LEVIATHAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE INDIVIDUAL

VOLUME 6 | ISSUE 3 | APRIL 2016

CONTENTS

Front Cover By:

Télam

Photography By:

Darya Gnidash

References:

References for each article can be found in the same order as the print edition here:

http://www.leviathanjournal.org/#!references/c1lk7

Featuring guest submission from Dr. Nancy Ries, Professor of Anthropology and Peace & Conflict Studies at Colgate University.

Image by:
colgate.edu/facultysearch/facultydirectory/nries

Welcome,

I am ecstatic to present you *Leviathan's* final issue of the academic year: 'The Individual'. This issue aims to explore the increases and reductions in individual empowerment all over the world, why these fluctuations occur, and how they are manifested. The 'individual' does not necessarily refer to one person; while we have profiled individuals in previous issues, this issue of *Leviathan* encompasses states, organisations, people, and movements as individual actors. Interpreted in this way, 'The Individual' can be analysed through various lenses and can both encourage and discourage progress. Individual entities can wield power in international or domestic politics; they can oppress or be oppressed, influence or be ignored, and can catalyse or prevent political action.

The cover photo in this issue is an image from protests against femicide that took place in Argentina in June, 2015. The demonstration was organised via social media using the hashtag #NiUnaMenos (Not One Less), and almost 200,000 protesters gathered in Buenos Aires to demonstrate against gender violence. In this issue of *Leviathan*, Katrina Cohen Cosentino discusses machismo culture in Latin America and how it perpetuates gender stereotypes and violence against women. The #NiUnaMenos movement encapsulates the ability for individuals to have their voices heard and the utility of social media in organising and protesting various issues.

Globalisation and mass dissemination of information, as many of the articles in this issue explore, can both empower and further oppress individuals. The articles within this issue address a broad range of topics in relation to individuality. Several articles discuss the political psychology of certain world leaders and how their personalities and individual character traits affect their decision-making. Others address the Western construction of individuality, the media's victim blaming and denigrating portrayals of women, and how individual actions can undermine and delegitimise entire organisations. Several of the articles, specifically in the North America section, discuss the eclipse of the individual and their influence by powerful corporations and monetised politics. Many articles discuss social media and technological advances that have redefined activism and the ability for individuals to influence global and domestic politics.

The articles within this issue explore the positive and negative consequences of an individualist society, or a lack thereof. We are pleased to welcome a guest submission from Dr. Nancy Ries, from Colgate University in New York, who specialises in symbolic anthropology, social theory, Russian culture and society, and peace and conflict studies; we thank her for her contribution.

It is hard to believe that this is my last issue of *Leviathan* as Editor in Chief. I have been involved with *Leviathan* and the Edinburgh Political Union for three years, and they have come to shape my experience here at the University of Edinburgh. I would like to thank my dedicated team, supportive friends, and talented contributors who have made my experience as Editor in Chief my most worthwhile and rewarding endeavour thus far. Sarah Garmston, Valentina Paradiso, and Larissa Sterchi have been incredibly supportive, and their efforts were crucial to achieving the aims of *Leviathan* this year. I am confident that my successor, Nicholas Pugh, will continue to uphold the high academic standard of *Leviathan* and add to its existing legacy.

Leviathan will be hiring new team members at the beginning of the 2016-2017 academic year; I encourage anyone who is interested in production, fundraising, editing, or managing our online presence to get in touch with us to find out more information. We are also hosting an Extraordinary General Meeting on May 5th, 2016, to elect several members of the Edinburgh Political Union's committee and *Leviathan's* new Deputy Editor in Chief and Treasurer. You can find out more via our website and Facebook page.

I would also like to thank the Edinburgh Political Union, the University of Edinburgh's Politics and International Relations Department, and Dr. Ailsa Henderson for their continued support. I am exceedingly proud of the work my team has accomplished this year, and I feel fortunate to have had the privilege of leading them. I look forward to seeing *Leviathan's* continued growth and expansion, and I thank our readers and authors for their vital contributions to the Journal.

Thank you for an incredible year, I truly hope you enjoy the articles within this issue.

Sincerely,

Jessica Killeen

MEET THE TEAM

Jessica Killeen — **Editor in Chief**

Jessica is a third year student of Sociology and Politics who grew up in London, Paris, and Nashville. Her current research focuses on attitudes toward female reproductive healthcare in the United States. Before being elected as Editor in Chief of *Leviathan*, she served as the regional editor for North America in her first year, as well as *Leviathan's* Chief of Production in her second year. Jessica was also elected as the University of Edinburgh's 2015-2016 Disabilities and Mental Wellbeing Liberation Group Convener.

Nicholas Pugh — **Deputy Editor in Chief**

Nick is a third year studying International Relations and was previously the Africa Editor. He grew up on both coasts of the United States, but calls Edinburgh and Arlington, Virginia home. In addition to his work at *Leviathan*, Nick plays club rugby for HBRFC, and he is working to start 'The Brothers in Arms Initiative', an intercultural communication program that enables individual members of the NATO community and their children to engage in meaningful dialogue with their foreign counterparts.

