction. Essentially, a new country emerged. With the cultural revolution, came the political revolution as well. The French Revolution was one of two events associated with what we know now as democracy. Following the Americans who fought to break away from British rule and rule themselves was an image France wanted for themselves with their monarchy. Being a stepping stone in the process of trying to understand why revolutions happen is crucial in knowing how to proceed forward if history were to repeat in other areas of the world. "Indeed, it might be seen as marking the invention of modern politics. Broadly speaking, virtually any work of scholarship dealing with the French Revolution might be said to address revolutionary politics." (Hanson 2019, 584-592). The French led the process of trying to build a better climate for themselves from both a political and cultural perspective leaving them to revel in their newfound freedom.

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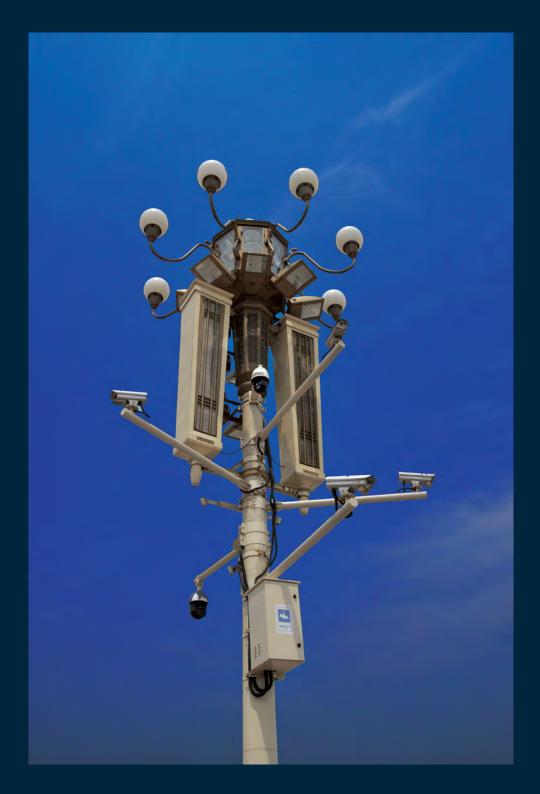
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