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*Edition IX: The Unmaking of the American
Century?*

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December 2, 2019

Dear Readers:

It is a great privilege to write to you as the Editor-in-Chief of the University of Connecticut's Undergraduate Political Review. This semester we are proud to publish our ninth edition of the journal. We are now in our fourth year as an organization, and we are excited by the continued growth in the quality of our articles and the reach of our publication.

As in the past, all of the articles included in this edition were written by undergraduate students, and they have undergone a rigorous peer-review drafting process overseen by our student-run editorial board. Some of our past publications have confined our staff writers to a specific theme. However, we continued our policy from last semester of accepting article submissions on a wide-range of pressing domestic and international political issues. We are proud to feature articles on topics ranging from American congressional apportionment to human rights abuses by the Chinese government.

In addition to submissions from our staff writers, this semester's edition also contains articles by the four members of our Editorial Board. We have chosen to write around the theme: The Unmaking of the American Century. The 20th Century is commonly referred to as the American Century by historians due to the political, cultural, and economic dominance of the United States. Our four articles argue that American dominance has begun to weaken during the 21st Century because of changes in the United States' approach to civil society, civil rights, privacy rights, and foreign policy.

This publication would not have been possible without the support of several people. I would first like to thank all of our editors and writers for their hard work this semester. We could not have published such high-quality research articles without an impressive and dedicated group of undergraduate students. I would also like to thank last year's Editor-in-Chief, Austin Beaudoin, for leaving the Undergraduate Political Review in a strong place and ensuring a smooth transition into new leadership. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Oksan Bayulgen and the University of Connecticut Political Science Department for their continued support.

Lastly, our readers should know that we do accept new writers each semester, and we always encourage talented students to apply. Any University of Connecticut student may apply by emailing a resume and writing sample to uconnpoliticalreview@gmail.com.

Sincerely,



Kyle Adams
Editor-in-Chief

The Decay of the American Community

By Kyle Adams

One of the most important aspects of a functioning democracy is the presence of a thriving civil society. Most institutions in modern democracies can be classified into one of three general spheres: the public sector, the private sector, and civil society. Public sector institutions (government) channel public action for the public good, private sector institutions (businesses) channel private action for the private good, and civil society institutions channel private action for the public good.¹ The organizations that make up civil society in the United States are vast and diverse. They include charitable nonprofits, churches, human service organizations, museums, libraries, and many other local community-based organizations.² These organizations have long been critical in bringing people together to solve community problems and enhance the common good where the government cannot. However, in the late 1990s, social scientists began to question the health of American civil society due to declining membership. This paper argues that American civil society has only continued to decay in the 21st century because of changes in technology. The strong sense of community that these organizations fostered throughout much of the 20th century has been lost in the 21st century, and this has contributed to declining trust in American democratic institutions.

Before discussing the decline of American civil society, it is important to begin by describing the role that these organizations once played in American society. From America's founding to the late twentieth century, political theorists around the world admired civil society for its strength. Alexis de Tocqueville marveled at the willingness of Americans to join voluntary organizations as early as the 1830s, writing that "Americans of all ages, conditions, and dispositions constantly unite together to hold fetes, found seminaries, build inns, construct churches, distribute books, and establish schools."³ Tocqueville argued that these voluntary organizations played a critical role in the growth of America as a world power in two key ways. First, they provided citizens with a means for solving collective problems. Second and more importantly, they drew individuals out of their private concerns, required them to interact with others of different backgrounds and interests, and made people better collaborators and citizens.⁴ Since the early 1800s, the government has taken on a larger role in addressing collective action problems through the funding of schools and infrastructure projects. However, civil society organizations continued to serve as the most important agent bringing Americans together throughout the 20th century. Americans found higher purpose and a sense of community through participation in many free or inexpensive interest-based organizations including youth sports leagues, lions clubs, and exchange clubs. While these organizations were often segregated until

¹ Cardinali, Dan. "The Adaptive Challenge of Restoring Trust in Civil Society." Stanford Social Innovation Review. June 14, 2008. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_adaptive_challenge_of_restoring_trust_in_civil_society.

² Ibid.

³ Stid, Daniel. "Civil Society and the Foundations of Democratic Citizenship." Stanford Social Innovation Review. August 16, 2018. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/civil_society_and_the_foundations_of_democratic_citizenship.

⁴ Ibid.

the 1960s, they still helped unite America due to their local yet federated structures and their cross-class membership.⁵

In the late 20th century, membership in almost all forms of traditional American civil society organizations began to decline. This decline in civic participation is well-documented by social scientist Robert Putnam in his groundbreaking book, *Bowling Alone*.⁶ Putnam most famously uses the example of declining membership in bowling leagues to demonstrate this point. Even as the number of Americans who bowled increased in the late twentieth century, they were increasingly likely to “bowl alone,” as the number of Americans participating in bowling leagues declined over the same time period. Putnam found declining participation in other areas as well. Religious-based organizations like the Knights of Columbus saw a decrease in their aggregate membership, and the number of Americans that attended religious services and affiliated with any religion declined. Volunteer-based organizations, like the Red Cross and the Boy Scouts, and fraternal organizations like rotary clubs and freemasons clubs, similarly saw an aggregate decline in membership. Putnam argued that technology played a prominent role in encouraging people to leave clubs because television and the internet allowed people to spend their leisure time alone rather than with a community of people.⁷ The demise of these clubs marked a significantly negative development for America as people became more isolated.

While Putnam’s argument is persuasive, more recent work demonstrates that Americans may be changing the way they participate in civil society rather than leaving it altogether. Wealthier, more educated Americans have stopped participating in traditional broad-based civil society organizations and have joined more exclusive social clubs, leaving behind those with high school educations or less.⁸ Instead of participating in local rotary clubs, well-off Americans are increasingly likely to join newly emerging members-only social clubs in major cities such as Soho House, Spring Place, and the Battery.⁹ These clubs often have high membership fees that exclude those of lower social statuses from participating. Wealthy Americans are also increasingly likely to pay large amounts for their children to play on exclusive travel sports teams or participate in other exclusive clubs rather than signing them up for Boy Scouts or their local little leagues. The self-selection of wealthier Americans out of traditional civil society organizations has led to an American civil society with fewer clubs bringing people from diverse backgrounds together.

Ultimately, it is clear and undeniable that civil society in 21st century America is failing to effectively bring people together and create strong communities. Declining participation in traditional civil society organizations, especially by upper-class Americans, has decreased social connection and satisfaction. Americans now report higher levels of isolation and lower levels of well-being than ever before. Despite a generally good year economically in 2017, Gallup’s

⁵ Beer, Jeff. “Social Clubs Died Out in America. Now, Venture Capital is Bringing them Back.” *Fast Company*. May 28, 2019. <https://www.fastcompany.com/90437153/patagonia-has-the-perfect-gift-for-your-uncle-who-doesnt-believe-in-climate-change>.

⁶ Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

⁷ Beer, Jeff. “Social Clubs Died Out in America. Now, Venture Capital is Bringing them Back.”

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

tracking poll found a larger decrease in the share of Americans reporting a positive well-being than at the height of the Great Recession in 2009.¹⁰ Even more concerning for American democracy, many Americans have lost trust in their communities and in democratic institutions. The percentage of Americans who trust key institutions including Congress, the Presidency, business, and media has steadily declined throughout the 21st Century, and for the first time in American history, a plurality of Americans reported that they no longer trust civil society in 2017.¹¹ Americans' declining trust in governing institutions and civil society has left the United States at risk for increased social polarization and authoritarianism. In fact, the United States was demoted from a "full democracy" to a "flawed democracy" in the 2018 Economic Intelligence Unit report on the strength of democracies.¹²

In conclusion, the strength of civil society in America is clearly on the decline. The organizations which once helped strengthen American communities and build trust in democratic institutions now face declining membership, especially among upper-class citizens. Finding ways to strengthen civil society is essential to maintaining the strength of America in the 21st century. Unfortunately, solutions are scarce. The government cannot force people to join local rotary clubs, bowling leagues, or PTOs. The government similarly cannot compel people to return to religious services or volunteer at their local soup kitchen. Ultimately, the United States can only resolve its crisis of civil society, if the American people are voluntarily willing to invest their leisure time in their communities again.

¹⁰ Cardinali, Dan. "The Adaptive Challenge of Restoring Trust in Civil Society."

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Agerholm, Harriet. "America Falls Short of Being a Full Democracy for Second Year Running, Report Finds." The Independent. February 5, 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/america-democracy-rated-donald-trump-not-fully-democratic-us-president-report-the-economist-a8195121.html>.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in a Post-9/11 America

By Marianna Kalander

After the devastating attacks on 9/11, America entered what President Bush coined a “War on Terror”.¹³ President Bush created many policies that expanded government power in hopes to combat and prevent terrorism and terrorist attacks in the United States. However, Bush’s policies faced both backlash and support by different groups of people. Some argued that the policies infiltrated the lives of Americans too much and purposively targeted certain religious groups, while others believed the policies were necessary for the overall safety of Americans. President Trump has also pursued policies to prevent terrorism that have faced both backlash and support. In the end, the full scope of the War on Terror has caused a divide in American public opinion on the balance between civil rights and national security.

A key feature of Bush’s War on Terror was the creation of the Patriot Act. The American government was quick and eager to take action, as the Act was signed into law on October 26th, only a month and a half after the attacks. Thus, “Congress enacted the Patriot Act by overwhelming, bipartisan margins, arming law enforcement with new tools to detect and prevent terrorism.”¹⁴ Broadly, this Act increased the power and communication between the government, federal agents, and law enforcement in their investigations, surveillances, and punishments against potential terrorists and terrorist crimes. For one, “the Act enabled investigators to gather information when looking into the full range of terrorism-related crimes, including: chemical-weapons offenses, the use of weapons of mass destruction, killing Americans abroad, and terrorism financing.”¹⁵ Before, law enforcement could only obtain surveillance tools for certain terrorist crimes. Now, the amount of crimes that could be investigated immensely increased. In addition, the Act accommodated to the growing prevalence of technology in society at the time, such as allowing computer hacking victims to seek law enforcement assistance in order to monitor other potential hackings.¹⁶ Also, the Act greatly focused on immigration. Border patrols along America’s borders increased and protocol for dealing with immigrants was reformed. For example, Section 412 “authorizes the Attorney General to certify any alien as a terrorist where there are reasonable grounds to believe that he is affiliated with a designated terrorist organization or engaged in terrorist activities.”¹⁷ Simply, the Act allows people potentially affiliated with terrorist groups to be deemed as a terrorist themselves. Thus, this Act expanded government involvement, but was justified with its goal of preventing future terrorism.

President Trump has also championed certain policies that he hoped would prevent terrorism in America. As a Presidential candidate, one of Trump’s desired immigration policies was the prevention of Muslims from immigrating to the U.S. This was a response to attacks in San Bernardino, California, with Trump hoping the policy would prevent people associated with

¹³ History Editors. “A Timeline of the U.S.-Led War on Terror.” History. February 1, 2019.

www.history.com/topics/21st-century/war-on-terror-timeline.

¹⁴ “The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty.” The Justice Department Archives.

www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Jenks, Rosemary. “The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001.” Center for Immigration Studies. December 1, 2001.

<https://cis.org/Report/USA-PATRIOT-Act-2001>.

terrorist groups from entering the country.¹⁸ From there, with this exclusionary idea in mind, Trump enacted travel bans on people from specific Muslim-majority countries during his presidency. This policy prevented these groups of people from coming to America with hopes that America would be safer.

Those that point to the downfalls of the Patriot Act plead that the Act invades the privacy of Americans. Although the policies within the Act were intended towards a broad goal of counter-terrorism, Americans have pointed to cases where the policies have infiltrated the lives of everyday, innocent Americans. In their opinion, the government's power had increased too much. For one, it is important to look at Section 215 of the Patriot Act. Specifically, this section permits "the government to obtain a secret order from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) requiring third parties like telephone companies to hand over any records or other "tangible thing" if deemed "relevant" to an international terrorism, counterespionage, or foreign intelligence investigation."¹⁹ This section was famously exposed by Edward Snowden, when he proved that millions of Verizon customers' phone records were being collected daily.²⁰ Many argued that the government overstepped their boundaries within the Act, using the policy as justification for invading the privacy rights of every-day Americans. Even the small details of people's conversations were being recorded, such as the contact of the person they were talking to, without them knowing. Many public figures supported Snowden's actions of exposure, such as Bernie Sanders, who stated in 2016, "our intelligence and law enforcement agencies must be given the tools they need to protect us, but that can be done in a way that does not sacrifice our rights."²¹ Thus, many want protection against terrorist threats, but want their privacy rights to be kept intact as well.

In addition, many argue that America's post-9/11 terrorism policies have contributed to an increase in discrimination and prejudice in America. For one, hate crimes against those perceived as from Middle Eastern descent, especially Muslims, have increased since 9/11. They surged even further during 2015. The FBI found that "hate crimes against American Muslims were up 78 percent over the course of 2015."²² These crimes include physical assault, shootings, and dangerous threats of violence. Many point to Trump's "Anti-Muslim" policies as a perpetuation of discrimination, and argue that this rise in hate crimes are a result of his inflammatory rhetoric labeling all Muslims as threats to American safety. In addition, many argue that discrimination in society is a result of policies within the Patriot Act, especially the immigration sections. For example, Section 412 often led many Muslim Americans to be incorrectly suspected as terrorists. With prejudices in mind, law enforcement used details, such

¹⁸ Healy, Patrick and Michael Barbaro. "Donald Trump Calls for Barring Muslims From Entering U.S." The New York Times. December 7, 2015. www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/12/07/donald-trump-calls-for-banning-muslims-from-entering-u-s/.

¹⁹ McKinney, India. "Section 215 of the Patriot Act." Electronic Frontier Foundation. November 25, 2018. www.eff.org/files/2018/11/25/215_one_pager_-_2018.11.pdf.

²⁰ Greenwald, Glenn. "NSA Collecting Phone Records of Millions of Verizon Customers Daily." The Guardian. June 6, 2013. www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/nsa-phone-records-verizon-court-order.

²¹ Pilkington, Ed. "'Edward Snowden Did This Country a Great Service. Let Him Come Home!'" The Guardian. September 14, 2016. www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/edward-snowden-pardon-bernie-sanders-daniel-ellsberg.

²² Lichtblau, Eric. "Hate Crimes Against American Muslims Most Since Post-9/11 Era." The New York Times. September 17, 2016. www.nytimes.com/2016/09/18/us/politics/hate-crimes-american-muslims-rise.html.

as merely sending money to Muslim-majority nations, to charge people with being a terrorist. This led many to argue that the policies and actions done since 9/11 have been skewed to target certain religious groups violating the First Amendment. As a result, discrimination and prejudice have flourished in post-9/11 America.

On the other hand, some argue that the Patriot Act and other actions are vital for America's overall security. They note that America has not experienced a terrorist attack like 9/11 since the enactment of the Patriot Act. Specifically, both domestically and internationally, "terrorist networks have been dismantled, training camps have been dispersed, and the terrorist leadership has largely decimated."²³ Osama Bin Laden, the leader of al Qaeda, was found and killed. Additionally, statistics also show a decline in terrorist threats. For example, in 2007, the Heritage Foundation "reported that at least 19 publicly known terrorist attacks against the United States had been foiled since 9/11."²⁴ In 2012, the number increased to 50.²⁵ With the decline in terrorist threats, many believe that America has become safer and that the government's actions within the Patriot Act are acceptable.

In conclusion, the Patriot Act and American counterterrorism policies in the post-9/11 era have proven highly controversial. Some argue that these policies have violated people's privacy rights and religious freedoms, while others argue that America has become safer as a result of these policies. However, it is clear that regardless of their potential effectiveness at preventing terrorist attacks, these policies have helped fuel the rise of discrimination, prejudice, and hate crimes in the United States. Americans must take action to re-evaluate these counterterrorism policies and continue to push for a more equal society that combats discrimination and prejudice. In a perfect world, America should be secure, safe, and equal for everyone. American policies should continue to be refined until such a society is achieved.

²³ Bucci, Steven, et al. "Fifty Terror Plots Foiled Since 9/11: The Homegrown Threat and the Long War on Terrorism." The Heritage Foundation. April 25, 2012. www.heritage.org/terrorism/report/fifty-terror-plots-foiled-911-the-homegrown-threat-and-the-long-war-terrorism.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Our Lack of Privacy is Un-American

By Danielle Macuil

In the 20th century, technology did not inhibit Americans from enjoying their privacy in everyday life. However, through rapid advancement, technology in the 21st century has far surpassed privacy rights and detonated the possibility of maintaining pure privacy in the technological era.

20th Century

The dot-com bubble between 1995 and 2000 launched the online age that is present in American society. Prior to this, American lives were primarily traceable through the government and whether they were public figures. Before technology and the internet, the government maintained a standard record on Americans which is still present in the National Archives.²⁶ Public figures, including politicians and actors, had exposure to the media, and there was no existence of mass-posting or paparazzi to track every movement of a citizen. FDR hosted his fireside talks, press conferences became increasingly popular, and there were media platforms such as newspapers that were consistent throughout the century.