Agnes Steil — **Treasurer**

Agnes is the treasurer of Leviathan and a second year International Relations student. Born in Berlin, she is excited to call Edinburgh her new home. She is very interested in media and enjoyed her opportunity to intern this summer at the editorial office of a political talk-show, produced by the German national TV-channel. In addition to media and politics she loves travelling and took a gap year to intern at a EU liaison office in Brussels and the German Centre for Venetian studies in Venice**.**

Sarah Garmston — **Chief of Production**

Sarah is a fourth year Graphic Design student at Edinburgh College of Art. Her passion for typography and editorial design has brought her to *Leviathan* as the Chief of Production this year. Sarah wants to show that we can achieve a professional standard in the design of the journal. During her final year, Sarah has set up a student-led design agency as a part of her studies and continues to work with clients across the university. After graduation, Sarah will be interning for Ashinaga in Japan - a charity focused on supplying higher education to orphaned children across the world.

Larissa Sterchi — **Digital Director**

Larissa is a fourth year student in History and Politics. She has lived in Zurich, Dubai and now Edinburgh, and is striving for a career in politics. As a co-host of a weekly radio show called 'Angles' she enjoys discussion, providing people with new perspectives, and playing the devil's advocate. Also, she is the Committee Leader for Peer Support at the School of History, Classics and Archaeology. In her spare time, she teaches at a German Saturday School, cycles, and watches Iranian films.

Valentina Paradiso — **Fundraising Director**

Valentina is a second year student of Sociology and Politics. Born and raised in Milan, she cultivated a passion for politics and social enterprise during her early high school years. Valentina served the International Red Cross and campaigned during the 2016 Democratic primaries in the United States. Last summer she volunteered for Unicef Cambodia in Phnom Penh. When she is not upside down on her yoga mat, she enjoys learning new languages, travelling, and cooking.

Charlotte Gower — **Africa Editor**

Charlotte is a second year student of History and Politics, who grew up in London and now lives in Suffolk. She spent time working in Sierra Leone and Malaysia for UNHCR affiliatedorganisations, which prompted her interest in international development and politics. Aside from *Leviathan*, she has worked as a Lead Consultant at FreshSight and enjoys volunteering for Edinburgh Marrow. This summer, she will be working as a parliamentary assistant at the House of Commons. In her spare time, she enjoys travelling and sailing.

Nishad Sanzagiri — **Asia- Pacific Editor**

Nishad is a third year student of International Relations with Quantitative Methods at the University of Edinburgh. Born in India, he has done most of his schooling in the Sultanate of Oman and the United Arab Emirates. During his first two years of university, he has worked for The Independent, interned at the Daily Telegraph and Times of India, and blogged for The Guardian. In addition to his work at *Leviathan*, he is also the Vice President of the University of Edinburgh Society for Quantitative Research.

Samuel Phillips — **Europe & Russia Editor**

Sam Phillips is a first year Politics student at the University of Edinburgh. He is originally from Seattle, Washington, and enjoys the similar weather in Edinburgh. Sam's research is focused on the politics of the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact, specifically the nature of political parties in those countries. He is currently involved in a project to determine to what extent political parties enable democracy in Uzbekistan.

Kanzanira Thorington — **Latin America Editor**

Kanzanira is a third year student of Law and International Relations from Connecticut. As a second year, she was a member of *Leviathan's* Production Team and is also a member of the Edinburgh Political Union. Last summer she worked as a student law clerk for the Connecticut State Treasurer where she was able to further her interests in sustainable development and international investment law.

Anna Sears — **Middle East & North Africa Editor**

Anna is a postgraduate student in the International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic programme. After spending the summer studying in Palestine, she is now starting work on her dissertation, which will explore the relationship between neoliberal aid and political legitimacy in the Levant. Anna completed her Bachelor's degree in International Relations at Wesleyan University in the United States. She has enjoyed working with writers this year and finding new and creative ways of addressing the issues facing the Middle East.

Connor Hounslow — **North America Editor & Copy Editor**

Connor Hounslowis a first year student studying International Relations. He comes from Westborough, Massachusetts, where he participated in, interalia, his High School Concert Choir and the local Democratic Get-Out-To-Vote campaigns. He is ecstatic to be a part of the Leviathan team, especially sincehe is an avid reader of academic journals. Connor is also the lead project manager forthe E-Democracy project at the University's think tank, the Buchanan Institute.

Barbara Wojazer — **International Editor**

Barbara Wojazer is a second year student of Russian and Politics. Originally from Paris, Barbara chose Scotland because of the greater freedom that students have in choosing their classes and building their degrees, and more generally in getting involved in whatever they find interesting. She speaks German, Russian, and conversational Spanish. Last summer, Barbara interned and published for French Newspaper, Le Monde, in the International Politics section.

Betzy Hänninen — **Production Team Member**

Betzy is a first year student of International Relations who is originally from Oslo. She has a lot of experience in different types of media production, which is useful as she is a part of the *Leviathan* Production Team. At high school she specialised in digital and printed media formats and last year she worked in the media department of the Norwegian Joint Headquarters as a member of the Royal Norwegian Air Force.

Victor Yip — **Production Team Member**

Victor is a third year student of Sociology. Originally from Hong Kong, he lived in Bangkok for 15 years, before moving to Edinburgh. As well as being a long time member of his high school Model United Nations organization, he was also involved in running the group 'Dreams We Believe In', aimed at promoting empathy towards those affected by HIV/AIDS locally. He has also interned in the daily national newspaper, The Bangkok Post, covering social and economic stories on the ASEAN region.