Nearing the end of the century, however, “new media” blossomed, and continues to transform the ways in which Americans maintain their privacy. Earlier, Americans had a reasonable expectation of privacy because their media was limited to newspapers, radio broadcasts, and the initial stages of film. With “new media”, including the internet, social media and a huge film industry, media has expanded into all aspects of American life.²⁷

21st Century

The privacy of Americans in the current century is only protected to the extent of which they avoid social media and the extent to which technology companies maintain it. Presently, there is an absolute exposure of American citizens regardless of their financial status, fame, job or other factors. The Pew Research Center cited that on June 12, 2019, 72% of the American “public uses some type of social media.”²⁸ This is a stark contrast to the approximate 5% of American adults using “at least one of these platforms” in 2005.²⁹

Americans using social media have a decreased privacy because the information they choose to share may be re-tweeted, re-posted, stolen or exploited to a source which they did not consent to. Further, by giving their information and using the platforms of various tech giants, they are confiding in companies that do not necessarily prioritize privacy for their users.

²⁶ General Information Leaflet Number 1. “About the National Archives of the United States.” National Archives and Records Administration. September 20, 2019. www.archives.gov/publications/general-info-leaflets/1-about-archives.html.

²⁷ Gitelman, Lisa and Goeffrey Pingree. “What's New About New Media?” Excerpt from *New Media, 1740-1915*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003. <http://web.mit.edu/transition/subs/newmediaintro.html>.

²⁸ “Demographics of Social Media Users and Adoption in the United States.” Pew Research Center. June 12, 2019. www.pewresearch.org/internet/fact-sheet/social-media/.

²⁹ Ibid.

Facebook is the exemplar model for a tech company that is under investigation for its misuse of user information. Facebook's indirect interference with the 2016 election has brought the ethics of the company in question, especially considering its vast reach with Americans. According to the Pew Research Center, 69% of Americans use Facebook.³⁰

The government must instill protections for citizens and not rely on private businesses to follow practices without incentives. Technology companies cannot be expected to protect privacy if there isn't any precedent or law for them to follow in the first place. Yet, legislation must be passed to protect Americans' right to privacy as democratic, free citizens.

Privacy Rights

Privacy rights are slowly developing through Supreme Court decisions beginning with the Warren era. Unfortunately, as the Court's notoriously slow decisions unravel, technology jolts at an unstoppable speed.

In *Carpenter v U.S.*, decided in 2018, the United States relied on a 1970s doctrine to argue their case for gathering the location points of Timothy Carpenter without a warrant.³¹ This outdated argument demonstrates the lack of true privacy matters addressed in the 20th century — primarily because privacy as it exists now wasn't necessary. This case was a vital decision for privacy rights in the present era because the Court argued that the government violated the Fourth Amendment in garnering warrantless data from a cellphone.³² The Majority cited a reasonable expectation of privacy and the importance of property rights, which is a good start for privacy rights (585 U.S. 138 S. Ct. 2206; 201 L. Ed. 2d 507). However, this 2018 decision was slow to reach and doesn't guarantee cases passed in the near future.

While another branch of government, the Legislative Branch, could revamp privacy laws, this is still a tedious and long process. The Electronic Communications Privacy Act of 1986 “was passed in 1986, long before the advent of smartphones, social networks, and even widespread use of email,” and has yet to be reformed to address present digital privacy flaws.³³ Although Congress has been responsible for the Facebook trials, they have lacked creating substantive legislation on digital privacy laws.

Ultimately, while privacy rights are slowly being developed, the exposure of American lives without government protections has increasingly decreased the American right to privacy. The ACLU has sought to protect privacy rights and states that “enjoying the right to privacy

³⁰ Gramlich, John. “10 Facts about Americans and Facebook.” Pew Research Center. May 16, 2019.

www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/16/facts-about-americans-and-facebook/.

³¹ Pegoraro, Rob. “Perspective | Big Tech Firms Still Don't Care about Your Privacy.” The Washington Post. January 28, 2019. www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/01/28/big-tech-firms-still-dont-care-about-your-privacy/.

³² Wessler, Nathan Freed. “The Supreme Court's Groundbreaking Privacy Victory for the Digital Age.” American Civil Liberties Union. June 22, 2018. www.aclu.org/blog/privacy-technology/location-tracking/supreme-courts-groundbreaking-privacy-victory-digital-age.

³³ Matsakis, Louise. “SCOTUS and Congress Leave the Right to Privacy Up for Grabs.” Wired. July 9, 2018. www.wired.com/story/scotus-congress-leave-right-to-privacy-up-for-grabs/.

means having control over your own personal data and the ability to grant or deny access to others.”³⁴ It is fundamental to ensure privacy rights for all citizens in order to maintain the American standard for privacy that existed in past centuries.

³⁴ “Introduction: Privacy in a Democratic Society.” American Civil Liberties Union. 2019. www.aclu.org/other/introduction-privacy-democratic-society.

The Coming Challenge to American Maritime Power

By Shankara Narayanan

Eight years ago, President Obama announced America's 'Pivot to Asia', stating, "Asia will largely define whether the century ahead will be marked by conflict or cooperation."³⁵ Indeed, competing visions of East Asian order define current regional tensions and broader competition between China and the United States. The American-Japanese vision stems from the Cold War, premised on region-wide trade, investment, and exchanges in science and technology, all grounded in maritime freedom and naval security. However, recent shifts toward continental linkage threaten the traditional U.S. pursuits of political, economic, and security integration underpinning American maritime power in northeast Asia. Infrastructure investment—especially in transportation development—forms a common economic denominator across the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea, China, and Japan.³⁶ The new vision of Eurasian, land-based order spurring development is spearheaded by China's Belt and Road Initiative. Problematically, South Korean President Moon Jae-In's H-Belt and wider Eurasia Initiative echoes the New Silk Road, providing momentum to its implementation. This movement away from traditional Pacific trade poses a geopolitical challenge to America, encouraging the construction of an economic-security system at odds with U.S. interests. The geostrategic ramifications of General Secretary Xi Jinping's Belt & Road and President Moon Jae-In's H-Belt require the United States to expand its Japan-anchored East Asia policy, moving beyond free trade as its primary goal.

Six years ago, General Secretary Xi Jinping unveiled the Belt and Road Initiative, consisting of a land-based economic belt secured by maritime expansion into the East China Sea, Indian Ocean, Suez Canal and Mediterranean Sea, necklacing Eurasia. Railroads form the Belt's spine, promising to move people, goods, and services at high speeds between East Asia and Western Europe. Chinese-financed railroads will run from Beijing, Qingdao, Shanghai, and Ningbo through Central Asia and the Middle East to Berlin, Antwerp, Paris, and Madrid. In 2013, Deutsche Bahn AG—German Rail—undertook construction of a railway between Hamburg and Zhengzhou cutting travel time to fifteen days.³⁷ Similarly, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor stretches from the Chinese-built, Arabian Sea-based port of Gwadar to Xinjiang Province. Railways, pipelines, and highways will cover the 2,000 miles from Xinjiang through the Punjab and Sindh provinces, intended to spark energy development and infrastructure investment.³⁸ Moving to the frigid northeast, in 2014 the China National Petroleum Corporation signed a \$400 billion deal with Russian energy giant Gazprom to construct a network of pipelines across Siberia and into Manchuria, designed to export 38 billion cubic

³⁵ The Office of the Press Secretary. "Remarks by President Obama to the Australian Parliament." The Obama White House Archives. November 17, 2011. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov>.

³⁶ Economic Analysis and Policy Division. "World Economic Situation and Prospects 2019." The United Nations. 2019. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/publication/world-economic-situation-and-prospects-2019/>.

³⁷ McCoy, Alfred W. *In the Shadows of the American Century*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2017.

³⁸ Bo, Xiang. "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor Promises Better Future for Pakistan's Women Workers." Xinhua. March 21, 2019. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-03/21/c_137913275_2.htm.

meters of natural gas to Chinese citizens.³⁹ Crucially, none of these plans involve direct expansion into the Pacific—Beijing seeks its fortunes in the west. However, the Gwadar port fits into a larger web of naval bases. Port Sudan on the Red Sea, the Port of Doraleh in Djibouti, Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka, the Chittagong facility in Bangladesh, Kyaukpyu Port in the Bay of Bengal, and the Sihanoukville Harbor in Cambodia are all part of China’s maritime New Silk Road.⁴⁰ Securing the railways, pipelines, and highways forming the Belt and Road, these ports require Chinese fleets capable of defending continental transportation, energy and development integration, challenging traditional American naval primacy and maritime trade with the Eurasian continent.

On a smaller scale, South Korea’s Eurasia Initiative represents the same shift away from American-Japanese maritime order and towards continental linkage. During a September meeting in Pyongyang, President Moon Jae-In laid out his vision for an “H-shaped economic belt”. The belt bypasses the DMZ border, running along the coast of the Yellow Sea to the west and the coast of the Sea of Japan to the east. On its western line, the belt links Gyeonggi Province in the South with the Kaesong Industrial Park and Pyongyang in the North.⁴¹ Similarly, the eastern line links Kumgangsan in the South with cities such as Wonsan, Tanchon, Cheongjin and Rason in the North.⁴² This Northeast Asian corridor is part of Seoul’s desire to invest in energy, transportation, and infrastructure in the Far East. Similarly, Moscow’s “New East Asia Policy” aligns with these goals, pushing for increased economic partnership in East Asia. In light of President Moon Jae-In’s announcement of an ‘H-belt’, multilateral regional development projects may soon be underway. South Korean *Nordpolitik* rests on railway construction and energy consumption. Current plans include Trans-Korean and Trans-Siberian railways linking Busan to Moscow via the vast Russian interior.⁴³ Similarly, pipelines and electric power grids are planned to connect Eastern Siberia to the Korean Peninsula—not unlike the CNPC-Gazprom pipeline.⁴⁴ Indeed, Chinese ambassador Qiu Guohong stated in January that, “...linking the [bilateral free trade agreement] with the One Belt, One Road Initiative as well as jointly exploring new markets will be necessary.”⁴⁵ Clearly, South Korea sees its economic future to its north and west—not in its surrounding oceans. Aligning with the New Silk Road’s vision and geographic plans, Seoul’s Eurasia Initiative is spurring the shift toward continental integration.

As the impetus for connecting East Asia to Europe grows, the American-Japanese Pacific vision for East Asia withers. For over fifty years, U.S. diplomacy in East Asia tied regional commerce to Japanese industry and naval trade. As early as 1948, George F. Kennan identified

³⁹ Patton, Dominique and Dennis Dyomkin, “Gazprom to Start Gas Supplies to China Via Siberia in December 2019.” Reuters. July 4, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-china-gas/gazprom-gas-supplies-to-china>.

⁴⁰ “New Report on the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.” The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. September 4, 2018. <https://www.sipri.org/news/2018/new-report-21st-century-maritime-silk-road>.

⁴¹ Ji-hye, Shin. “Moon renews push for ‘H-shaped belt’.” *The Korea Herald*. September 17, 2018. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180917000702>.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Taewhan, Kim. “Beyond Geopolitics: South Korea’s Eurasia Initiative as a New Nordpolitik.” The Asan Forum. February 16, 2015. <http://www.theasanforum.org/beyond-geopolitics-south-koreas-eurasia-initiative-nordpolitik>.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Whan-woo, Yi. “China Calls for Korea’s Role on One Belt, One Road Project.” The Korea Times. January 7, 2019. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2019/01/176_261567.html.

Japan as one of, "...five centers of industrial and military power in the world...".⁴⁶ Two years later, Dean Acheson argued the bilateral economic-security partnership was, "...in the interests of the security of the entire Pacific area...".⁴⁷ In 1949, National Security Council Policy Paper 48 called for East Asian development through, "Negotiation of...commerce ...and navigation with non-Communist countries of Asia to establish conditions facilitating capital movements, trade and other economic relations."⁴⁸ Japan was "non-Communist" Asia. But today, East Asian development no longer relies on trade relations alone, as demonstrated by China's New Silk Road and South Korea's Eurasia Initiative. U.S.-Japanese foreign policy in the region fails to account for this change. In spite of over a dozen Reciprocal Trade Agreements with countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, and regional cooperatives with actors such as the European Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Japan's manufacturing output dropped 3.7% as of February—largely because Chinese demand plummeted amidst the U.S.-China trade war.⁴⁹ On the American side, \$204 billion of two-way trade underpins the relationship.⁵⁰ Critically, the billion-dollar U.S.-Japan partnership is not being maximized for broader East Asian development or investment. Trade flows and service exchanges form its core, but serve no larger purpose in stark contrast to the continental integration of Eurasia pursued by China and to a lesser extent by South Korea. The partnership's multilateral security drills do address larger goals, but only in the security sphere, deterring North Korean missile tests and Chinese naval buildup around Taiwan and in the South and East China seas. Clearly, American-Japanese diplomacy in East Asia must be revised to compete with the westward, inward shift of development prospects.

Recent movements to harness the economic potential of Eurasia promise to alter the global balance of power. Railways, pipelines, and energy grids crisscrossing the lands stretching from the Korean Peninsula, across Central Asia, through the Middle East, and into Western Europe will catalyze economic productivity and investment. At risk is the American multilateral economic-security system, especially in East Asia. Absent a reinvention of the Japanese partnership's purpose, the U.S. will be rendered irrelevant in the face of new regional economic projects—free trade must serve as a *means* to an end, not an end in and of itself. Reconstructing East Asian policy to pursue infrastructure and transportation development must be the focus of America's regional diplomacy. In short, U.S.-Japanese bilateralism must become U.S.-Japanese led *multilateralism*. If security and development needs can be met independently of the New Silk Road, the countries in its path will be less willing to accede to Chinese primacy. As it stands, the Far East faces no comparable alternative to China's vision—America must revisit trans-Pacific trade policies. Connecting the fastest-growing markets in the world for decades would bypass the continental Belt and Road by creating an economic counterweight. Absent a strategic adaptation

⁴⁶ Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁴⁷ Acheson, Dean. "Speech on the Far East." Central Intelligence Agency. January 12, 1950. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1950-01-12.pdf>.

⁴⁸ "A Report to the President by the National Security Council." Department of State. December 30, 1949. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v07p2/d387>.

⁴⁹ Kajimoto, Tetsushi. "Japan's Factory Output Falls by Most in a Year as China Demand Slumps." Reuters. February 27, 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-economy-output/japans-factory-output-falls>.

⁵⁰ "Japan." Office of the United States Trade Representative. <https://ustr.gov/regions/japan-korea-apec/japan>.

of its East Asian policy, the United States will be slowly left behind by the future of the world economy, almost certainly signifying the end of the American Century.

Economic Openness and Deterrence: An Analysis of the Iran Deal

By Fizza Alam

The exporting of economic openness is a major component of the United States' foreign policy agenda. The establishment of institutions and agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and International Monetary Fund (IMF) underly the classic free market ideas that comparative advantage, reducing trade barriers, and creating adjustment programs will lead to freer people. However, it seems that the United States selectively enforces this economic ideology at times. A prime example of this is the decision of the United States to withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). Many free market proponents supported this agreement between the United States and Iran. They argued that the deal would help move Iran towards a free market economy. This could create opportunities for economic development and liberalized political institutions. However, opponents of the deal argued that lifting sanctions would allow Iran to become wealthy, increase its own economic power, and use this power in negative ways. In evaluating the United States' recent decision to withdraw from JCPOA, it is important to examine one fundamental question – Is the Iranian government going to remain passive as economic restrictions are lifted or is the regime going to become more aggressive now that it has wealth?

The JCPOA (2015) was chiefly geared towards economic incentivization of the Iranian state, in order to prevent it from gaining nuclear weapons. Briefly, the agreement includes limitations on potential nuclear resources and current facility supervision in exchange for the reduction in economic sanctions. This is contingent upon Iran reducing its low enriched uranium by 97% for fifteen years, placing 2/3s of its centrifuges in storage, and limiting research and development.⁵¹ Also, a comprehensive inspection regime will be implemented by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In summary, the deals timeline was as follows: 1) initial IAEA investigations 2) some EU sanctions will be terminated 3) the US would cease secondary sanctions. If Iran violated the agreement, sanctions would “snap-back” into place. Notably, the treaty does not extend to the reduction of other weapons that may be used by the Iranian military. Additionally, in 2030, after a 15-year period, the agreement and all its provisions will come to an end.⁵²

Considering these provisions of the agreement, it is important for the United States to determine what will happen with an economically open Iran. This paper will include analysis of arguments on both sides of the debate. Some of the most robust arguments against Iranian economic openness include Iran's historical aggression toward Israel and Iran's tendency to support its military financially. Others argue, wealth will lead to a more compliant and passive Iran; these arguments are based on post WWII practice of economic theory, historical negotiative willingness of the country, and Iranian financial desperation.

⁵¹ Office of the Press Secretary. “Parameters for a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action Regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Nuclear Program.” Obama White House Archives. April 2, 2015.

<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/04/02/parameters-joint-comprehensive-plan-action-regarding-islamic-republic-ir>.

⁵² Ibid.