Merle Jungenkrüger — **Production Team Member**

Merle is a first year student of International Relations. Born in Hamburg, she has also lived in England. Merle has particular interest in Middle Eastern politics, intercultural and interfaith rapprochement and the emergence of populist movements. Merle volunteered at the student-run sustainable café at her school and used to be a youth leader in church-based youth work. She has worked as a barista and tutored middle school children. Merle deeply misses her bike and in her spare time enjoys discovering Edinburgh's arthouse cinemas.

Jack Gray — **Production Team Member**

Jack Gray is a second year History and Politics student and a member of the *Leviathan* production team. Originally from Oxford, he now resides in Washington D.C. where he has interned for the United Nations Environment Programme, working on relations with other environmental bodies, in the summer of 2015. He hopes to continue his passion for international affairs through law. Jack also enjoys writing, in the political or international relations fields, or in fiction.

Sara Myers — **Chief Copy Editor**

A California native, Sara graduated from the University of California, San Diego with a degree in International Studies: Linguistics and Psychology. Currently, she is a second year postgraduate student with the School of Social and Political Sciences earning her MSc in International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic. While her dissertation topic is constantly changing, she has a keen interest in international security, especially concerning the United States and the Middle East.

Darya Gnidash — **Copy Editor**

Darya is a third year student of International Relations. Originally from Ukraine, she has a passion for Eastern European politics and the topic of rising nationalism. Having previously interned at various international think-tanks, Darya is hoping to use the acquired knowledge to achieve reconciliation of the Donbass region. She is also the Director of Communications for the Edinburgh Political Union. Darya is a polyglot and so far she is able to speak in 7 foreign languages.

Sponsors & Partners:

EDINBURGH POLITICAL UNION

Sir,

School of Social and Political Science

INTERSTATE

SPA STUDENT PUBLICATION ASSOCIATION

CHARLOTTE GOWER | REGIONAL EDITOR

This academic year, Leviathan *has focussed on the themes of 'Crisis' and 'Belief' and is now exploring the role of 'The Individual' in our final issue of the year. Importance of the individual has always been contested; yet it is clear that the traditional view of the Individual in Africa is being challenged more than ever before.*

Due to the increasing influence of globalization, technology has enhanced the role of Individuals by empowering them via unprecedented levels of information that is now widely available. These advances have helped change the way that individuals impact current events and encourage them to do so. The effect of globalization has thus had fundamental effects on the livelihoods of individuals living in Africa, particularly in rural areas. It has raised awareness about how people live and has challenged aspirations of how people want to live. This causes the attitudes of individuals in Africa to change.

On a theoretical level, the role of the individual in rural Africa has, and continues to be, increasingly subject to criticism from the West, particularly in regard to debates over human rights and individual potential. The West has and continues to exert soft power by trying to universalize norms for individuals. In this issue, Matteo Crow explores this consensus and argues that the universality espoused by the West has hindered, rather than accelerated, the development process for individuals in the postcolonial era. This is because Western conceptions of the individual often fail to analyse African culture within an appropriate framework, which consequentially leads to assumptions of philosophical uniformity when in reality, no such uniformity exists.

Comparatively, Sophie Waters analyses the role of the Individual in practical terms by exploring the abuses carried out by individuals working for the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic. These abuses have undermined belief in the United Nations and the power of the individual to introduce positive change, given that 'the protection of civilians by peacekeeping missions is the key role confirming the validity and reliability of the United Nation's activities.'[1]

Molly Van Niekerk's profiles Cyril Ramaphosa, the controversial individual who has recently come to the fore in South African politics. Ramaphosa exemplifies the potential for an individual to espouse power in more ways than ever before, in both the private and public spheres with little to no opposition from the government.

It is difficult to predict how the concept of the individual will fluctuate in the ever-changing context of continental Africa, but what seems certain is that individuals will expect greater autonomy over their lives in the future.

The Neocolonialist Individual

MATTEO CROW looks at the fallacy of universal human rights in an African context.

The individual is considered to be the most basic unit of humanity, a complicated yet unitary actor that interacts with other actors to create 'society.' Writers from Hobbes to Toqueville have celebrated and explored this and explored the individual, and embraced its evolution as a representative of freedom and liberalism. The Enlightenment that struck Europe in the seventeenth century proposed a new world order, concentrating on the emancipation of humankind and more specifically, the emancipation of the individual. This belief has become the key foundation to both modern society and the numerous revolutionary documents defining our new age such as the *Declaration of Universal Human Rights or the Emancipation Proclamation*.[1] However these liberal ideas that claim to have universal application appear to be more of an imposition of the West, rather than the natural law they claim to be. While Western academia has moved, to a certain extent, away from individualism and towards promoting frameworks of equal cultural value, the concept of individualism has permeated Western political thought for centuries and continues to help us understand the foundations of Western society.

This article will begin by examining the birth of modern liberal theory, specifically surrounding the Enlightenment construction of the 'individual'. It will continue with a brief introduction of modern human rights, and how they relate to individual rights, before critiquing the idea of the 'individual' as a universal concept. Instead, this article will posit the individual as a Western construct that cannot fully explain all of global society, and it will use examples from African philosophy to justify this argument.. The article will conclude with a comparison between the two philosophies, questioning both the universality of the individual and providing alternatives to the concept that the West could consider. Rather than critiquing the concept of individualism itself, the following is a critique of assumptions of universal applicability, and an examination into how opening its doors to alternative propositions could promote moral development of liberal theory. Neither is this article a blind promotion of African philosophy, which contains many questionable principles alongside liberal theory, but rather, a comparison advocating for greater acceptance of equal cultural value.

Primacy of the individual is promoted in the foundational texts of liberal theory, embodied as the foundation for human rights in the modern 'enlightened' age.[2] The beginnings of modern liberal theory trace back to ideas of an emancipated individual celebrated in the French Revolution, and have been expanded upon by a number of philosophers ranging from John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jaques Rousseau to Toqueville who applied these concepts to the emerging libertarian society in the United States.[3] These philosophers provided the key ideas implemented in the US Constitution, French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, English Petition of Rights, and an assortment others building up to the United Nations's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[4] These documents illustrate that Western society was built upon primary concepts of freedom and emancipation of the individual. Through colonial practices, many Western countries have tried to distill these beliefs across the world, and they have justified their actions by defending their beliefs about human rights as universal truths. However, they often move ahead without considering an alternative epistemology; that human rights exist across all cultures, but are defined and situated differently relative to cultural norms.

While this argument could be made using examples from almost anywhere in the world outside of Europe/Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, this article focuses on Africa, as it is one of the least urbanised regions in the world, most of its countries have achieved independence from their colonial powers only in the last fifty to sixty years, and most importantly is full of what the West describes as human rights abuses.

Instead of looking to the application of these so-called universal rights, perhaps one should first examine clashes of values, the

most basic of which is conflicting perceptions of the individual. Nearly all such differences are rooted to the liberal assumption of an emancipated independent man, equal to all other humans, and most importantly self-fulfilling or selfish in his search to maximise his personal welfare.[5] This individual emancipation 'enable[s] actors to act for themselves' and for their personal gain.[6]

The first liberal assumption under question is the proposal that society is the sum of its actors, and a network built upon the connections between individuals to achieve certain goals.[7] This implies that society requires the individual to function, and that the individual is its most basic unitary actor. African cultural values rarely reflect this, instead viewing society as the primary actor itself with individuals occupying different niches of it.[8] The difference is embodied in a pseudo *gesellschaft* vs. *gemeinschaft* debate, with liberal theory arguing that society is constructed for the maximal utility of the individual,[9] while African tradition finds communalism to be a natural state.[10] This debate leads us to the liberal principle of natural law, which states that individuals will seek to maximise their well being at all costs, with their lifestyle broken down into a constant cost-benefit analysis.[11] Therefore, according to Western liberal thought, anything other than welfare-maximising behaviour cannot be considered natural.[12] While this conception of a selfish individual may be the most basic unit in a market-system Western society, it ignores the existing tribal and communal traditions that define many non-Western societies.[13]

Returning to the *gesellschaft* vs. *gemeinschaft* debate, why does cooperation have to be a forced concept existing only to facilitate exchanges? Can it not be an alternative to the selfish individual as the most basic foundation of society? The African principle of kinship emphasises the extended family rather than the nuclear family, creating a wider network for each individual, which entails more obligations.[14] While obligations are considered unnatural in Western liberal theory, these networks also provide a greater sense of both human and financial security. The intertwining of society creates safety nets that care for the elderly, sick, and otherwise faltering members of society.[15] These greater obligations are unacceptable to the emancipated individual, as welfare is not considered a human right under liberal principles.[16] However African tribal society maintains a sense of duty towards a communitarian spirit that is not emphasised in liberal philosophy.[17] It maintains a moral obligation that is considered inefficient in a survival-of-the-fittest environment.

Liberal theory has justified its monopoly on the definition of human rights by pointing to the failure of African and other developing world societies to prevent terrible atrocities in the modern age, as well as the lack of positive freedom in many African societies.[18] Unfortunately, this rhetoric both fails to acknowledge the implications of its own contribution to these events and assumes the problems lie in African culture and society rather than African politics. By acknowledging that many of these 'human rights' abuses stem from a colonial construction of both pre and post-independence African politics, Western society could shift away from the assumption that African human rights values are inferior and instead make an effort to contextualise these beliefs. What they would most likely find is homeomorphic equivalents, something Panikkar defines as 'a kind of existential functional analogy.'[19] These parallels to Western human rights might not be the same precise rights, but nonetheless they are legitimate alternative and contextualised forms of human dignity.[20]

Different cultures view different types of behaviour in different ways, and in each culture those beliefs will be articulated differently. Rather than assuming that Western human rights are universal, adherents to Western liberal thought should search for homeomorphic equivalents in Africa that satisfy the cultural requirements for human dignity. As Pannikar puts it, 'Human Rights are one window through which one particular culture envisages a just human order for its individuals. But those who live in that culture do not see the window.'[21] Just as the liberal West should embrace cultural pluralism and while promoting our viewpoints acknowledge the existing human frameworks across the globe. The values remain the same, but how they manifest differs. Just as liberal West can morally criticise certain African cultures for practices such as female genital mutilation or child marriage, African philosophers could easily turn this argument around and argue that the liberal idea of the individual forgoes basic morality of welfare, however both cultures should appreciate the cultural context of human dignity.

Therefore, before declaring 'universal human rights', one must examine whether any principles can ever be truly universal. Or are they rather the principles of the most dominant actor, instilled in international law for the most efficient dispersal throughout global society?