Opponents of the JCPOA

Despite US led diplomatic efforts to ratify the JCPOA under former president Barack Obama, the current US president, Donald Trump believes that the JCPOA leads to economic prosperity (for Iran) and hence increased aggression from the Iranian State. In his speech to the United Nations, President Trump argued, “The Iranian regime has funded its long reign of chaos and terror by plundering the wealth of its own people. No action taken by the regime has been more dangerous than its pursuit of nuclear weapons — and the means of delivering them.”⁵³ He further objected, “(the JCPOA) lifted crippling economic sanctions on Iran in exchange for very weak limits on the regime’s nuclear activity — and no limits at all on its other malign behavior, including its sinister activities in Syria, Yemen, and other places all around the world.”⁵⁴

Opponents of the JCPOA, such as Donald Trump, point to the increase in government wealth through the lifting of sanctions as a catalyst in strengthening the Iranian military. There is in fact a historical correlation between an increase in wealth and military capacity of the nation. “The Iranian National Accounts show a significant increase in the share of military spending in total government spending (in constant prices) since the end of the war with Iraq. While this share was 16% in 1993, it has reached 52% in 2006.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, Farzanegan stipulated that this increase in military spending did decrease unemployment, increase disposable income, and increase the potential of “technological spillover” to modernize other sectors of society. However, opponents of Iranian economic openness, would still counter that Iranian wealth in 2006 spent on the military could have been spent on social programs directly and hence this highlights Iran’s aggressive tendencies.⁵⁶

The Israeli prime minister shared the conclusions of President Trump. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu believes that the deal was lackluster when it comes to preventing other acts of Iranian aggression. He claimed that “it completely fails to address Iran’s continued development of ballistic missiles.”⁵⁷ Israeli-Iranian tensions were heightened in the last decade by acts of Iranian aggression which have wavered the trust in the potential success of economic incentives to pacify Iran. Iran has, in the Prime Minister’s point of view, treated the nation with only hostility as demonstrated by alleged Iranian attacks abroad which targeted Israeli officials and the strengthening of Iranian ties with extremist non-state actors such as Hamas and Hezbollah. Israel also criticizes Iranian President Ahmadinejad’s denial of the Holocaust, and Iran’s training and funding of Hezbollah as a Shi’a militant counterinsurgency in the region.⁵⁸ Since the Iran deal fails to limit the proliferation and bolstering of the Iranian military and its

⁵³ Trump, Donald. “Read the Full Transcript of Trump’s Speech on the Iran Nuclear Deal.” The New York Times. May 8, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/us/politics/trump-speech-iran-deal.html>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Farzanegan, Mohammed R. “Military Spending and Economic Growth: The Case of Iran.” *Defence and Peace Economics* 25, no. 3 (2014): 247–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2012.723160>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Netanyahu, Benjamin. “Netanyahu Claims Iran Nuclear Deal Based on Lies.” Haaretz. April 30, 2018. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/full-text-netanyahu-s-reveals-iran-s-atomic-archive-in-speech-1.6045556>.

⁵⁸ Shane, Scott and Robert F. Worth. “Aggressive Acts by Iran Signal Pressure on Its Leadership.” The New York Times. February 15, 2012. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/16/world/middleeast/frantic-actions-hint-at-pressure-on-iran-leaders.html>.

funding of insurgent groups, the Israeli states believes decreasing economic barriers would be the same as allowing Iran to increase its reach and aggressiveness through these avenues.

Proponents of the JCPOA

The argument for an economically open Iran centers around three aspects: 1) the failure of sanctions as a tool to prevent nuclear proliferation in the long term 2) correlations between economic prosperity and political liberalization and 3) historical Iranian cooperation with Israel (and “the west”) in achieving shared interests.

Richard Haass of the Brookings’ institute concedes that, “...sanctions can on occasion achieve (or help to achieve) various foreign policy goals ranging from the modest to the fairly significant”.⁵⁹ Taking the examples of, Serbia and its acceptance of the Dayton agreement in 1995 and the decrease in WMDs in the Gulf War, it is true that sanctions were successful in preventing nuclear proliferation. However, both these instances, consisted of multilateral sanctions followed by comprehensive agreements. Sanctions in themselves are not a long-term solution but can rather be a short-term negotiation measure. The failures of long-term sanctions are supported by their inability to prevent nuclear proliferation in the past. North Korea, Pakistan, and India have all faced long-term United States Sanctions, but they have all successfully tested their nuclear weapons. This reality leads to one of the fundamental arguments of proponents of the JCPOA.⁶⁰

Proponents argue that sanctions have served their purpose as the Iranian state has been willing to negotiate with the United States and Europe. During the Iraq War, Iran was willing to negotiate terms of its nuclear capacity in exchange for the uplifting of sanctions and dropping of other forms of economic barriers. Nearly a decade later, proponents would argue that the JCPOA merely built upon the country’s good will. Furthermore, considering, that 10.1% of Iranian men are unemployed, and that 934,000 of those employed are by the military, diversifying their economy by promoting international investment may lead to the preferred outcomes of the United States.⁶¹ President Obama reiterated this point in 2015 saying, “With the world now unified beside us, Iran’s economy contracted severely, and remains about 20 percent smaller today than it would have otherwise been. No doubt this hardship played a role in Iran’s 2013 elections, when the Iranian people elected a new government that promised to improve the economy through engagement with the world. A window had cracked open.”⁶²

With this now open window, Milton Friedman, a leading free market economist, would argue, “The only way that has ever been discovered to have a lot of people cooperate together voluntarily is through the free market. And that's why it's so essential to preserving individual

⁵⁹ Haass, Richard N. “Economic Sanctions: Too Much of a Bad Thing.” Brookings Institute. June 1, 1998. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/economic-sanctions-too-much-of-a-bad-thing>.

⁶⁰ Lippman, Thomas W. “U.S. LIFTS SANCTIONS ON INDIA, PAKISTAN.” The Washington Post. November 7, 1998. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/11/07/us-lifts-sanctions-on-india-pakistan/3771637b-b980-40b2-b5eb-7fb8a053870d/>.

⁶¹ Hamidov, Gazenfer. “Brief review of employment in Iran.” TCA Regional News. February 24, 2018. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2007719004/citation/97475A5A31F64404PQ/1>.

⁶² Obama, Barack. “Remarks by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal.” Obama White House Archives. August 5, 2015. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/05/remarks-president-iran-nuclear-deal>.

freedom.”⁶³ The idea that the lowering trade barriers increases the exchange and benefit to all societies is the foundation of not only free market thought but also a fundamental assumption for those who support the Iran deal. President Obama, like Friedman, believes in the free markets’ ability to turn trade into international cooperation. He stated. “A different path, one of tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflict, leads to more integration into the global economy, more engagement with the international community, and the ability of the Iranian people to prosper and thrive.”⁶⁴

Variants of Friedman’s theories were the basis of post-World War II cooperation. The desperation to prevent large multilateral great power wars was tangible. European nations in 1951 created the European Union’s predecessor the European Coal and Steel Community in hopes that economic interdependence would lead to a more thorough cost/benefit analysis and prevent war. Furthermore, “A standard finding on the relationship between democracy and economic performance is that democracy is positively correlated with economic development—as countries become more affluent, they also turn more democratic.”⁶⁵

Even so, economic development and the consolidation of true democratization will be a long process and Iran poses a threat in the present to the regional stability, Israel (an American ally), and oil prices. Historically Israel and Iran cooperated numerous times and economic development may lead them to cooperate again. As noted in a 1977 American government policy report, “In the Arab-Israeli context, Iran has consistently opposed the use of oil as a political weapon. In addition, Iran continued the flow of oil to the United States and the West despite the Arab oil boycott during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, and the Western World has been assured of the continued flow of Iranian oil as a result of the 1973 agreement between Iran and the oil consortium.”⁶⁶ When economic interests align, which they increasingly will if Iran’s economy is more open, then there is historical precedent of cooperation. This anecdote highlights that all US interests were formerly preserved and counters the notion that the Iran is part of the “nexus of evil.”

Conclusion

Opponents argue that an open Iranian economy would lead to the funding of insurgent groups, military, and emphasize the acts of aggression by the Iranian government in the last century. Proponents of the JCPOA argue that economic openness would lead to eventual democratization and that economic interdependence eventually leading to the end of Iranian aggression in the region. Is the Iranian government going to be passive or aggressive with newfound wealth? It seems to me that in the short term, after the enactment of the JCPOA, Iran

⁶³ Friedman, Milton. “Interview on Freedom and Free Markets.” PBS. n.d.

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/press_site/people/friedman_intv.html.

⁶⁴ Obama, Barack. “Read President Obama’s Remarks on Iran Nuclear Deal.” Time Magazine. July 14, 2015.

<http://time.com/3957036/obama-iran-nuclear-deal-transcript/>.

⁶⁵ Burkhart, Ross E. and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. “Comparative Democracy: The Economic Development Thesis.” *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 4 (1994): 903-910.

https://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1031&context=polisci_pubs.

⁶⁶ Irani, Robert G. “US Strategic Interests in Iran and Saudi Arabia.” Army War College Unclassified Report. 1977.

<http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a512229.pdf>.

may remain aggressive. Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Trump are correct, the JCPOA does not restrict non-nuclear weapons. New wealth may be funneled into military and weapon development (as it has in the past). However as economic development and investment continue, the Iranian people will become reliant on foreign goods, unemployment will drop, and calls for democracy will begin as freer markets do lead to freer people. Economic interdependence will pacify Iran just as its pacified Europe in the aftermath of World War II.

A World in Trouble: How Brexit is Affecting the EU and Beyond

By Srishti Banerjee

On June 23, 2016, citizens of the United Kingdom voted in support of Brexit, a referendum to leave the European Union. Since the vote, Parliament has struggled to enforce the results and reach an agreement on a plan to exit the Union made up of twenty-eight European nations. Some British politicians have argued for a “no-deal” Brexit in which the United Kingdom would abruptly leave the European Union, while others have demanded that the country reach a deal with the EU’s governing body before leaving. Two Prime Ministers have already resigned because of struggles to build consensus on how to proceed with Brexit. Prime Minister Boris Johnson may be the next to fall. This paper will explore the reasons behind the struggle for the United Kingdom to implement Brexit and outline the negative implications of the referendum on the other members of the European Union. Brexit will serve only to have disastrous macroeconomic effects, harm several major economic sectors including fishing, and increase barriers to migration.

In order to understand how countries in the EU and the rest of the world are going to be affected by Brexit, it is important to know just how intertwined the United Kingdom is with the EU economy. The UK joined the EU in 1973, and its economy began to grow with the economies of the rest of the member states.⁶⁷ The EU is made up of a “single market”. This means that all goods, services, people, and money move freely between the members of the European Union.⁶⁸ Member states are also part of the “customs union,” which requires that all countries charge the same taxes on goods coming in from outside countries and prohibit EU members from placing taxes on each other’s goods and striking their own trade deals.⁶⁹ It is thus understandable the level of difficulty that the UK Parliament and EU Council face when attempting to reach an exit agreement, given the interconnectedness of the EU member states’ economies. Despite the complications of a British exit, Britain’s public vote on the referendum had a high (72%) turnout rate, and the results showed that 52% of citizens wanted to leave.⁷⁰ Parliament seemingly had no choice but to make an exit from the European Union a priority.

Time and time again, papers and reporters continue to discuss the repercussions that British citizens, businesses, and the country itself would have to face. There is no argument there; the UK will suffer greatly from any kind of Brexit deal, hard or soft. Parliament has torn apart many deals since the inception of Brexit, even ousting Theresa May as Prime Minister for her failed attempts to land a deal. Today, even though the Brexit deadline has been pushed to January 2020, the new Prime Minister Boris Johnson faces the same issues that previous British leaders faced. However, no one talks about another important factor: what will happen to the rest of the EU members and the world once a deal passes? The United Kingdom has carefully woven their economy with that of countries all over the world. The plan to all of a sudden rip apart their economic ties with countless number of countries will disrupt the world economy severely.

⁶⁷ “Brexit: All You Need to Know about the UK Leaving the EU.” BBC News. October 3, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Brexit will harm the ability of many European Union members to engage in trade. European countries like Germany, Cyprus, Poland, Sweden, Spain, the Netherlands, and many more have economies that depend on exports and imports to and from the UK. For example, in Cyprus, the UK is the second largest trading partner as a whole and the first in terms of services, investment, and shipping. Brexit will also affect provinces like Lublin in Poland. Lublin officials are worried about reduced exports, especially in agricultural or agri-food products.⁷¹ The countries within the EU have grown because of the strength of the UK's economy. It is important to note that the predictions about how any Brexit deal would affect the EU economy do not fully reflect the severity of reality.

Many experts also predict the eurozone - the 19 countries of the EU that use the euro - would be pushed into recession. Only three years ago, the EU economy was in better standing and rapidly expanding. Now, the major economic contributors are weakening. Italy and Germany alone make up for 40% of the annual economic output of the eurozone.⁷² Germany's auto industry is the biggest source of money for the country and the producer of its main export product, and it is deteriorating. Moreover, the UK is the second largest trading partner in Berlin.⁷³ Thus, Brexit will further along Germany's impending economic recession. Italy is still struggling with the same economic problems it had in the last couple years, despite a change in government. Both countries' economies are diminishing, and if PM Johnson removes the UK from the EU without a deal, the eurozone and other countries of the EU may not recover from the damage.

Beyond these macroeconomic effects, Brexit seems primed to harm a few specific industries more than others. Fishing may not seem like a crucial aspect of Brexit, but it is causing some major anxieties for coastal countries in Europe. The EU has a Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) which allows all citizens of the member-states of the EU to use each other's waters to fish. As the UK leaves the EU, it will regain control of its waters, thus, effectively blocking major areas fishermen use to contribute to their economies. Local official, Nathalie Sarrabezolles, of the French département of Finistère in Brittany states, "The end of the access to the British fishing areas to the Finistère fishing boats is a real economic risk, 50 percent of the fishing activity in Brittany region ... is made inside the British Exclusive Economic Zone."⁷⁴ France is one of the main countries that would be most impacted by this aspect. Along a region of the country's coastlines, there are nearly 170 small-scale and deep-fishing businesses that produce net sales of close to €80 million and employs about 900 on board jobs on 190 vessels. Moreover, 5,000 jobs in 150 companies are provided by wholesaling and processing of sea products.⁷⁵ In certain regions of the Netherlands, this is also a concern. Forty percent of one such region's economy relies on fishing in the British waters.⁷⁶ If there is a hard Brexit, these regions and their fishing industries will be in some serious trouble.

⁷¹ Barigazzi, Jacopo. "Where Brexit Will Hurt Most in Europe." POLITICO. April 20, 2018.

<https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-impact-on-european-regions-revealed-by-eu-report-phase-2-negotiations/>.

⁷² Goodman, Peter S. "For Europe, the Threat of a No-Deal Brexit Comes at a Bad Time." The New York Times. September 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/02/business/brexit-europe-recession.html>.

⁷³ Barigazzi, Jacopo. "Where Brexit Will Hurt Most in Europe."

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Lastly, migration of people is a vital part of the agreement by EU countries that will face severe consequences from Brexit. When a nation is part of the EU, their citizens can travel, work, and live in any other EU country of their choice. This privilege has allowed EU citizens to live and work in the UK and vice versa. If the UK successfully exits the European Union, thousands, if not millions, of people will be displaced all over Europe. The region of Calais in France will face major issues as many citizens try to migrate from the city to the UK. There have been many talks about a potential renegotiation of Le Touquet Agreement between the UK and France which allows British border police to operate in Calais. In Spain, the Andalus region touches the British territory of Gibraltar. A number of Spanish citizens work in Gibraltar, and Brexit will negatively impact at least 58.7% of those Spanish workers.⁷⁷ In other areas, like Prešov in Slovakia, citizens who will return from the UK may cause potential difficulties like increasing the unemployment rate. Although, some countries are not worried about the return of so many citizens to their countries because their officials believe it could stimulate their country's local economies, most are worried about unemployment rates rising.⁷⁸

The Britain-EU divorce will not only impact the EU member states, but it will also hurt the world economy. Though the world will not feel as many negative effects as the EU economy, there are still going to be some significant repercussions that trickle down to the big economies of the world. From the trade effects alone, multinational and transnational corporations will feel restrictions. Enterprises in London will feel like they have lost an opportunity to have their foot in the door to all European Union countries. According to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) assessment in July of 2019, Brexit is ranked as one of the chief threats to the world economy, alongside the recent US trade policy.⁷⁹ In an update of its World Economic Outlook, the IMF predicted, "that global growth would slow to 3.2 per cent in 2019 — the weakest rate of expansion for a decade..."⁸⁰ The IMF further claims that adverse developments, such as a no-deal Brexit, pose serious disruptions and threats to the balance of the global economy. They are seen as developments that could gradually weaken or destroy economic confidence and investment, dislocate local supply chains, and critically slow global growth below the baseline.⁸¹

The implications of Brexit seem daunting. It is a vote that has changed history and will continue to do so. Now all countries in the EU can do is take measures to prepared for the worst possible case. Countries like France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and Belgium are preparing by planning on recruiting between 400-900 extra customs staff.⁸² New legislation in Germany have been formed in areas of social security, tax issues, and financial services and are waiting to be passed once Brexit is officially underway.⁸³ Most importantly, Germany is focusing on citizens on both sides of the English Channel through the "Brexit Residence

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Strauss, Delphine. "No-Deal Brexit Poses Threat to World Economy, IMF Warns." Financial Times. July 23, 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/6cd70552-ad2b-11e9-8030-530adfa879c2>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Reality Check Team. "Brexit: What Are EU Countries Doing to Prepare for No Deal?" BBC News. September 4, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-46064836>.