Attitudes of universality have continued to hinder the development process in all sectors in the postcolonial era. In the discussion of human rights, Western frameworks of the individual often fail to analyse African culture within an appropriate framework, and this ignorance leads to assumptions of philosophical uniformity. While African culture is affected and will continue to be affected by Western values, the West could stand to observe the communitarian dynamic of African society that contains many of the cooperative values that neoliberal theory aims to promote.

Matteo Crow is a third year student of Sustainable Development.

Individual Actions and Their Consequences for the UN

SOPHIE WATERS examines how peacekeeping abuses in the Central African Republic undermine faith in the UN.

In March 2015 the Guardian, with the help of whistle-blower Anders Kompass, brought to light allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) committed by French soldiers in the war-stricken Central African Republic (CAR).[1] Over 70 years of peacekeeping missions, much literature has been written on the effect peacekeeping has on democratisation, long-term peace, and nation-building. However, these macro-level studies heed little focus to the impact on those most affected by war; women and children. Pekson, writing for the Journal of Peace Research, argued that women and children are more susceptible during significant intra-state upheavals. Therefore, in order to holistically evaluate the success of peacekeeping missions, it is 'essential to pay attention to the marginalised groups who disproportionately suffer in humanitarian or political crises.'[2] In order to evaluate how these human rights abuses have repeatedly been allowed to continue, this essay will explore the issue of institutional failures within the UN, legal immunity, and a lack of 'monitoring the monitors', before discussing how these flaws undermine the credibility of the UN as a whole.

After a coup d'état in March 2013, CAR descended into chaos: violence between Muslim Seleka forces and Christian anti-Balaka militia left over 5,000 dead.[3] According to Medicines Sans Frontiers, a quarter of CAR citizens were displaced, with over half the population in need of humanitarian assistance.[4] In December 2013, the Security Council passed resolution 2127, allowing up to 12,870 uniformed UN personnel in the country.[5] Since then, abuse committed by at least 26 soldiers from France and three other countries has emerged:[6] UNHCR reported that children between the ages of nine and fifteen were approached by soldiers looking for sex, and given food or water in exchange.[7] 'This exploitation of the most vulnerable people… is a shameful betrayal of trust' that will haunt the UN for years to come.[8]

An independent review panel set up by Ban Ki-Moon accused the organisation of 'gross institutional failures', allowing both human rights abuses in CAR, and their subsequent cover-ups, to continue. The UN's hierarchical structure allows certain states to dominate, and its highly beaurocratic construction creates an atmosphere of deferral: a report into abuse in the CAR found that initial complaints were common knowledge however 'no one was willing to take responsibility'.[9] This shows that top UN human rights officials repeatedly failed to act on information regarding allegations against peacekeepers. Further, the goal of a supra-national, authoritative body has proved unrealistic, with unilateral actions not uncommon; a 'lack of political will' is often cited as an explanation for inadequate resources and monitoring of peacekeeping missions. On hearing this, one could see why the then-Deputy High Commissioner of Human Rights, Flavia Pansieri, withheld information on the nationalities of the abusers, due to the risk of offending their biggest donator of CAR-based peacekeepers.[10] Though, with media attention has come reform; late last year the UN asked three more countries to investigate at least 26 soldiers, and Ban Ki-Moon threatened to throw out entire peacekeeping units from CAR if their state fails to prosecute soldiers charged with abuse.[11] This is the fault of not only member-states but the UN administrators who, Max Boot argues, naively believe every problem can be solved through negotiation due to the risk of alienation if firmer answers were given.[12] By trying to appease states in order to facilitate their cooperation – as well as to encourage financial pledges – a paradox is created: thus, it is clear that solid steps towards international peace and security cannot be achieved if the UN aims to remain partisan. The system is not only fundamentally flawed but it also permits problems to remain hidden; it must risk offence in order to point the figure at those who have done wrong.

The UN charter states that 'the organisation shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities which are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes'.[13] Peacekeepers have a form of diplomatic immunity, which too often translates into a lack of criminal conviction for human rights abusers. In immunity there lie four chief problems. First, as the prosecution of individuals falls to the authority of the state from which the troops emanate, few convictions follow; states are reluctant to prosecute their own troops (after the Bosnia sex scandal, no US troops involved were charged with crimes on US soil).[14] Although France has indicated plans to convict its peacekeepers, there would be few consequences if nothing is done. Second, with a rarity of 'typical' cases comes a precedent of ad hoc procedures. 'There is no consistency in determinations of whether to initiate an investigation, how to try the accused, and what sanctions to impose'.[15] It was this chain of events – or lack thereof – that the investigative panel into abuses in the CAR took issue with. In order to discourage impunity, there must be an inflexible system set out for UN staff and member states to follow. Third, 'a lack of enforcement power and material support at the mission level have made Ombudsperson an ineffective institution'.[16] Only by giving UN investigations the power and authority to translate their recommendations into actions will corruption and abuse be impossible to conceal. Fourth, little is set out formally to forbid such abuses: The twin sets of guidelines used by the United Nations – We Are the United Nations Peacekeepers and Ten Rules: Code of Conduct for Blue Helmets – do contain explicit prohibitions of sexual exploitation and abuse. However, according to Anthony Miller these rules of conduct are not binding.[17] This is because without an end to impunity – as called for by numerous academics, NGOs and UN staff– systematic failures to find and halt abuse will perpetuate in peacekeeping missions, as they have done in the Central African Republic.[18]