⁸³ Pogatchnik, Shawn, Michael Birnbaum, Loveday Morris, Pamela Rolfe, and Rick Noack. "These 5 Countries Are Busy Prepping for a Post-Brexit World." The Washington Post. September 5, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2019/09/05/these-countries-are-busy-prepping-post-brexit-world/>.

Transition Act”. This will give British citizens living and working in Germany nine months to either apply for residency or move back to the UK.⁸⁴ Throughout September and October of this year there is a general “rehearsal” taking place for companies to practice how customs would work in case of a no-deal Brexit. French officials are considering lining up for disaster funding. This would mean that, “The \$660 million fund usually is used for recovery from forest fires and earthquakes. This year it may be used for an economic explosion of a man-made variety.”⁸⁵

Many countries around Europe are preparing by warning businesses, readying legislation for citizens and residences, and adding reinforcements for new custom laws that may arise. In the end, no matter how many precautions countries try and put in place, Brexit will be felt all around the world. The costs to the UK, the members of the EU, and the world will outweigh any benefit to Britain. Brexit will never be a smooth transition no matter how hard Parliament and the European Council work towards finding the perfect plan.

⁸⁴ Reality Check Team. “Brexit: What Are EU Countries Doing to Prepare for No Deal?”

⁸⁵ Pogatchnik, Shawn, Michael Birnbaum, Loveday Morris, Pamela Rolfe, and Rick Noack. “These 5 Countries Are Busy Prepping for a Post-Brexit World.”

The Golden Age of United States Protest

By Elannah Devin

Social protests are a major facet of American life. Protected under the First Amendment, American citizens bask in the freedom of being able to voice their opinions peacefully whenever they please. In an attempt to bolster those opinions, many aim to garner the support of the population through social mobilization. Social mobilization is defined as, “the process through which a demand for collective action present in a certain community is met by a supply of collective action events staged by social movements.”⁸⁶ In other words, it is the ways in which action is taken to address particular grievances. Throughout history, tactics of social mobilization have evolved, impacting collective action in the United States. With a simple search on the internet, many news sources are claiming that the country is currently in a golden age of protest: “More people have joined demonstrations than at any other time in American history.”⁸⁷ This essay asserts that due to changing tactics in social mobilization, the United States is experiencing a significant increase in collective action. This will be discussed through an examination of three social movement theories: the strain theory, the political opportunity structure theory, and the resource mobilization theory.

Strain Theory

To begin, the strain theory states that social mobilization lies in what the grievances themselves are, or what motivates people to go out and protest.⁸⁸ In various ways, those grievances have largely been affected by globalization, or the interaction of people worldwide. As more and more people across the globe are able to connect, they are also able to engage in protest together and share their political and social grievances.

According to Sara Burke’s, “What an Era of Global Protests Says About the Effectiveness of Human Rights as A Language to Achieve Social Change,” there are particular patterns in protest subjects across global collective action, illuminating the impact that globalization has had on social movements. The most common modern international grievances include reform of public services, labor conditions, failure of real democracy, environmental justice, and more.⁸⁹ The issues that people are protesting about are no longer relevant to one government, but rather all governments. Shared grievances unite a variety of people under the common umbrella of the issue, making the protests larger and more successful. For example, Burke states that, “the leading cause of all protests is a cluster of grievances related to economic

⁸⁶ Walgrave, Stefaan. "Changing Mobilization of Individual Activists?" *The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes*, edited by Van Stekelenburg, Jacquelin, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans, 205-16. University of Minnesota Press, 2013. www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt46npj4.16.

⁸⁷ Kauffman, L.A. “We Are Living Through A Golden Age of Protest.” *The Guardian*. May 21, 2018. <https://www.occupy.com/article/we-are-living-through-golden-age-protest#sthash.77AHY0FC.dpbs>.

⁸⁸ Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Daniel M. Cress. “Identifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980 to 1990.” *Social Forces* 83, no. 3 (2005): 1183-1210. www.jstor.org/stable/3598274.

⁸⁹ Burke, Sara. "What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change." *SUR International Journal on Human Rights* 20, (2014). <https://sur.conectas.org/en/what-an-era-of-global-protests-says-about-the-effectiveness-of-human-rights-as-a-language-to-achieve-social-change/>.

justice.”⁹⁰ As a result, global economic protests are seeing incredible outcomes. The 2011 Occupy Wall Street protests in New York, symbolizing anger toward the top 1% in the United States economy, was able to have a much larger impact than historical protests because of globalization. After U.S. economic protests, the movement spread across approximately 82 countries and 951 cities, as Occupy Wall Street was able to, “embolden the movement across the U.S. and abroad.”⁹¹ Global citizens shared in their concerns about the financial elite, wanting equality in their nation. Due to globalization, a wide range of people could use one city’s protest as a starting point for their own. Globalization, with the interaction of people and organizations around the world, has increased the number of protests and the size of protests because of its ability to unite individuals under common grievances.

Political Opportunity Structure Theory

The political opportunity structure theory relies on the structure of one’s government in order to determine how successful social mobilization will be.⁹² If the government is more open to hearing protest and encouraging freedom of speech, it would be hypothesized that protest opportunities would be more accessible to the public.

In discussing changes in protest mobilization with regard to the political opportunity structure theory, it is important to examine how the government has received and responded to public grievances. In U.S. cases, the word “abridging” in the First Amendment has created controversy in interpreting the freedoms it’s supposed to uphold. The balancing test, for example, has been extremely controversial with regard to how it may limit freedom of speech. This test balances the consequences of threats to public order against the consequences of partial abridgment of freedom of speech.⁹³ In many ways, the test discouraged collective action as speech was being limited through the legal application of the balancing test in First Amendment cases. In the 50s and 60s, for example, judges who pledged to be unbiased and fair were using the balancing test to limit or abridge freedom of speech, especially against members of the Communist Party.⁹⁴ This test would ultimately lead to less opportunity to protest because of the lack of freedom to share controversial opinions.

Finally, in 1969, *Brandenburg v. Ohio* declared that freedom of speech prohibits any state to abridge the First Amendment without the immediate threat of “lawless action.” This case and the First Amendment helped to guarantee that people were not limited in their desire to speak. The government, particularly the judicial branch, thus upheld opportunities for citizens to join movements and protest together. According to the Court’s interpretation of the First Amendment, whether or not a majority of citizens feel that people should advocate for these causes, supporters still have the right to voice their opinions. Through a progressive series of cases within the

⁹⁰ Burke, Sara. “What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change.”

⁹¹ NPR Staff. “Occupy Wall Street Inspires Worldwide Protests.” National Public Radio. October 15, 2011. <https://www.npr.org/2011/10/15/141382468/occupy-wall-street-inspires-worldwide-protests>.

⁹² Snow et al. “Identifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980 to 1990.”

⁹³ “Freedom of Expression: Speech and Press.” Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution-conan/amendment-1/freedom-of-expression-speech-and-press>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

United States, citizens are now experiencing an age of incredible opportunity within their government to voice their grievances and take action.

Resource Mobilization Theory

The resource mobilization theory states that social mobilization relies on the resources of the group protesting. There is an emphasis on the feasibility and rationality of the protest based on biographical availability, material availability, and more.⁹⁵ This means that the protesters need money, a location for protest, a way to voice their opinion, and other resources. In the past, this theory was, in many ways, restrictive. People needed to find available resources that would provide them with a platform to voice their opinions. One platform for various communities was the church, notably during the Civil Rights Movement. Oftentimes, it provided a meeting place, provided effective leaders for movements, and provided a source of information for protesters.

“In these institutions, theories of accommodation and protest become formulated and spread. These institutions sometimes take action themselves in the power field, attempting to improve the Negro’s lot or voicing the Negro protest. Even more often they provide means by which Negro leaders and organizations, which are more directly concerned with power problems, can reach the Negro people.”⁹⁶

It is often stated that the movement would not have succeeded without the church as a base. This directly demonstrates the resource mobilization theory because protestors were relying on the resources their community could provide for them.

In the modern era of social movements, protesters instead can begin their own protests with little to no resources at all. This change in resource mobilization has been mainly attributed to social media. “Such technologies make much more information available to people, giving them a greater awareness of how others are asserting themselves against entrenched power holders in other countries and of how their own political and economic conditions compare with those of others.”⁹⁷ As compared to the past, people and societies around the world are now able to communicate, sharing their experiences and their methods of mobilization, enhancing their ability to spark collective action.

Every day, social media users are able to participate and create movements almost immediately. For example, after an unarmed African American teenager, Michael Brown, died at the hands of a police officer with a gun, social media activism experienced incredible power. #Ferguson and #HandsUpDontShoot became some of the most popular tags on the internet. Everyone was talking about police brutality, calling attention to its presence in the US and the way that it draws divisive lines in society. With a simple click of a button, a person could post an

⁹⁵ Snow et al. “Identifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980 to 1990.”

⁹⁶ Clayton, Obie. “The Churches and Social Change: Accommodation, Moderation, or Protest.” *Daedalus* 124, no. 1 (1995): 101-117. www.jstor.org/stable/20027285.

⁹⁷ Carothers, Thomas and Richard Youngs. “The Complexities of Global Protests.” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. October 8, 2015. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/10/08/complexities-of-global-protests-pub-61537>.

image on their account and inform their followers about the event.⁹⁸ On the other hand, this has changed the entire concept of protest mobilization. Many argue that it has caused what became termed as slacktivism, or minimal participation in collective action through social media presence.⁹⁹ People can simply change their profile picture or post a supportive image to participate in collective action. This poses a question to activists: Would a large scale, physical protest have been more effective? Do people really know what they were supporting when they post about it? Social media entirely changes the concept of collective action. In many ways, it completely replaces historic modes of resources. Whether it is considered negative or positive, it is undeniable that social media helps to garner widespread support for social, political, and economic issues.

Conclusion

Over the past few decades, there have been incredible changes in how the strain theory, political opportunity theory, and resource mobilization theory function to mobilize protesters. In comparison to historical protests, grievances have united larger groups of people, the U.S. government has enforced laws that allow people to voice those grievances more effectively, and there are new and more efficient methods of engaging in social protest. The United States is experiencing a surge in protest, with changing social conditions that foster a prime environment for collective action. It seems as though the future of protest will only continue to change.

⁹⁸ Bonilla, Yarimar and Jonathan Rosa. “#Ferguson: Digital Protest, Hashtag Ethnography, and the Racial Politics of Social Media in the United States.” *American Ethnologist* 42, no. 1 (2015): 1-14.
<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/amet.12112>.

⁹⁹ Seay, Laura. “Does Slacktivism Work?” *The Washington Post*. March 12, 2014.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/12/does-slacktivism-work/>.

Kony 2012: A Tale of Campaign Hubris

By Kylee Dostie

In March 2012, Joseph Kony quickly became a household name around the world. The Kony 2012 video, released by a non-profit human rights organization known as Invisible Children, called for a mass action effort to stop Joseph Kony, a warlord from Uganda, from using child soldiers to further his cause. However, just as quickly as it started, this human rights movement fell from its fame. The campaign is widely regarded as the most infamous failed human rights campaign of the twenty-first century. The Kony 2012 campaign failed to achieve its goals because of its lack of accurate information, its use of deception, and its environment of “slacktivism.” Invisible Children’s organizational hubris led to its great downfall. While it ultimately left its mark in history, it did not do so in an intended way.

To understand the failures of Kony 2012, it is first important to discuss the origins of the human rights campaign. In the early morning hours of March 5th, 2012, the infamous Kony 2012 video was uploaded onto YouTube by Invisible Children, a human rights group founded in response to the humanitarian crisis in Uganda centering around the Lord’s Resistance Army. The video detailed a conflict occurring in Northern Uganda. In this conflict, the Lord’s Resistance Army, led by Joseph Kony, abducted children in mass raids, and forced the young boys to be child soldiers and the young girls to be sex slaves.¹⁰⁰ The Lord’s Resistance Army is known for their immense cruelty and their widespread human rights abuses against children. They would torture or kill any abducted child who tried to escape from the militia. Most notably, the video featured a young boy named Jacob whose brother was killed by the Lord’s Resistance Army. The director of the video, Jason Russell, makes a promise to Jacob that he will stop Joseph Kony.

The video’s call to action involves an event scheduled for April 20th, 2012 that it dubbed “Cover the Night.” One could purchase posters, t-shirts, and ‘action kits’, which included bracelets, buttons, and more, through the Invisible Children website. The video instructed anyone who purchased these items to go to their town or city and ‘cover it’ in the Kony 2012 propaganda for everyone to see the next morning. They hoped to help create a call to action to take down Joseph Kony and the Lord’s Resistance Army.¹⁰¹ The human rights campaign focused on obtaining support from a group of individuals that featured what they deemed to be “celebrity culture makers.” They had a list of twenty celebrities, including Oprah Winfrey, Ryan Seacrest, and Angelina Jolie, whose support they hoped to obtain. Along with that group, they also focused on a group of twelve important policymakers, such as former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, former President George W. Bush, and the Secretary of State (at the time) John Kerry.

This video quickly took off, gaining 100 million views in the first six days after its release, and it became the first YouTube video to reach 1 million likes.¹⁰² This near instant

¹⁰⁰ Invisible Children. “KONY 2012.” YouTube. March 5, 2012.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4MnpzG5Sqc>.

¹⁰¹ Harris, Paul. “Kony 2012 organizers plan massive day of action across US cities.” The Guardian. March 13, 2012. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/13/kony-2012-invisible-children-day-of-action>.

¹⁰² Wasserman, Todd. “KONY 2012 Tops 100 Million Views, Becomes the Most Viral Video in History.” Mashable. March 12, 2012. <https://mashable.com/2012/03/12/kony-most-viral/>.

global phenomenon was met with a ton of praise from those who were previously uninformed about the situation, but it was also met with a flurry of criticism. Critics raised questions on the true whereabouts of Joseph Kony, and they questioned the accuracy of the claims levied by the video. Many believed Kony was actually located in the Central African Republic, not Uganda. Protestors met a showing of the film in the city of Lira, Uganda with riots and stone throwing. Angry Ugandan citizens were outraged at the simplification of the issue and the lack of focus on the actual victims.¹⁰³ The Lord's Resistance Army responded to the video by describing it as a "clear act of malevolent deception and manipulation of world mass consciousness."¹⁰⁴

Invisible Children attempted to respond to criticisms in their later video titled *Beyond Famous*, but they fell short of what many expected. Skepticism grew greater, and it began to outweigh much of the support that had initially poured in. The movement started to die just as quickly as it had begun. The movement's death was only worsened by an unfortunate public meltdown by the original video producer, Jason Russell, in the streets of San Diego.¹⁰⁵ The 'Cover the Night' event still ended up happening, but it did not amass anywhere close to the same numbers of supporters that the initial video was able to garner. Brisbane is a city with a population of 2.1 million in 2012, but their 'Cover the Night' event only had around 50 people in attendance.¹⁰⁶

The quick flameout of this global movement poses questions for scholars of human rights movements. How did a video, dubbed to be the most viral in history, fall out of fame just as quickly as it amassed it?¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, the answer lies in the movement's failure to communicate their message effectively and honestly. The Kony 2012 campaign is a perfect example of a failed human rights campaign, and there is a lot to be learned from it. The intentions of a campaign may be pure, but the way that campaigns structure and communicate their message has been proven to make or break the campaign. In an advocacy campaign, the 4 A's are central to creating a successful campaign. These include awareness, action/activism, advocacy, and allies.¹⁰⁸ Invisible Children certainly had the millions of allies who viewed the video and became advocates who vowed to stop Joseph Kony. However, they fell short in prompting high enough levels of awareness and action/activism. They struggled to raise awareness of the magnitude of the issue because they failed to communicate the terrifying reality of the situation on the ground in Uganda to outsiders in more developed nations. They struggled to promote action by their allies because they failed to adequately train supporters on how to take action in productive ways.

¹⁰³ Kampala, Nicholas Bariyoin and Erica Orden. "Kony' Screening Inflames Ugandans." Wall Street Journal. March 15, 2012.

https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702303863404577283531931361326?google_editors_picks=true.

¹⁰⁴ Basu, Moni. "LRA Slams Kony Video as Act of Deception." CNN. April 6, 2012.

<https://edition.cnn.com/2012/04/06/world/africa/kony2012-lra-reaction/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Hibbard, Laura. "Jason Russell Video: Alleged Footage of Naked Meltdown Surfaces On TMZ." The Huffington Post. March 16, 2012. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/jason-russell-detained-after-alleged-meltdown_n_1354740.

¹⁰⁶ Paine, Chris. "KONY 2012's Struggle to Remain Visible." Daily Telegraph. April 21, 2012. <https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/national/kony-2012-how-the-phenomenon-faded/news-story/25503fa35e2faca0f3c55ba9be8acd0f>.