Even after acknowledging that 'rape, trafficking in women and children, sexual enslavement and child abuse often coexist alongside peace operations',[19] the UN has done little to 'monitor its monitors'.[20] As mentioned prior, despite the presence of ombudspersons on various missions, they are largely thought to be irrelevant, with little authority or power. In some specifically violent peacekeeping missions – including that in CAR – peacekeepers are authorised by the Security Council 'to take all necessary means to carry out [their] mandate'. Coupled with the assumption of immunity due to lack of monitoring, this has resulted in the brazen and unapologetic abuse of those under peacekeeper's care. Even once allegations had emerged in Congo, The Washington Post revealed that 'UN peacekeepers threatened UN investigators investigating allegations of sexual misconduct, and sought to bribe witnesses to change incriminating testimony'.[21] This evidence of corruption is present at all levels, with the chief of the UN mission in the CAR being forced to resign following the allegations, with Ban Ki-Moon stating that he 'will not tolerate any action by people who replace trust with fear'. Despite high-level political pledges such as these, the whistle-blower who initially exposed the scandal was formally charged with breaching protocol, resulting in a 9 month suspension from his post.[22] Though he was eventually exonerated, he – among others – has expressed severe disappointment over receiving no apology or acknowledgement from UN officials.[23] Up until 2010, it was evident that 'no systematic vetting of peacekeeping troops by either the government or the UN, even high-profile alleged abusers have been deployed in lucrative posts in UN missions'.[24] Thus in 2012, after repeated calls from Ban Ki-Moon, the UN formalised a 'vetting process' that required contributing governments to present clean human rights records of their peacekeepers.[25] However, numerous flaws and loopholes exist, namely that the top contributors of troops to peacekeeping missions are rarely penalised. A report commissioned by the Asian Centre for Human Rights found that not only had Bangladesh done nothing to achieve the 2012 introduction of 'Human Rights Screening of United Nations Personnel', but it had sent peacekeepers who had already been charged with sexual abuse on further UN missions.[26]

It is important to take into account the significance that sexual exploitation and abuse holds not only for civilians, but for the organisation as a whole; 'the protection of civilians by peacekeeping missions is the key role confirming the validity and reliability of the United Nation's activities'.[27] In 2006, the UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations acknowledged the prevalence of sexual abuse, stating that his 'operating presumption is that this is either a problem or a potential problem in every single

one of our missions'.[28] Without substantial reforms based on recommendations set forth by independent panels – such as the introduction of vetting, the enforcement of prosecution, and the monitoring of peacekeepers – stories such as those coming out of the Central African Republic will continue, threatening the organisation and the principle of maintaining international peace and security it stands for. Ultimately, 'it is simply impossible to prevent all forms of abuse. But it should not be impossible to create effective accountability on peace operations'.[29]

Sophie Waters is a second year student of International Relations.

Cyril Ramaphosa

MOLLY VAN NIEKERK profiles a potential South African President

Cyril Ramaphosa, 'the Forrest Gump of South Africa', has been at the foreground of some of the most important events in modern South African history.[1] Most recently, in 2012, he was elected deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC), and many believe he will succeed Jacob Zuma as President of South Africa following the 2019 elections.[2] Ramaphosa's diverse range of experience in both public and private sectors has placed him at the head of both a trade union and a business empire.[3] He is one of the richest black businessmen in South Africa, with a net worth of about 675 million dollars.[4] Since his integral efforts drafting the South African constitution, it has been suggested that he may be exactly the person to lead South Africa after the failings of Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma.[5]

Ramaphosa was born in 1952 in Soweto, a township near Johannesburg.[6] He was an ambitious young man and in 1972 he enrolled in law studies at a segregated university.[7] His education was interrupted when he was detained for eleven months for his participation in a pro-Frelimo student protest advocating for the independence of Mozambique.[8] His imprisonment then marked the beginnings of his political activism. In 1981 he graduated, and immediately took hold in the South African public political scene. In 1982, he helped form the National Union of Mineworkers, and became its first secretary.[9] The union was the biggest in South Africa, and enabled a huge step towards securing more rights for miners, who at the time had none.[10] Five years later, Ramaphosa helped lead and coordinate the biggest gold miners strike in South African history,[11] and although the strike was largely unsuccessful in achieving its aims, the union continued to grow and Ramaphosa continued the fight against apartheid.[12]

The 1990s in South Africa were a time of great political change, and Ramaphosa was at the centre of these changes. He served as chairman of the National Reception committee, which co-ordinated arrangements for the release of Nelson Mandela.[13] Ramaphosa also played a crucial role in the negotiations that aimed to end apartheid and oversee the transition to a new government.[14] He provided the business end of the negotiations and was adept at both creating tension and defusing it. Ramaphosa then spent two years overseeing the creation of South Africa's new constitution.[15] Although he was top choice to be Mandela's deputy president, he lost to Thabo Mbeki.[16] After this defeat Ramaphosa withdrew from the political world and entered into business. However, he never properly left politics, as illustrated by his election to the ANC's national executive committee in 1997.[17]

Ramaphosa, like all political figures, has been subject to some serious criticism. The main criticism is of his wealth and capitalism; his holding company owns a diverse range of businesses: all of South Africa's McDonald's restaurants, Coca-Cola South Africa and a solar energy firm.[18] Moreover, he has attracted criticism from all sides for leaving the struggle that he endured in Soweto and entering the world of money. In 2012, he made a 19.5 million-rand bid for a prize buffalo cow and calf at an auction, opposition parties were scandalised, given that 22 per cent of South Africa's population goes hungry.[19] His biggest criticism came after the Marikana massacre, in which 34 mine workers were killed in a strike.[20] Ramaphosa is a shareholder in Lonmin, the mining company at the heart of the massacre, and was criticised for calling in police before proper negotiations were held.[21] This illustrates that the industries that once made him a champion of the liberation struggle are now the ones in which he holds his assets.[22] Much of this criticism comes from Julius Malema, the leader of the ANC's rival political party in South Africa, who has gone so far as to say, 'Cyril is a murderer and he participated in the conspiracy to kill workers in Marikana.'[23] Ramaphosa, however, argues that business, despite its flaws, is a means of making South Africa stronger. He has recently tried to show his advocacy for corporate responsibility by selling his shares in the Shanduka investment group which came under criticism recently. By doing so, he has aimed to illustrate that he is consciously helping to empower the South African economy, not hurt it.[24] Ramaphosa has also openly acknowledged the corruption which has become a feature of the South African political system under Zuma.[25]

Ramaphosa is a favourite for the next elections in South Africa which will take place in 2019. After Zuma, who has become a laughing stock, he could be exactly what South Africa needs. He is a man who understands not only the people, but also the importance of business and pragmatism. If he wins, however, he will face an economy that has gone completely adrift, with the rand hitting record lows and the nation's credit rating on the brink of going junk.[26] After decades of being just behind the scenes of South African politics, maybe it's time for him to lead it and put it right?

Molly van Niekerk is a second year student of Economics and Environmental Studies.

NISHAD SANZAGIRI | REGIONAL EDITOR

The final issue of Leviathan *this year examines the political and sociological agency of the Individual. In 2015, with 4.4 billion people living in the Asia-Pacific region constituting around 60 per cent of the world's population,[1] the role of the individual in Asia cannot be overstated.*

The theme of this issue resonates for this region in more ways than one; in Asia, an individual is not just seen as a singular entity, but a group of people, an ideology – and power is wielded by a community, rather than by an individual.

In this issue, Phoebe Boswall reveals a potential issue with this ontology. She argues that the government of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) grants an orthodox, and slightly distorted, account of China's history. It cloaks the notion of the Chinese Communist Party in glory, recounting excessive military victories against the Nationalists and detailing the dangerous underground effort of partisan loyalists in Guomindang-held towns that eventually led the Communists taking control of the government. Boswall further argues that had the Nationalists triumphed over the Communists, Chinese government – and society – might be very different today. Her article asks whether the Nationalists, who also adhered to traditional ideas about power, but placed much more importance of individualism, might have been able to implement a democratic government.

This assertion seems feasible, given the evolution of the Taiwanese government into a democracy in the 1980s – a case that could potentially have been mirrored in the mainland. What remains to be seen however, is how the greater focus on the individual worldwide evidenced by other articles in this issue will affect Chinese society in the future.

How Communist was the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949?

PHOEBE BOSWALL asks if the China of today might be a Taiwanese-style democracy if Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists had won the 1949 Chinese civil war.

1949 is remembered as the year the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, the year the Communists defeated the Nationalists, re-unified China, achieved state control, and the year that Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang fled to Taiwan. However, the Communists' victory in the 1946 to 1949 civil war was by no means inevitable. American commentators at the time were, in fact, convinced of a Nationalist victory.[1] Imagine that the Nationalist Party, the Guomindang (GMD), had won the civil war and established a central Chinese government in the late 1940s. Might mainland China's political system have evolved into a democratic one, as Taiwan's has? Since it determined which political system was implemented in China until the present day, the year 1949 was thus surely a crucial turning point in terms of establishing the role of 'the individual' within China's political structure.

As Pepper explains, the Communist Party guardians of 2016 'still govern archival access and fix parameters for the writing of revolutionary history.'[2] The CCP today presents a version of history that shrouds the Communists in glory, chronicling great military victories against the Nationalists, ultimately leading to the rise of the Communists to power in 1949.[3] However, contrary to this selective history, the Communist victory in 1949 was unexpected and by no means inevitable. It is rarely emphasised that the Nationalists might well have won the civil war in slightly different circumstances. The old saying that history belongs to the victors rings true here, as Levine explains, '…once Mao Zedong and his colleagues were securely installed in the Forbidden City, their very possession of power retrospectively conferred an aura of inevitability on their victory.'[4] It was, in fact, only after the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 to 1946 that the Communist party really began to be a threat to the GMD's authority. This war was certainly a turning point in the struggle between the Communists and the Nationalists, and some have argued that the Communists managed to direct the anti-Japanese nationalism felt by many Chinese people into strengthening support for the Communist Party. Indeed, in 1964 Chairman Mao made a statement that promotes this argument: he expressed gratitude to the Japanese, saying, '[h]ad your imperial army not invaded more than half of China, the Chinese people would not have been able to unite to oppose you, and the Chinese Communist Party would not have been able to seize state power.'[5] One of the most prominent proponents of this argument is historian Chalmers Johnson who in 1962 published *'Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power.'* His theory of 'peasant nationalism' proposes that the Communists' victory in 1949 was on account of a bond created between the peasants of China and the CCP during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 to 1945.[6] However, the underlying reasons for the Communists' victory in 1949 are still very much debated among historians of China today, and as Pepper points out 'the Japanese war marked a clear turning point in Chinese communism's rise to power that has yet to be explained fully.'[7]

This article will focus on the civil war years of 1946 to 1949, exploring possible explanations for the Communists' acquisition of power in 1949. Does Chinese nationalism following the Sino-Japanese War explain the growth of the CCP during those years? Did the CCP's 'socialist' socioeconomic policies pave their way to victory? Or, was their victory simply on account of effective military strategy? Ultimately, it will be argued that the Communist military strategy during the civil war years of 1946 to 1949 is crucial to any explanation of why the revolution was in the end a Communist one.