¹⁰⁷ Wasserman, Todd. "KONY 2012 Tops 100 Million Views, Becomes the Most Viral Video in History."

¹⁰⁸ Sirota, Sandra. *Advocacy Approaches: Matching Approaches to Context* [PowerPoint]. September 19, 2019.

This lack of information and false devotion is one that is common with many failed human rights campaigns and is commonly known as *slacktivism*. This is when people support a cause by performing simple measures, like watching a video and sharing it, but are not truly engaged or devoted to making a change.¹⁰⁹ It creates a false sense of contribution, and makes it much less likely for people to try and enact real change because they feel as though they have already done their part. People believed that by simply watching and sharing the video, or tweeting out #StopKony, they were now a part of a big movement that would end in Kony's capture. That is simply not the case. A more effective human rights movement would have encouraged supporters to engage in more meaningful ways.

In conclusion, the Kony 2012 campaign had good intentions, but it ultimately fell short of what a successful human rights campaign requires. The lack of accurate information along with the basis of slacktivism led to the rather quick failure of the Invisible Children's awareness campaign. The rise of Kony 2012 came as quickly as its fall, and it serves as a lesson for anyone who wants to create their own awareness campaigns or participate in activism. True change comes from well-articulated efforts that keep in mind all of the four A's of effective social movement campaigns: awareness, action/activism, advocacy, and allies. Without even just one of these factors, the house will fall and the movement will collapse.

¹⁰⁹ Muslic, Hana. "What is Slacktivism and is it Even Helping?" Nonprofit Hub. June 20, 2017. <https://nonprofithub.org/social-media/what-is-slacktivism-does-it-help/>.

The Evolving Definition of Fair Apportionment in the United States

By Kyle Fishbein

Congressional apportionment, in the context of the United States House of Representatives, is the act of determining how many seats in the chamber each state receives. This occurs after the results of every census, which is determined on a decennial basis. Since 1941, apportionment for the House has taken place by the same method automatically.¹¹⁰ The substantive issue when talking about congressional apportionment, and the ideal that has dominated apportionment debates throughout history, is the “fairness” of the proposed apportionment. Throughout American history, the judicial branch of the federal government has frequently attempted to define what “fair” means in the context of apportionment, with that definition changing over time. The Supreme Court has set guidelines to help define fairness in apportionment through their decisions in several substantial cases in the last sixty years. Without these guidelines, many states would be much more malapportioned than they are today.

Part I: Decisions, Decisions, Decisions!

Baker v. Carr (1962) is one of the most important Supreme Court decisions in the history of apportionment and redistricting in the United States of America. The case was centered around a suit brought up by the voters of Tennessee against the Secretary of State, Joe Carr, due to massively malapportioned districts within the state. One of the main components of the *Baker* decision was opening the floodgates for a wave of reapportionment legislation under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The voters of Tennessee were not the only ones, or the only state, that had major malapportionment issues during this time, and suits quickly started flowing through the court system. Connecticut, for example, had a vastly malapportioned state legislature, as some towns with four to five times the population as others received two representatives to the smaller towns’ one.

Baker influences the Court’s definition of fair because, even though it does not create a measurable standard for malapportionment per se, the decision sets the standard of apportionment cases having a place in the court system. The case inspired other claimants to revise their complaints so that they could cite *Baker* as precedent. Courts became referees for the issue of malapportionment, representing a dramatic shift from their decision in *Colegrove v. Green* to leave it up to the political system to decide.¹¹¹ Therefore, one has an accepted arbiter of the alleged fairness of certain apportionment methods and have guidelines to start to define fairness in terms of congressional apportionment.

Wesberry v. Sanders is an important case to remember when setting the guidelines of fairness, as the precedent that came from the decision is one of the most cited in modern congressional apportionment claims. In Justice Hugo Black’s majority opinion, he argued, “We hold that, construed in its historical context, the command of Art. I, § 2 that Representatives be chosen ‘by the People of the several States’ means that, **as nearly as is practicable, one man’s**

¹¹⁰ United States Congress. *An Act to Provide for the Fifteenth and Subsequent Decennial Censuses and to Provide for Apportionment of Representatives in Congress*. 71st Congress. The Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/71st-congress/session-1/c71s1ch28.pdf>.

¹¹¹ *Colegrove et al. v. Green et al.* 328 U.S. 549 (1946).

vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's.¹¹² This is one of the founding guidelines of what will become the Court's definition of fairness. In order to interpret those guidelines, one must determine the extent of the definition of "One Man, One Vote". The Supreme Court has been fickle on any specific mathematical requirements that it may employ to determine if an apportionment plan is constitutional, but it has at least recognized the need for some type of standard. Thus, the practice of having each person's vote *exactly* equal to each other is impossible at this point, so the Court faced more challenges to its standard that sought to test the limits of what apportionment plans it would rule constitutional.¹¹³

An addition to a guideline for fairness by the Supreme Court comes in *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*. In *Kirkpatrick*, the Court took the *Wesberry* standard of "as nearly as practicable" a step further and extended the standard for state legislative differences in district size. This is shown in Justice Brennan's opinion, citing "near-perfection" as an addition to the decision from *Wesberry*, due to a split on the Supreme Court regarding the meaning of the Court's language from *Wesberry*.¹¹⁴ In Justice Brennan's majority opinion, he wrote that the Court rejected the argument that there should be a fixed number for population deviation de minimis as a standard across all similar cases.¹¹⁵ The Court, in rejecting this argument, created the good-faith effort rule. With no empirical mathematical standard, Brennan did not see another option. Brennan also wrote that "The extent to which equality may practicably be achieved may differ from State to State and from district to district", supporting his viewpoint that there was no mathematical standard that could definitively be applied across all states.¹¹⁶ Not only did the Court rely on this "good faith" rule, it changed how it would receive arguments from the interested parties. Justice Brennan's opinion continued with, "Unless population variances among congressional districts are shown to have resulted despite such [good faith]¹¹⁷ effort, the State must justify each variance, no matter how small."¹¹⁸ The Court expects maps to be drawn with a good-faith effort. If they are unable to do so, they must justify why the variation exists. Knowing this, *Kirkpatrick* becomes yet another Supreme Court case that one must consider when writing the guidelines for fairness.

If one looks at the decision in *Karcher v. Daggett*, the Court reinforces *Kirkpatrick's* precedent and enhances it so that going forward the *petitioners* must prove that the designed map could have been more ideally apportioned with a good-faith effort.¹¹⁹ In *Karcher*, the Court found that the map was drawn without this good-faith effort, and therefore overturned the plan. The Court also reinforced its thinking on an empirical mathematical standard, saying that relying on such a standard would not be the correct way to determine fairness.

Justice Stevens's majority opinion in *U.S. Dept. of Commerce v. Montana* (1992) references the District Court's decision extending the *Wesberry* standard to federal apportionment as he wrote:

¹¹² *James P. Wesberry et al. v. Carl E. Sanders et al.* 376 U.S. 7-8 (1964).

¹¹³ Unless the basic rules governing reapportionment were changed by amending the Constitution.

¹¹⁴ *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*. 394 U.S. 526 (1969).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 530.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁷ Bracket text added by author for clarity.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 531.

¹¹⁹ *Karcher v. Daggett*. 462 U.S. 725 (1983).

“Our cases applying the Wesberry standard have all involved disparities in the size of voting districts within the same State. In this case, however, Montana contends, and a majority of the District Court agreed, that **the Wesberry standard also applies to apportionment decisions made by Congress** and that it was violated because of an unjustified variance between the population of Montana’s single district and the ideal district size.”¹²⁰

Stevens agreed with the District Court’s in this specific argument, and the bolded sentence makes note that the ‘as nearly as practicable’ *Wesberry* standard should apply to congressional apportionment at an interstate level as well. This proves that one must consider the Supreme Court’s decisions in intrastate malapportionment when attempting to argue for or against an apportionment method.¹²¹

Part II: Current Guidelines

After considering a majority of the Supreme Court’s landmark apportionment decisions, a set of guidelines can be created that one must follow in creating a fair and constitutional method of apportionment. Those guidelines can be summarized as follows:

1. Apportionment is a justiciable issue under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and apportionment plans may be held accountable in the judicial system. (*Baker*)
2. One person’s vote in a congressional election must be worth, ‘as nearly as practicable’, equal to another person’s vote. (*Wesberry*)
3. The burden of proof is on the petitioners to prove a ‘good-faith effort’ could produce a better map. (*Karcher*)
4. The apportionment plan must be ‘as nearly as practicable’ to the ideal of ‘one man, one vote’ as the result of a ‘good-faith effort’. (*Kirkpatrick*)
5. The Court’s decision in *Wesberry* applies to interstate congressional apportionment. (*Montana*)

These guidelines provide a framework for fairness that must be considered when arguing for, or against, any apportionment plan. Due to the Supreme Court’s status regarding interpretation of the Constitution, the decisions that come from the institution are vital to consider. Without their framework, malapportionment would still be as bad as it was, or even worse, than before the Reapportionment Revolution of the 1960s. Moving towards a standard of fairness, albeit not an empirical one, has bogged down the Court for decades. These cases help determine what is “fair” in the eyes of the Court, but no one knows how this standard will change in the future.

¹²⁰ *U.S. Department of Commerce v. Montana*. 503 U.S. 460 (1992).

¹²¹ At least the standard applied in *Wesberry*.

Cleavages in Honduran Political Parties and the End of the Two-Party System

By Michael Hernández

In many countries around the world, political systems are characterized by a strong tradition of two dominant parties. In the United States, the Democratic and Republican parties have created an impervious two-party system since the middle of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the Liberal Party and the National Party of Honduras have dominated Honduran politics since the late nineteenth century. However, in 2009, the two-party system of Honduras collapsed in the aftermath of a coup that removed democratically-elected President Manuel Zelaya.¹²² While the events of 2009 may have been impactful enough to fracture the two-party system, it was shifting ideologies within the Liberal Party of Honduras that ultimately led to the end of the two-party system in Honduras.

The two-party system of Honduras was consolidated at the beginning of the twentieth century after the formation of the Liberal Party and the National Party. Since then, control of Congress and the Presidency has alternated between the two parties. It is important to note that divided government is possible, but unified government is more common. In other words, the same party usually controls the legislature and presidency. This is not surprising given that the president and the legislature are up for election every four years and there are no staggered terms.

As a result of the two-party system, voters have been presented with two seemingly different choices, but research has shown that the two parties are very close in ideology and their differences are merely nominal.¹²³ The predominant ideology is right-wing conservatism, which has been promoted by the Honduran elite and supported by the United States through its embassy and military base. Even smaller political parties that have been able to send a representative to Congress have steered away from left-wing influences.

The hegemonic control of the Liberal Party and National Party reached a tipping point in 2009, when elites in Congress, the Supreme Court, and the military collaborated to remove President Manuel Zelaya. President Zelaya ran for president in the 2005 elections as a conservative with the support of the Liberal Party and the economic elites of Honduras. The Liberal Party also won a majority in Congress in the 2005 elections, giving Zelaya ample political terrain. However, by 2007 Zelaya moved to the left and became distant from the Liberal Party and by extension the two-party establishment.¹²⁴ For example, Zelaya began to make decrees such as increasing the workers' minimum wage, reducing the agrarian moratorium, proposing to turn a U.S. airbase into a commercial airport, and creating a National Reparations

¹²² Malkin, Elisabeth. "Honduran President is Ousted in Coup." *New York Times*. June 28, 2009. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/29/world/americas/29honduras.html>.

¹²³ Cunha Filho, Clayton M., André Luiz Coelho, and Fidel I. Pérez Flores. "A Right-to-Left Policy Switch? An Analysis of the Honduran Case under Manuel Zelaya." *International Political Science Review* 34, no. 5 (2013): 519–542. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0192512112468918>.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

Program for victims of state violence in the 1980s.¹²⁵ Zelaya also changed policies regarding the importation of oil by joining Petrocaribe, a subsidized program created by Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. While Zelaya never formally changed party affiliation, his policies were viewed by conservative and moderate Hondurans as far-left and distant from the platform of the party establishment. Zelaya's move to the left is rather unusual in Latin American politics. Typically, leftist politicians in Latin America run on center-left campaigns and later change to a center-right platform to appeal to party and economic elites. However, Zelaya might have been trying to appeal to civil society and activist groups that leaned left; these groups lacked real representation in the party establishment. It was very timely since these groups had been growing considerably from the 1990s to the early 2000s and were ready for political change.¹²⁶

In 2008, Zelaya went even further by joining the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean (ALBA). This alarmed the political and economic elite of Honduras. They became increasingly worried that Zelaya was trying to bring a brand of twenty-first century socialism dubbed "Bolivarian populism" to Honduras, which was promoted by ALBA.¹²⁷ By 2009, when Zelaya attempted to conduct a referendum to rewrite the Constitution, the Liberal Party elites abandoned him and joined forces with the National Party to oust him in a military coup that sent him into exile. It was this action that polarized Honduran society into those supporting the two-party establishment and those supporting President Zelaya. Zelaya's leftist supporters, who had been politically marginalized groups (including farmworkers, women, indigenous people, youth, etc.), coalesced into a new movement: The National Popular Resistance Front (FNRP). The same politically marginalized groups that formed the FNRP had gained political power when they supported Zelaya's move to the left. Thus, Zelaya's removal meant the removal of their political power and representation.

If the 2009 coup had been the main reason why the two-party system collapsed, other tertiary parties would have formed and picked up seats in Congress. However, this was not the case. The National Party and the Liberal Party remained strong, and the FNRP did not participate in the 2009 elections.¹²⁸ It took another election cycle for the two-party system to give way to a multiparty system. The cleavage that occurred in the Liberal Party between President Manuel Zelaya and party elites is the event that most accurately explicates the collapse of the two-party system. After Liberal Party elites effectively got rid of Zelaya, he and his wife Xiomara Castro organized the FNRP into a new political party: The Liberty and Refoundation Party (LIBRE). The Liberal Party lost a large portion of its membership to the newly formed LIBRE Party. This is not surprising given that President Zelaya and his supporters had moved to the left, and the Liberal Party had remained stubbornly center-right. Left-leaning voters and the FNRP were eager for a party that was more responsive to their politics than the Liberal Party. Consequently,

¹²⁵ Martinez, Denis, Dennis Muñoz, and Joseph Rivas. "The Past Should not be Forgotten: Victims' Participation in Honduran Truth Commissions." Impunity Watch. June 2016.

https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/f3f989_c8321358758546ce9605399e1453dbec.pdf.

¹²⁶ Cunha Filho, et al. "A Right-to-Left Policy Switch? An Analysis of the Honduran Case under Manuel Zelaya."

¹²⁷ Walsh, Frank M. "The Honduran Constitution is not a Suicide Pact: The Legality of Honduran President Manuel Zelaya's Removal." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 38, no. 2 (2010): 339-373.

<https://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1124&context=gjicl>.

¹²⁸ Rosemary, Joyce. "Legitimizing the Illegitimate: The Honduran Show Elections and the Challenge Abroad."

NACLA. March 8, 2010. <https://nacla.org/article/legitimizing-illegitimate-honduran-show-elections-and-challenge-ahead>.

other parties were formed by other activist groups, including the Broad Political Resistance and the Patriotic Alliance Party. One of the most interesting new parties was the Anti-Corruption Party (PAC), which was formed by the popular talk show host Salvador Nasralla.

In the 2013 elections, Zelaya's wife, Xiomara Castro de Zelaya, ran for president as the candidate for LIBRE and Zelaya ran for a seat in Congress. The platform was based on a promise to hold a national constituent assembly upon winning elections. Juan Orlando Hernandez of the National Party won the presidency with 36.8% of the vote followed by Xiomara Castro de Zelaya of LIBRE with 28.78%, Mauricio Villeda of the Liberal Party with 20.30%, and Salvador Nasralla of PAC with 13.43% of the vote. Turnout was high, at around 61%, and it included Hondurans at home and abroad. Even though the National Party won the presidency and the most seats in Congress, LIBRE made extraordinary gains. LIBRE gained 37 seats in Congress, 11 less than the National Party and 10 more than the Liberal Party, while PAC gained 13 seats.¹²⁹ In the 2017 elections, once again the National Party, LIBRE, and the Liberal Party had the most seats in Congress, respectively. In its short existence, LIBRE has been able to successfully compete with the two-party system of Honduran politics. In fact, LIBRE has been so successful that it now holds more seats in Congress than the Liberal Party. Arguably, many of the seats that were lost to the Liberal Party were gained by LIBRE.

The rise of LIBRE and other non-traditional parties have ended a century of a two-party system in the span of ten years. For the first time, there is a true leftist political party representing Hondurans in Congress. Moreover, political power is now shared by multiple parties rather than by the hegemony of the National Party and the Liberal Party. Indeed, the future of the Honduran political system is likely to continue to be a multiparty system and unlikely to return to a two-party system.

¹²⁹ Barrachina, Carlos. "The 2013 Elections in Honduras: End of the Two-Party Systems?" *International Journal of Business and Social Research* 4, no. 6 (2014): 109-122.
https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2efd/9efaf87539018d788c7cf49b81e73bdf2254.pdf?_ga=2.209181970.143474102.1574985098-1238281160.1573666887.

Populism's Destruction of Pluralism

By Mohammed Hussain

In recent years the world has experienced the rapid rise of populism, whether it be in the form of political parties, social movements, or specific leaders. From Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil to Podemos in Spain, populism has found itself at the forefront of the political, social, and economic world for a number of reasons. While many may recognize only the positive side of populism that attempts to forge a closer connection between the citizens and the government, and that seeks to address systemic inequality, there is a darker side to populism. One element of this darker side is the fact that it can potentially be destructive towards the level of pluralism in society, a widely accepted trait of a liberal democracy.

A major element of populism is the argument that there exists a clear division between “the people” and the “elite”. According to general populist theory, “the people” deserve complete sovereignty in every way, and the “elite” are seen as antagonistic members of society who prevent “the people” from exercising their full power. The theory also assumes that these elite purposely undermine the will of the people and so are responsible for the corrupt system. Through a populist lens, “the people” are given a vague “homogeneous or uniform grouping in cultural as well as economic terms.”¹³⁰ Populists condense a wide range of opinions into a single, unified narrative that is supposedly representative of all citizens. This single narrative is used by populist leaders to pressure minority and dissent groups into conforming to their political and social ideas. If they do not conform, they may be placed into the category of “the others,” trying to undermine the will of the people. Populist leaders raise questions about the loyalty of minorities, highlighting the ways in which they are different from the majority, sometimes stoking nationalist, xenophobic tendencies. As William Galston states, “dividing a country’s population into the people and the others suggests that some parts of the population are not really part of the people and do not deserve to share in self-government.”¹³¹

Through fabricating such a homogenous group of “the people” with one unified interest, populists risk discouraging and denying that there are diverging interests in society, which constitute the base of pluralism. Minority and dissent groups are placed in a paradoxical situation, with negative outcomes whatever option they choose. If they conform to the views of the populist leader, they lose their authenticity as a minority group, and may be forced to abandon their cultural values. On the other hand, if a group speaks out against the populist leader, the leader may use their differences to demonstrate that they are enemies of the citizens (“the people”), and not real and legitimate members of “the people”. When minority groups conform, they are directly decreasing the diversity of viewpoints that exist in society. Alternatively, when minority groups resist conforming to the populist power, the leaders encourage society to express anti-pluralistic views.

By fabricating “the people” as a homogenous and unified group, populism has a detrimental effect on marginalized communities. By creating the message that all of “the people”

¹³⁰ Plattner, Mark. “Democracy's Past and Future.” *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 1 (2010): 5–8.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0155>.

¹³¹ Galston, William A., James Davison Hunter, and John M. Owen. *Anti-Pluralism: the Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*. 2018. New Haven: Yale University Press.

have relatively the same interests and are all inherently equal, populists imply there should be no differentiation of political, economic, and social rights. By sending this message, populists ignore historically underrepresented or discriminated groups. Ignoring race, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors further disadvantages historically marginalized groups. An example of this phenomenon can be found in Trump’s reaction to the Charlottesville riots of August 2017, where white supremacists staged a large protest that was anti-Semitic, racist, and homophobic, and met resistance from counter protesters. Following the riots, Trump tweeted a message that was quintessentially populist- “Peace to ALL Americans!” Trump was also quoted as saying that there were “very fine people, on both sides” at the time of the riots.¹³² While these messages might simply be seen as an attempt to unite people — remedying the situation without laying the blame on one group — it is much more problematic than this. The problem is that these messages imply that the people involved all had equally important and respectable arguments and therefore they should take equal blame for the chaos that erupted. Trump’s messages imply that the conflict had fairly weighed arguments on both sides, when in fact “the people” are not all uniform, and they exist with different levels of marginalization. This ignores the fact that the counter protesters were speaking for much more marginalized people than the white supremacists, and therefore the voices of these counter protesters should have held more weight.¹³³ Even if their actions were equally as riotous, that behavior should have been understood in the context of decades of injustice.

Another feature of populism that is incompatible with pluralism is its skepticism “about constitutionalism to the extent that [populists believe] formal, bounded institutions and structures impede majorities from working their will.”¹³⁴ Populists believe that because “the people are homogeneous and virtuous, there is no reason they should not govern themselves and their society without institutional restraints.”¹³⁵ They argue against the structural framework of checks and balances that administer the power of both the executive branch and the general will of the people because they feel they are unnecessary impediments to democracy.^{136, 137} However, because populist leaders “want what they take to be the will of the majority—often as channeled through a charismatic populist leader—to prevail, and to do so with as little hindrance or delay as possible,” they “have little patience with liberalism’s emphasis on procedural niceties.”¹³⁸ Ideally, a key role of institutions is to reconcile different viewpoints from varying sectors of society, and create and manage policy that is considerate of all of these different viewpoints. But because populists believe “the people” are not differentiated in viewpoints and interests and instead have a unified will, they see systems as unnecessary; no reconciliation is needed. Rather than creating and implementing policy through institutions, populists believe the better path is to

¹³² Gray, Rosie. “Trump Defends White-Nationalist Protesters: ‘Some Very Fine People on Both Sides.’” *The Atlantic*. August 15, 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/trump-defends-white-nationalist-protesters-some-very-fine-people-on-both-sides/537012/>.

¹³³ The counter protesters also included a large number of minorities, and while they were not all minority, the white supremacist group they were protesting was comprised of almost all straight white men.

¹³⁴ Galston, et al. *Anti-Pluralism: the Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ The executive in this case is the populist leader.

¹³⁷ Checks and balances are also placed on other branches of government, just in this case, populism mainly tries to bypass checks on the executive branch and the general will of the people.

¹³⁸ Plattner, Mark. “Democracy’s Past and Future.”

“appeal to the majority will directly—through mass gatherings, referendums, or other forms of popular democracy.”¹³⁹ This idea of favoring forms of direct democracy rather than institutional, mediated democracy is problematic for pluralism in two primary ways. First, it ignores the reality that there are differing opinions in society because it prioritizes one sole opinion. Secondly, and debatably more harmful, the idea implies that even if there are different voices within society, there is no need for institutions that protect the rights of all of those voices, and reconcile these voices into legislation that considers all of them. The implementation of direct forms of democracy has led to “an alarming number of cases where the majority population has abused the ‘majority wins’ idea to the detriment of minorities.”¹⁴⁰

Although the earlier arguments may make populism and pluralism seem incompatible, there is in fact potential for the two to reconcile. This can only happen if populist ideas are adjusted in a few ways, and this can occur without restructuring the main principles of populism. First, populists must not view institutions as inherently “static, unchanging entities” that must be totally torn down.¹⁴¹ Instead, populism must begin to see institutions and systems of power as “living, cultural relationships and practices that are imminently open to contestation and redirection.”¹⁴² Populists can both acknowledge that institutions play an important role in society, checking leaders and reconciling different opinions, and also recognize that these institutions and systems of power can be revolutionized to be more radically democratic and intimately connected to the people. Chantal Mouffe describes the ideal populist, pluralism-compatible approach as recognizing that while the process of reform of institutions may cause conflict with traditional democratic ideals, it will result in institutions more compatible with pluralism. Mouffe admits that “the process of recovering and radicalizing democratic institutions will no doubt include moments of rupture and confrontation with the dominant economic interests” but also importantly notes that this recovery “does not require relinquishing the liberal democratic principles of legitimacy.”¹⁴³ One method of revolutionizing institutions and systems of power within a populist approach is the democratic practice of “public work”. This “involves cooperative, egalitarian, practical labors ‘across ranks’ on public projects, with self-organized governance” such as “organizing for local school reform, developing cooperative economic institutions to create jobs, or creating community infrastructure to support and protect immigrant communities.”¹⁴⁴

Another way populism can reconcile itself with pluralism is by transforming itself to be able to balance inclusion with the popular demands.¹⁴⁵ Populists must create a more permeable version of “the people”; a version that is less Manichean, more adaptable to minority groups, and moldable to recognize that some groups require special rights and support because they have

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Junejo, Samir. "Majority Rule: How the Ballot Initiative Process Hurts Minorities." *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 14, no. 3 (2016): Article 14.

<https://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1836&context=sjsj>.

¹⁴¹ Grattan, Laura. *Populism's Power Radical Grassroots Democracy in America*. 2016. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Mouffe, Chantal. *For a Left Populism*. 2018. Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books.

¹⁴⁴ Grattan, Laura. *Populism's Power Radical Grassroots Democracy in America*.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

been historically marginalized. Populism can retain its empowerment of the people while creating a more permeable version that avoids morphing “the people” into an appeasing collective. A more adaptable version of “the people” offers the facilitation of “efforts by unlikely actors to engage each other across differences in their social identities, spaces, and times.”¹⁴⁶ This is not to say that this new version of “the people” would completely lack the popular unity of will that is essential to the movement. Rather than viewing this unification of will as being implemented through the cultural or economic majority, populists must create a new discourse. This must be “able to reconstitute symbolic political community along lines that allow for deeper internal agonism and greater recognition of the impermanent edges of every expression of collective identity.”¹⁴⁷ Today it is clear that populist social movements, rather than individual leaders or formal political parties, offer the form of populism most compatible with pluralism, perhaps because of their adherence to the aforementioned compromises. One such movement was the populist movement Occupy Wall Street. By maintaining permeability to various social groups, Occupy “offered an egalitarian, pluralistic rhetoric of peopling, opening space for diverse actors to imagine and enact popular power across an array of social and geographic divides.”¹⁴⁸ The movement’s message of the 99 percent versus the 1 percent not only created a unification of “the people”, but also embraced different social and economic groups.

Overall, populism has many issues in reconciling itself with pluralism. Governments around the world from Trump’s USA to Marine Le Pen’s France, which are widely considered populist, have employed a form of populism that is dangerously non-inclusive and threatening to minority groups who do not fit into the version of “the people” that is intensely implicative of the cultural majority. These governments have also largely rejected the role of democratic institutions that is essential to ensure policy is considerate of all the viewpoints within society. However, social movements such as Occupy Wall Street have shown themselves to be compatible with pluralism through their unified but accepting message of who “the people” are. These social movements can offer a healthier relationship between populism and pluralism, and can offer strategies on how to reconcile the two.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Polarized Politics: Party Alignment and Immigration

By Shanelle Jones

Debates around the issue of immigration have grown ever more divided since the 2016 presidential campaign and the election of Donald Trump. President Trump's comments expressing disdain toward immigrants for "taking our jobs,"¹⁴⁹ demonstrate a long-standing economic fear of Americans "competing" with immigrants for employment opportunities. Thus, there is a long-standing undercurrent of xenophobia and lack of acceptance immigrants must contend with upon arrival in this country. Recent immigration issues such as the renewal of DACA, the "Muslim Ban," and the border crisis call for deeper analysis of attitudes toward immigration. While some scholars suggest that factors such as newcomers' levels of assimilation, racial identification, and media portrayal of immigrants influence an individual's opinion on immigration, the only demographic characteristic actually influencing opinions on immigration is party identification. Without efforts to bridge the gap between parties, a lack of problem-solving and collaboration will continue in Washington, to disastrous effects.

Examining the literature, four factors affect the American public's opinion on immigration: perceived level of newcomer's assimilation, racial/ethnic identifications and conception, media portrayal of immigrants and issues concerning them, and party affiliation. Ostfeld (2017) found that the American public's perceived level of assimilation of an immigrant has a direct effect on their opinion, with most favoring people who learn English and have more European features.¹⁵⁰ Ostfeld argues, "Americans have cited immigrants' lack of willingness to assimilate to American cultural norms as being among their greatest objections to immigration...about half of Americans suggest that immigrants should give up their foreign ways upon coming to this country."¹⁵¹ Ostfeld suggests that there is an inherent perceived threat posed by immigrants who fail to assimilate into the American culture. But what constitutes American identity?

Collingwood, et al. (2018) provides an explanation to that question through the role of ethnocentrism by exploring the rapid shift in public opinion on Trump's Muslim ban: "American identity is linked to restrictive policy preferences toward ethnic, racial or cultural minorities."¹⁵² While ethnocentrism and American identity are different ideas, there are inherent links to restrictionist policies applied towards non-whites. Valentino, et al. (2013) expands upon the previous findings, noting two factors that serve as explanations for recent negative attitudes toward immigration: economic fear and ethnocentrism: "the preference for and positive affect toward one's ethnic or racial group relative to all others."¹⁵³ However, they noted that the economic

¹⁴⁹ Boak, Josh. "AP Fact Check: Trump Plays on Immigration Myths." PBS News Hour. February 8, 2019. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/ap-fact-check-trump-plays-on-immigration-myths>.

¹⁵⁰ Ostfeld, Mara. "The Backyard Politics of Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Political Psychology* 38, no. 1 (2017): 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12314>.

¹⁵¹ Ostfeld, Mara. "The Backyard Politics of Attitudes Toward Immigration."

¹⁵² Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra A. R. Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban.'" *Political Behavior* 40, no. 4 (2018): 1035–1072. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-017-9439-z>.

¹⁵³ Valentino, Nicholas A., Ted Brader, and Ashley E. Jardina. "Immigration Opposition Among U.S. Whites: General Ethnocentrism or Media Priming of Attitudes About Latinos?" *Political Psychology* 34, no. 2 (2013): 149–166. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00928.x>.

theories of fiscal burden and labor market competition cannot entirely explain the American public's negative view of immigration. Rather, ethnocentrism may play an even larger role. Ostfeld (2017) noted a correlation between disliking one minority group and disapproving of another: "Those who resent Blacks are more likely to favor restrictions on the flow of immigrants into the country."¹⁵⁴ Ostfeld ultimately concluded that race held no significant effect on preferred federal immigrant policies, aligning with her hypothesis, suggesting that although people may harbor racial preferences, these do not necessarily translate into U.S. immigration policies.¹⁵⁵

Moreover, the media's portrayal of immigrant groups holds significant sway over the American public. As aforementioned, Collingwood et al. (2018) noted the importance of media portrayal on shifting the public's opinion on an immigration issue in their study of the rapid shift in approval of Trump's "Muslim Ban." By the second wave, respondents who had originally favored the ban had begun to disapprove of it, citing that the ban did not align with their American identity.¹⁵⁶ The researchers noted that the public is usually slow to change on matters of opinion, but the presentation and portrayal of protests of the ban on television and news media vastly helped to shift the public's original position. Jones and Martin (2016) also discussed the role of the media in perpetuating harmful racial stereotypes, type casting Latinos as "perpetual foreigners" even after gaining citizenship due to negative images bolstered by the media. These groups are portrayed as refusing to assimilate to American ways and adopt American values.¹⁵⁷ These differences are further portrayed through the media to the American public.

Examining another angle of race and ethnicity through party politics, Jones and Martin (2016) found that one's racial/ethnic identity impacts opinion on immigration, often aligning under one political party. For example, Democrats usually pander to Hispanics by advocating liberal immigration reform, noting that if they move too far right, they would isolate Hispanic and other immigrant voting populations that make up their base.¹⁵⁸ Party leaders have long considered the effect of identity on party alignment. On the other side of the partisan divide, Jones and Martin (2016) found that Republican candidates' tendency to prioritize immigration as an important topic in their campaigns actually directs individual attitudes toward restrictionist behaviors. They studied the 2010 midterm elections and found that Republicans were more likely to endorse punitive immigration policies such as deportation rather than reform. These policy directions are consequently redirected to the opinion of their base. Both Democratic and Republican party leaders acknowledge and understand the need to galvanize their bases through strategic messaging based on identity as exemplified above.

After conducting research grounded in the above theories which focused on what demographic and opinion factors affected the American public's opinion on immigration, *party alignment* was found to be the single significant demographic factor on public opinion on

¹⁵⁴ Ostfeld, Sara. "The Backyard Politics of Attitudes Toward Immigration."

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

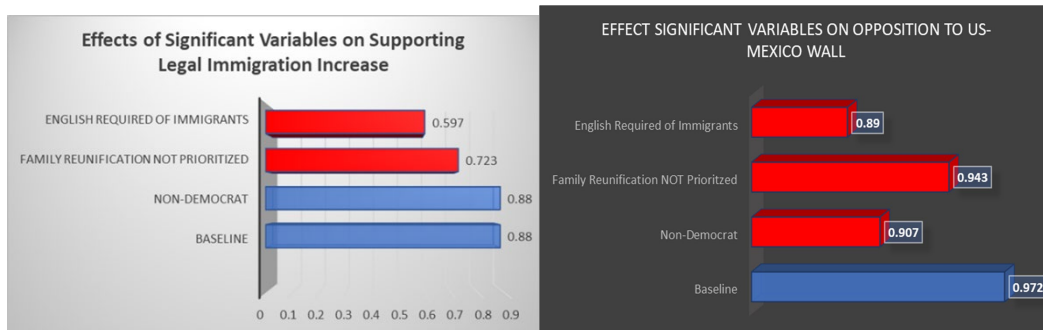
¹⁵⁶ Collingwood et al. "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban.'"

¹⁵⁷ Jones, Bradford, and Danielle Joesten Martin. "Path-to-Citizenship or Deportation? How Elite Cues Shaped Opinion on Immigration in the 2010 U.S. House Elections." *Political Behavior* 39, no. 1 (2016): 177-204.

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-016-9352-x>.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

immigration. Those who identified as Democrat were more likely to oppose the wall and support immigration remaining at its current levels or increasing as demonstrated in the graphics below:



Individuals who identify as Democrats, support prioritizing immigrant family reunification and do not support English being required of all immigrants are more likely to hold positive attitudes toward immigrants and increasing levels of legal immigration than others.

Overall, it was surprising to find that demographic factors like age, income level, race/ethnicity, and birthplace were not significant. Perhaps this speaks to the issue of underrepresentation of certain groups in the survey. More likely, this directly points to the politically divided nature of American politics today. According to one article, “Americans may be as divided over politics today as they were in the lead up to the Civil War of the 1860s.”¹⁵⁹ The break down in bipartisan respect and collaboration has definitely trickled down into American society, with party alignment proving to be the only significant demographic factor in the above study. Professor Lilliana Mason of the University of Maryland summarizes the issue best when describing party alignment in regards to election season: "It starts to feel like every election isn't just about our parties competing...It's about our racial groups and our religious groups and our geographical groups, and if you lose, it's not just your party that lost, it's all of the things that make up your individual identity, all the groups you feel attached to. It's almost like they all lost too."¹⁶⁰

In conclusion, because America is an immigrant nation, there is a responsibility to understand attitudes toward newcomers. The divide within immigration rhetoric today and the understanding of what drives such division must be addressed by both politicians and ordinary citizens. That division seems more indicative of a larger issue dividing the nation: party politics. Immigration is just another issue along with healthcare, gun control, abortion, etc. that must contend with the extremely divided political system. As debates wage on, there needs to be an emphasis on finding ways to work together again on polarizing issues. There is a significant need to find methods of compromise without feeling that one's individual identity and morals are in the line of danger. Immigration will continue to be a defining factor of the American identity. As new groups venture to this nation, there needs to be careful study of how they are perceived by their fellow neighbors.

¹⁵⁹ Abeshouse, Bob. “The Disunited States: How Partisan Politics Is Polarising the US.” Al Jazeera. August 2, 2019. www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/disunited-states-partisan-politics-polarising-190801094457547.html.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

An Enigma of American Freedom: Child Marriages in the U.S.

By Chineze Osakwe

America is known for being the most militarily, medically and economically advanced country of this century. It is ostensibly the leader of the free world, with world views and policies that are closely observed and emulated by countries all over the globe. However, it should also be noted that between the years 2000 and 2015, America sanctioned approximately 200,000 child marriages. Child marriage—defined as marriage before the legal age of consent—18—is legal in all 50 states. In states that have high rates of child marriage like, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, for example, children between the ages 14 to 17 are permitted to get married with parental consent.¹⁶¹, ¹⁶² Child marriages are conducted to cover up rape and unwanted pregnancies, and occasionally, they are driven by parental religious convictions. Less commonly, emancipated minors utilize child marriage to marry out of love or out of the necessity for an early marriage due to imminent military deployment of one of the partners.¹⁶³ Regardless of the reasons, it is perplexing that a country such as America, which purports to support freedom and equality, would simultaneously condone one of the most discernible acts of human rights violation. Irrespective of whether the U.S. has ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child, it is pertinent to acknowledge that in the English Common Law tradition—from which our legal doctrines and concepts were derived—marriage is defined as “The legal union of a couple as spouses. The basic elements of a marriage are: (1) the parties' legal ability to marry each other, (2) mutual consent of the parties, and (3) a marriage contract as required by law.”¹⁶⁴ The United States—otherwise known as “the Land of the Free”—was founded on the ideals of equality, liberty, and freedom—all of which are denied to any child who engages in child-marriage, regardless of the presence or absence of coercion and self-will. The U.S. must pass a federal law prohibiting child marriage without any exceptions. Child marriages abuse the human rights of children, but American children in particular face increased risks of social isolation, health issues, and of living or raising a family in poverty.

It is a common practice for Western countries today in the United Nations to discuss child marriage and propose solutions with the predisposed notion and veil of ignorance that it only occurs in Sub-Saharan African and Southeast Asian nations—often referred to as the Global South. The West has been extremely critical of the South, while potentially downplaying the role child marriage had in European societies throughout history, centuries before it became a human rights discussion. In fact, it was in Ancient Rome, where individuals were allowed to enter into marriage contracts once they were 14 for males, and 12 for females.¹⁶⁵ Thus, spreading the principle of low minimum age requirements for marriage to numerous developed nations in Western Europe once Rome became Christianized. Not long after did the Catholic church adopt it into its Ecclesiastical Law, causing this practice to quickly become entrenched in Western

¹⁶¹ Tsui, Anjali. “Married Young: The Fight Over Child Marriage in America.” PBS. September 14, 2017. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/married-young-the-fight-over-child-marriage-in-america/>.

¹⁶² Belanger, Ashley. “Child Marriage in the U.S., Explained by a Former Child Bride.” Teen Vogue. September 6, 2017. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/child-marriage-in-the-us-explained-by-a-former-child-bride>.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ “Marriage.” Legal Information Institute. 2017. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/marriage>.

¹⁶⁵ Dahl, Gordon B. “Early Teen Marriage and Future Poverty.” *Demography* 47, no. 3 (2010): 689-718. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3000061/>.

society. By the time England broke away from the Catholic church, it too adopted the same minimum age requirements for marriage that would later be applied to all British colonies, America included.¹⁶⁶ It was not until the end of the 19th and early 20th century that researchers and policymakers drew attention to the notion that teens and children were ill-prepared to assume the familial and financial responsibilities associated with marriage. This changed the economic and social landscape of the U.S., as individual states began to raise—and in some cases create—the minimum legal age at which individuals could marry.¹⁶⁷

Hugh Cunningham argues that the treatment and conceptualization of children was heavily influenced by Christianity during the medieval and early modern periods, because children were seen as innocent and pure beings. However, by the eighteenth century a secular view of children and the idea of childhood emerged. Secularism redefined how children were brought up in society and there was a dramatic shift from “a prime focus on the spiritual health of the child, to a concern for the development of the individual child.”¹⁶⁸ This shift in concern for the development and upbringing of the child drastically changed Western society in the sense that it set the framework for the modern Western interpretation of being a child.

Although there has been recent national and international resistance against child marriage, the U.S. has yet to make permanent and profound changes. In fact, there is currently no federal law abolishing or prohibiting child marriage; rather, every state sets its own requirements. Due to the dual federalist system of government in the U.S., 25 states do not have a minimum age requirement for marriage. There are however, some states that have made an effort to safeguard the human rights of children. Early in 2018, Delaware and New Jersey became the first two states to outlaw marriage for anyone under the age of 18, with no exceptions.¹⁶⁹

The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner accentuated that the most immediate and profound repercussions of child marriage are most discernible on the individual victim. This is because it brings the victim’s childhood and adolescence to a premature and unnatural end by imposing adult roles and responsibilities before they are physically, psychologically, and emotionally prepared enough to cope on their own.¹⁷⁰ The most obvious illustration of this is that some, if not most child marriages impose social isolation on girls, thus bringing unwanted separation from their friends and family, and other aspects of social life.¹⁷¹ As a result, the health and social risks of a young person marrying early are extreme, and according to a 2011 study from the journal *Pediatrics*, minors who marry are more likely to

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Pollock, Linda A. “A Review of Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500.” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 85. <https://academic.oup.com/ahr/article-abstract/102/1/85/171942?redirectedFrom=fulltext>.

¹⁶⁹ Ferguson, Sarah. “What You Need To Know About Child Marriage In The U.S.” *Forbes*. October 29, 2018. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/unicefusa/2018/10/29/what-you-need-to-know-about-child-marriage-in-the-us-1/#7cccfd6f5689>.

¹⁷⁰ United Nations Population Fund. “Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage.” The United Nations. 2012. <https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/MarryingTooYoung.pdf>.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

develop a psychiatric disorder than adults who get married (VOA News, 2018, pg. 1). They can experience other health-related issues such as, frequent pregnancy and childbirth at a young age.¹⁷²

Child marriage has also proven to negatively affect victims' well-being because, more often than not, they are exposed to sexual or domestic violence.¹⁷³ For instance, most girls are often too powerless to refuse sex from their spouse, particularly when there is a sizable age gap, thus leading to sex without protection, making them more susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV. This sexual abuse often leads to a path of commercial exploitation such as sex trafficking.¹⁷⁴

In his article, Gordon B. Dahl recognizes a correlation between a girl who marries young, and her likelihood of living in poverty. In fact, he claims that she is 31% more likely to end up in poverty than if she were to marry when she is an adult, highlighting the correlation between child marriage and three core elements of society: education, poverty, social mobility.¹⁷⁵ In addition, when considering the effects on education, not only are victims of child marriage 50% more likely to drop out of high school, but their marriage also decreases the likelihood of them obtaining a college education, regardless of whether or not they graduated high school.¹⁷⁶ Taking that into consideration, individuals who are married early experience further consequences of a poor education—particularly lower wages and higher unemployment rates—showing the relationship between child marriage and poverty.¹⁷⁷ Dahl's article highlights that the issue with the intersectionality of these three elements of society is not only the effects they have on the woman who gets married in her mid-teens, but on the fact that child marriage has a lasting effect on society because of how the children of the victims behave in society as well. Therefore, child poverty due to child marriage, increases the likelihood of a repetition of this destructive cycle on victims' children. This becomes a burden on society in three ways: health-related issues—where teen mothers have lower birth weights and a higher rate of infant homicide—social services—where children of teenage mothers are more likely to be victims of child abuse and neglect and engage in crime—and education, where children of teenage mothers are more likely to have behavioral problems in school.¹⁷⁸

Child marriage needs to be terminated globally, but particularly in the U.S. The law should dictate that individuals under the age of 18 cannot legally be married, even with parent consent, regardless of extraneous circumstances including one of the individuals deploying in the military, religious beliefs, or pregnancy. Although some may argue that this is not a culturally sensitive proposal, it is important to recognize that the culture in the U.S. was never designed to authorize this form of abuse. The law clearly states that all men (and women) are created equal, and have the right to freedom, liberty, and most importantly the pursuit of happiness. However, by forcing or even permitting a child (by definition of the law) to marry an adult (by definition of

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Dahl, Gordon B. "Early Teen Marriage and Future Poverty."

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

the law) or another child, their inalienable rights as a citizen of the United States are being obstructed. In addition, in the U.S. one must be at least 18 to be a full voting member of society; 18 is the nationally recognized symbol of beginning adulthood and freedom as a full U.S. citizen. Therefore, one must acknowledge the inherent contradiction of allowing an individual under that particular age, to partake in one of those liberties.

Finally, although child marriage may be socially acceptable or even expected in the origin countries of some of the participants, there are still two overarching issues with permitting this practice. First and foremost, one must remember that when they agreed to raise their family in the United States, they recognized everything that the country stood for, particularly the nation's founding principles. By becoming either a citizen or a resident, one not only acknowledges those beliefs and rights, but you also sign a "social contract" as John Locke would say, and are agreeing not to impede on those rights or beliefs. The other grievance with the argument for cultural sensitivity with regards to the acceptance and open-mindedness of child marriage, is that quite frankly, under no circumstances should children being wed to adults or to each other be condoned. Cultural or religious beliefs--no matter how significant--should not outweigh or justify the probable domestic, sexual, and mental abuse of a developing child in the United States. This is because it creates a culture that thrives off of the reification of gender relations and the exploitation of the younger and more vulnerable members of society. Therefore, in order to give the children—particularly in the US—back their rights, the only plausible solution is to terminate the legitimization of child marriages.

All in all, child marriage—specifically in the United States, has violated the global and domestic ideology of human rights for thousands of children. The U.S. has directly contributed to the disenfranchisement and exploitation of thousands of children by permitting them to be married under the law, which simultaneously robs them of their childhood and adolescent experiences which shape how they "perform" in society. In addition, child marriage has also reified class and poverty in many states across the country. As a result, child marriage has taken away a large portion of victims' rights that are connected to their citizenship, welfare, education, and capacity to attain success—all of which are indoctrinated in the U.S. Constitution.

Human Rights Abuses by the Chinese Government Against Muslims

By Aylin Saydam

The Chinese government is currently torturing and politically brainwashing more than 1 million Uyghur Muslims.¹⁷⁹ In one of the worst human rights abuses of modern times, the Chinese government is engaged in a relentless cultural genocide against this population of old Turks that migrated from Mongolia to China. Today, most of them live in the Chinese province of Xinjiang. The Chinese have been accused of throwing Uyghurs into camps and eliminating their religion and entire culture. The Chinese government calls these concentration camps “vocational education and training centers.” They allege that these camps are necessary to combat violent terrorism and provide national unity in China. However, these claims are just a cover for government practices that strip Uyghur Muslims of their language, culture, and religion. The Chinese government has long demonstrated a desire to force religious populations to assimilate into an agnostic post-communist Chinese society, and these Xinjiang “re-education camps” mark a worrisome continuation of this trend. Since 2016, human rights abuses in these camps have only gotten worse. If any detainees disobey or resist, the government utilizes torture. The Chinese government has gone as far as sterilizing Uyghur women, separating children from their parents and brainwashing them, and denying them the right to freely practice their religion. Such actions are expressly prohibited by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the international community must take action to hold China accountable.

To fully understand the nature of Chinese persecution of the Uyghurs, it is important to provide some historical background. The Uyghur Turks have been in China for many years. The Uyghurs are a “largely Muslim ethnic minority group based mainly in China's westernmost Xinjiang region. They tend to have more in common culturally and ethnically with people across Central Asian nations than they do with Han Chinese. Their language is related to Turkish, and it also shares similarities with Uzbek, Mongolian, Kazakh and Kyrgyz.”¹⁸⁰ Islam is a major part of the Uyghur identity. The number of Uyghurs in Xinjiang has decreased from 75% of the region's population in 1945 to only about 45% today. However, this is largely because of the immigration of Han Chinese into Xinjiang's cities in large numbers following major development projects that have brought prosperity to the region. After this wave of Han immigration, many Uyghurs grew concerned by the Han Chinese dominance of regional job markets. Over time, the Uyghurs' ability to engage in business and cultural activities has been gradually curtailed by the Chinese government. The Chinese government began attacking the religious liberties of the Uyghurs by branding ordinary Muslim traditions as religious “extremism.”¹⁸¹ After the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1990s and the emergence of other independent Muslim states in Central Asia, tensions between the Uyghurs and the Chinese government exploded.¹⁸² The Chinese government has suppressed public demonstrations and engaged in a mission to convert Muslim Uyghur Turks into supporters of the communist party. Human rights groups have accused China of putting a million Uyghurs in detention camps since the early 1990s. China claims it has put

¹⁷⁹ VOA News Staff. “Who Are the Uyghurs?” Voice of America. November 8, 2018.

<https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/who-are-uyghurs>.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

Uyghurs in ‘vocational education centers’ to stop the spread of religious extremism and to halt a surge in terrorist attacks, but critics argue that Chinese policy is aimed at destroying Uyghur identity.”¹⁸³

Unsurprisingly, China denies engaging in any sort of human rights abuses in its treatment of the Uyghurs. In fact, China is one of the forty-seven countries on the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), and it is a signer of The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. China has committed itself to upholding the major principles of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights including the fact that, “[e]veryone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”¹⁸⁴ China is clearly violating this second article of the treaty, but the government continues to deflect criticism of its arbitrary detention of more than a million Uighurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang. The Chinese government argues that these facilities “have been highly successful in stopping attacks previously blamed on Islamist militants and separatists.”¹⁸⁵ They have been effective at creating a better society. However, human rights advocates have criticized UN officials, including Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, for their silence on Xinjiang, and for giving China a platform to spread “propaganda.”¹⁸⁶ American media and politicians have begun to take notice of potential human rights abuses, but the Chinese government has limited access to these camps. NBC news attempted to interview government officials on the nature of these camps, but the government declined to answer questions on how many centers there are in the region, how many people have passed through them or how many are currently being held there.¹⁸⁷

Still, despite limited access to these camps, there are a number of documented human rights abuses that have leaked out of China. First, in these concentration camps, women have been forcibly sterilized. This procedure blocks the fallopian tubes and prevents pregnancy from occurring. The Chinese government had been injecting Uyghur women with substances in order to prevent pregnancies. Gulbahar Jaliliva, a 54 year-old woman, who was held for more than a year told French television that “she was repeatedly injected with a substance by doctors in a prison in the far-west region of Xinjiang.”¹⁸⁸ Many women were being subjected to sterilization without even knowing it. She was eventually released for “being diagnosed as mentally ill, and she now lives in the United States. American doctors concluded that she had been sterilized.”¹⁸⁹ The reason why the Chinese government is sterilizing Uyghur Muslims is because they want to

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The United Nations. 2015.

https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf.

¹⁸⁵ Thomsen Reuters. “China’s Treatment of Uighur Muslims in Spotlight at UN Human Rights Session.” CBC. February 25, 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/china-uighurs-unhrc-1.5032506>.

¹⁸⁶ Maizland, Lindsay. "Is China Undermining Human Rights at the United Nations?" Council on Foreign Relations. July 9, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/china-undermining-human-rights-united-nations>.

¹⁸⁷ Simmons, Kier. "Inside Chinese Camps Thought to be Detaining a Million Muslim Uighurs." NBC News. October 4, 2019. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/inside-chinese-camps-thought-detain-million-muslim-uighurs-n1062321>.

¹⁸⁸ News Staff. "Muslim Women Reportedly 'Sterilized' in Chinese 'Re-Education' Camps." New York Post. August 13, 2019. <https://nypost.com/2019/08/13/muslim-women-reportedly-sterilized-in-chinese-re-education-camps/>.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

control the population growth of Muslims in their country. By preventing pregnancies now, it allows for them to prevent new Muslims from being born into the communist country. Not only are Uyghur women targets for the Chinese government, but young Uyghur children are as well.

Chinese government houses tens of thousands of Uyghur Muslim children in so-called protection centers. Chinese authorities have been housing children in state-run child welfare institutions away from their imprisoned parents without parental consent. According to Human Rights Watch, the “Xinjiang government documents provide little information on decisions to send children to state-run facilities. They do not indicate whose consent is needed, which government agencies make decisions about removal to state institutions, or whether there are procedures for determining consent or challenges to such determinations.”¹⁹⁰ By transferring children to institutions without consent or justification, it is denying a child’s basic rights and diluting Uyghur cultural heritage. Chinese authorities have been putting these children in boarding schools that teach them Chinese, they have required them sing to propagandic songs. It is completely inhumane for China to put children into these institutions without consent from their parents or guardians, and it violates both Chinese and international law. Article 43 of China’s Law on the Protection of Minors states that “state-run child welfare institutions are responsible for caring for orphans, children whose parents or guardians cannot be found, and other children not in care. However, Chinese law does not empower government authorities to remove children from their relatives to place them in state care, nor does it outline any legal procedures to do so.”¹⁹¹ It is completely against the law of China to be taking care of these children. However, China appears primed to stop at nothing to make Uyghur children embrace Han Chinese culture and lose their own cultural identities at a young age. China is using this strategy in order to indoctrinate children away from their religious and cultural roots while their parents are being detained in other facilities.

Beyond forcing Muslim women to become sterilized and altering children’s minds at a young age, the Chinese government is also forcing Muslims to take part in rituals completely against their religion. In Islam, cremation is considered to be ‘haram,’ or an unclean practice. Muslims are forbidden from taking part in the act of cremation in any way, including witnessing the event or stating approval of it.¹⁹² Instead of cremation, Muslims are required to bury the dead in their own special method. After a Muslim dies, rituals include, “bathing, covering the body with cloth or shroud, a reception of friends and family, and a gathering of the Muslim community to offer prayers for forgiveness.” The body is then prepared for burial, with the head buried facing Mecca. These practices do not lend themselves to cremation.¹⁹³ Many have claimed that the Chinese government has been cremating Uyghur Muslims, which is against the Islamic creed. According to an employee who worked at an existing crematorium, “[a]mong the ethnic minority corpses brought to his crematorium are those who have died in ‘political re-education

¹⁹⁰ “China: Xinjiang Children Separated from Families.” Human Rights Watch. September 15, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/15/china-xinjiang-children-separated-families>.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Al-Dawoody, Ahmed. “Respect for the Dead Under Islamic Law: Considerations for Human Forensics.” Humanitarian Law and Policy. November 1, 2018. <https://www.neptunesociety.com/cremation-information-articles/cremation-and-islam>.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

camps.’”¹⁹⁴ China is attacking the very practice of Islam and forcing Uyghur Muslims in these camps to participate. This is a clear human rights abuse of the freedom of expression and it is a form of cultural genocide.

In conclusion, countless lives have been annihilated because of these camps. Prisoners are not locked up because they committed a crime, but instead because of their religion, ethnicity, and culture. The Chinese government is denying Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims their most basic human rights including privacy, freedom of movement, and the right to leave the country. China has been sterilizing Uyghur women without consent, separating children from their families and brainwashing them, and denying them the right to freely practice their religion. Without raising awareness, the Chinese government will continue to wipe out an entire culture. The international community has a duty to step up and prevent China from continuing its cultural genocide of the Uyghur Muslims.

¹⁹⁴ Hoja, Gulchehra. "Xinjiang Rapidly Building Crematoria to Extinguish Uyghur Funeral Traditions." Radio Free Asia. June 26, 2018. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/crematoriums-06262018151126.html>.

An Analysis of U.S. Trade Conflicts with China

By Henry Seyue

In the past year, America's already-turbulent relationship with China has begun to actualize its true destructive potential. A series of Trump administration allegations against the People's Republic has caused decades-long dormant tension to suddenly awaken, manifesting itself in the form of an intergovernmental quagmire that is threatening to destabilize the respective economies of both nations. The Trump administration justifies tariffs against China by primarily citing concern over China's historically unfair, and sometimes criminal, trade practices. The administration has maintained that addressing the alleged transgressions will serve to protect American consumers and producers. However, opponents of the tariffs argue that they are unwarranted, extraneous, and fail to work in America's favor. Although skepticism may be justified given that the tariffs are imposed by perhaps the most heavily fact-checked administration in recent times, the history of our trade relations with China, the merits of the tariffs, and the course of the conflict actually suggest otherwise. So, with the current tariffs seeking to make up for the loss to the U.S economy and bring China to the trade table to remedy their actions (and possibly improve trade relations), the trajectory of the conflict currently points towards a modest economic victory for the U.S through the lens of "net benefits".

On the issue of China's trade practices being detrimental to the United States, actions carried out by past presidents (as far back as George H.W Bush) tell us these claims may be more than mere speculation.¹⁹⁵ When China became a relevant economic presence in the early 90's, this was largely due to protectionist trade practices which were largely pardoned because of their growing economy. Now that they are the world's second largest economy, those similar practices have crossed over from protectionist to predatory.¹⁹⁶ Sanctions like the ones Trump has implemented have been historically threatened by not just Republicans, but even Democrats like President Bill Clinton. Although Clinton took a soft-lined approach—threatening tariffs as high as 100% on Chinese goods, then recanting them¹⁹⁷—the open criticism of China would contribute to them joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Although this was seen as a major economic achievement, and Sino-U.S. trade skyrocketed, it served to increase trade but not fix harmful trade practices. Many of these practices went unaddressed through the national economic crisis that began in 2001, likely because risking a trade war might have exacerbated the effects of the two recessions that occurred in that time period. Since then, beginning with Barack Obama, U.S presidents have worked diligently in holding China accountable for their practices—Trump is just the latest person to inherit the task.

So, given that Trump's claims at least have the backing of historical precedent, it begs the question "what are the actual policies being fought against?". Some of China's specific policies and actions that give Trump's claims a base begin with the more than twenty WTO cases Obama's administration litigated against China, and the eleven cases Trump inherited on issues such as theft of American Intellectual Property (IP), restrictions on exports coming out of China,

¹⁹⁵ Boxwell, Robert. "How China's Rampant Intellectual Property Theft, Long Overlooked by U.S, Sparked Trade War." South China Morning Post. November 19, 2018. <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2170132/how-chinas-rampant-intellectual-property-theft>.

¹⁹⁶ "Overview." *World Bank*. October 1, 2019. www.worldbank.org/en/country/china/overview.

¹⁹⁷ Boxwell, Robert. "China's Rampant Intellectual Property Theft."

and restrictions on imports going into China.¹⁹⁸ Some other predatory actions include economic espionage carried out by hackers commissioned by the Chinese military (who have since been indicted),¹⁹⁹ and mandating technology transfers for companies seeking to do business in China.²⁰⁰ So, whereas there is a plethora of proof that China is indeed trying to get an unfair upper hand over the U.S, to determine whether America's subsequent course of action is befitting, the effects of each of these transgressions must be understood.

For starters, the theft of IP is perhaps the single most effective way to cripple America's economy. IP products account for 38.2% of the GDP, and IP-based industries directly account for more than 27.9 million jobs, as well as another 17.6 million through their supply chain.²⁰¹ Predictions show that more than 923,000 jobs may be missing from the economy as a result of IP theft.²⁰² This alone would likely be cause for at least some form of minimal protectionary action, however, the effects of the other policies provide an even better understanding of why things have escalated. Working in tandem with IP theft, the existence of Forced Technology Transfers (FTT) coerce American companies into literally handing over trade technology to joint venture "partners". Chinese officials pass this off as merely a cost of doing business, when in actuality it is a violation of trade ethics. With this exchange, American companies forfeit their comparative advantage in technology-based products, which is one primary reason America exports goods to China. Unlike the theft of IP, the loss of potential revenue from FTT is a bit harder to calculate, but still estimated to be in the billions of dollars range. With that being said, the effects of FTT are similar to that of IP theft given that they cause American jobs to disappear as China encroaches upon America's tech industry, as well as diminishes its trade leverage.

In regard to the findings related to import and export restrictions, when America can't export materials in which it has a comparative advantage or surplus of, its suppliers lose potential income. Conversely, when America can't receive cheaper goods from foreign countries, consumers pay higher domestic prices and lose "real income". Keeping this concept in mind, China has policies that make exporting automobiles to them (among other things) more cumbersome for American suppliers.²⁰³ This causes American suppliers to miss out on potential profits from trade. Looking specifically at restrictions on imports to the U.S, China has engaged in the practice of limiting trade of certain raw materials.²⁰⁴ As a result, suppliers sell more goods

¹⁹⁸ Malawer, Stuart. "Obama, WTO Trade Enforcement, and China." *China and WTO Review* 1, no. 2 (2016): 361-368.

http://globaltraderelations.net/images/Malawer.Obama,_WTO_Trade_Enforcement,_and_China_2_China_WTO_Review_No.2_at_361_Sept._1,_2016_.pdf.

¹⁹⁹ "U.S. Charges Five Chinese Military Hackers for Cyber Espionage Against U.S. Corporations and A Labor Organization for Commercial Advantage." The United States Department of Justice. July 14, 2015. <https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdpa/pr/us-charges-five-chinese-military-hackers-cyber-espionage-against-us-corporations-and>.

²⁰⁰ Bacchus, James. "Disciplining China's Trade Practices at the WTO: How WTO Complaints Can Help Make China More Market-Oriented." Cato Institute. November 14, 2018. <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/disciplining-chinas-trade-practices-wto-how-wto-complaints-can-help>.

²⁰¹ "Intellectual Property and the U.S Economy: 2016 Update." Prepared by the U.S Department of Commerce. Washington, D.C. 2016.

²⁰² "China: Effects of Intellectual Property Infringements and Indigenous Innovation Policies on the U.S Economy." Prepared by the U.S International Trade Commission. Washington, D.C. 2001.

²⁰³ Malawer, Stuart. "Obama, WTO Trade Enforcement, and China."

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

made with American raw materials which come at a higher price to American consumers, or the suppliers move production facilities to China and take their jobs with them. The obvious effect of this is that American consumers foot the bill of these restrictions, and American Suppliers are left with their hands tied. Furthermore, Chinese suppliers do not heavily feel the weight of restrictions. This is because China participates in the ethically rejected practice of subsidizing their manufacturers and incentivizing them not to engage in trade. A recent example of this market distortion can be seen in the case of China providing subsidies for e-vehicle manufacturers. This comes with the caveat that they produce vehicles with batteries from a list of state approved battery producers—all of which are Chinese owned.²⁰⁵ This reinforces the fact that unfair trade practices are indeed being carried out, and it reinforces that there is a loss to the American economy in the form of missed revenue, higher costs, and fewer jobs due to trade restrictions.

With the culmination of these affects, the U.S is constantly operating in a state of inefficiency even when it's technically "doing well", which tells us why measures would need to be taken for China to desist from their actions. This is why America has imposed tariffs on China totaling \$550 Billion, which is relatively lenient given that the country actually loses a figure that possibly borders, if not exceeds \$1 trillion per year.²⁰⁶ This suggests that the goal of the tariffs isn't actually retribution, but rather reconciliation. With China responding through retaliating with \$155 Billion worth of tariffs against the U.S, it may be hard to believe anything is being reconciled, but America's efforts have actually brought China to the trade table at few comparative costs.²⁰⁷

As far as actual economic damage goes, China is absolutely enduring more than America to keep the trade war alive. U.S tariffs *partially* contributed to the "fastest expanding economy in history" seeing its slowest growth in almost three decades.²⁰⁸ Also, with trade accounting for only about 27% of America's GDP, China has lost relatively more productivity given that trade accounts for almost 40% of their GDP, on top of total U.S tariffs being much larger.²⁰⁹ The U.S economy is still the strongest it has been in decades, and although China's tariffs have made a recession 27% more likely, other economic indicators depict stability.²¹⁰ Whereas American unemployment has actually dropped to a historically low 3.5% during the course of these tariffs,²¹¹ China's employment is likely suffering due to manufacturers relocating to other low

²⁰⁵ Moss, Trefor. "China's Road to Electric-Car Domination Is Driven in Part by Batteries." The Wall Street Journal. October 21, 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-road-to-electric-car-domination-is-driven-in-part-by-batteries-1508587203>.

²⁰⁶ Wong, Dorcas. "The U.S-China Trade War: A Timeline." China Briefing News. November 11, 2019. <https://www.china-briefing.com/news/the-us-china-trade-war-a-timeline/>.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ingriber, Sasha. "China's Economy Faltering; Slowest Growth in Nearly 3 Decades." NPR. July 15, 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/15/741735791/chinas-economy-falters-slowest-growth-in-nearly-3-decades>.

²⁰⁹ Swanson, Ana. "Trump's Trade War Could Put Swiss-Size Dent in Global Economy, I.M.F. Warns." The New York Times. October 08, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/08/us/politics/trump-trade-war-imf.html>.

²¹⁰ Pickert, Reade. "Is a Recession Coming? Tracking The U.S Economy." Bloomberg Economics. November 6, 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/us-economic-recession-tracker/>.

²¹¹ "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey." U.S Bureau of Labor Statistics. November 14, 2019. <https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS14000000>.

skilled nations to avoid American tariffs in recent months.²¹² It is hard to know exactly how much of a toll it's taken on their economy due to China notoriously misrepresenting economic data such as their unemployment rate to make it appear as if they are better off than they really are. However, one sign that the tariffs are in fact hurting China is them recently employing the "nuclear option" of devaluing their own currency, another practice which is ethically frowned upon.²¹³ This was done in order to cushion the effects of American sanctions because with a currency that is valued less, they technically lose less when they trade and pay a tariff.

On the other hand, the majority of the harm that has been caused to the U.S economy is primarily from speculation, not actual loss of labor or capital. Goldman Sachs researchers report that the sanctions have only had a "modest" effect on U.S investments.²¹⁴ This can be understood as significant, but not threatening. As far as effects on consumers, the average American household by some estimates will only pay an additional \$38 per month for goods.²¹⁵ Furthermore, some of the economic slowdown can be attributed to America's own success. For example, the USDIX (which measures the value of the Dollar compared to other major currencies) being strong at the moment means the U.S gives up more when it trades with tariffs. Also, the Federal Reserve maintaining tighter monetary policies in the past few quarters due to the expanding economy also contributes to the slow down (not a bad problem to have). With this being said, the burden of the trade war is mostly being borne by China, which is what was always expected in the "net benefit" approach. The U.S has lost a lot less than China, and their efforts have been fruitful based on China's recent verbal acquiescence in which they've agreed to address their activities, as well as agreeing to purchase between 40 and 50 billion dollars worth of agricultural goods from the U.S. if pending tariffs are canceled. Arrival of this news even caused the DOW to jump drastically by 300 points, further proving that mere speculation has caused the most harm to us in the course of events.²¹⁶

Due to China acknowledging the truth in at least some of America's claims and offering remedies, a gateway has been opened which may *potentially* lead to a reformation of China's policies. Since China's government has an unpredictable nature, claiming victory at this point would still be premature, but with the dusk of the conflict looming, it's fair to say a symbolic goal has been achieved for the U.S while minimizing self harm. If things were to relapse for some reason, the cost of continuing the war would have to exceed the possibly \$1 trillion dollars a year we lose from China for it to become economically self-defeating. However, should China follow through on enforcing the things they've agreed to thus far, it may have even broader implications on America's economic and diplomatic relationship with them heading into the new decade.

²¹² Myers, Jolie, Ailsa Chang, Sam Gringlas, and Mallory Yu. "Has The Trade War Taken A Bite Out Of China's Economy? Yes - But It's Complicated." NPR. October 10, 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/10/768569711/has-the-trade-war-taken-a-bite-out-of-china-s-economy-yes-but-its-complicated>.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Swanson, Ana. "Trump's Trade War Could Put Swiss-Size Dent in Global Economy, I.M.F. Warns."

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Imbert, Fred. "Dow Jumps 300 Points after Trump Says US Has Trade Deal with China That Will Come in Phases." CNBC. October 14, 2019. <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/10/10/stock-futures-open-higher-after-optimistic-trump-comments-on-us-china-trade.html>.