Let us first analyse the 'peasant nationalism' explanation. Chalmers Johnson in 1962 asserted that the CCP's victory occurred above all on account of the Japanese invasion of north China.[8] The subsequent Japanese war of 1937 to 1945, he argued, allowed the CCP to build a base of mass mobilisation which later allowed them to defeat the GMD by 1949. Johnson saw this leadership by the CCP of this rural-based resistance movement as, essentially, the way in which they won the revolution. 'Peasant nationalism' was presented as a spontaneous movement provoked by Japanese brutality, which formed a new source of authority for the CCP.[9] As Pepper summarises:

> *'As GMD government officials fled and its main armies retreated into the southwest, CCP-led military units rushed to fill the vacuum created in the countryside around cities, towns, and transportation lines occupied by Japanese and collaborator forces. Thereafter, guerrilla bases set up hastily around the lines of Japan's advance throughout northern China allowed communist forces to assume leadership […] of a village-based resistance movement built upon spontaneous […] peasant nationalism.'*[10]

Johnson thus concluded that on account of anti-Japanese nationalism, the CCP won popular legitimacy and accordingly political power. There are various flaws in this argument. Firstly, as Hartford and Goldstein have made clear, 'Johnson's evidence of mass support for the party is found simply in the fact of successful guerrilla warfare, a strategic mode, he asserts, that could not possibly have succeeded without broad mass support.'[11] The causal link between guerrilla warfare and broad mass support, however, is not as certain as Johnson assumed. Secondly, Gillin has argued that appealing to nationalist sentiment was in fact more effective among the elite, and it was socioeconomic measures implemented to assist the peasantry, such as land reform, that gained their support.[12] Further, more recent studies have described 'the purpose of the great majority of peasants as reactive – that is, as aiming at avoiding warfare and surviving its immediate consequences, rather than consciously committing themselves to the revolutionary cause.'[13] To what extent the peasants supported the Communists on account of any nationalist sentiment, or on account of socioeconomic measures that benefitted them, is thus unclear. Lastly, Johnson's argument is problematic since, in its strong promotion of nationalism and the party's anti-Japanese stance as reasons for success, it fails to really consider the peasants' economic grievances and the party's socioeconomic reform in generating support. Therefore, whilst it is not being suggested that nationalism played no role in fuelling some support for the Communists, Johnson's overall argument is too reliant on one explanatory factor, namely 'peasant nationalism', and does not sufficiently take into account other factors, such as the role of socioeconomic factors and the role of the CCP's effective organisation and military strategy.

Let us now take into consideration the aforementioned socioeconomic factors in determining to what extent these can be seen as contributing to support for the Communists. The land reform policy of the CCP has often been cited as having had a considerable impact in winning over peasants to the CCP's cause. For example, Eastman and others describe how this policy:

> *'…aimed to destroy not merely the economic superiority of [landlords] and rich peasants, but also the political power structure which supported them and which they supported. This then made it possible for the Communists to replace that structure with one loyal to them and was sustained by the active interest of the peasants mobilised in the struggle.'*[14]

However, the most basic condition for the successful implementation of land reform was in fact possession of the military capacity to protect the land from enemies.[15]As Pepper explains, '[b]efore the Party's land policy could be thoroughly implemented in any district, the enemy had to be expelled militarily, his political hold broken, and the nucleus of a new power structure created.'[16] Therefore, while land reform may well have instilled support for the Communists in many peasants, if it hadn't been for the Communists' successful military tactics, more land could not have been gained in order to implement said land reform. Further, Westad has argued that the party's commitment to re-distributing land in rural areas 'probably did the party as much harm as good in its military and political struggle to defeat the Guomindang.'[17] Westad explains that in terms of military victory in rural areas, of most importance was who supported or opposed The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), and since local elites often had little reason to ally themselves with the Guomindang, 'the redistribution of land would [have been] destabilising and counterproductive.'[18] Whether this support or opposition of the PLA was on account of nationalistic sentiment, or support for the Communist's policies, or a mixture of the two, is too variant from region to region to impose such an assumption of individuals' political beliefs upon the whole of China. Indeed, on the question of explaining the Communists' 1949 victory, Hartford and Golstein have argued against 'one-size-fits-all interpretations' and insist the key to making sense of the Communist Revolution is separating it out into regional revolutions.[19] This approach would certainly make clearer the motives of peasants and urban dwellers alike in their support for the Communists. In terms of land reform as an explanation, we can conclude that this factor has been over-emphasised as a reason for Communist victory. It therefore appears that land reform, amongst other socioeconomic policies, was necessary in some regions for building rural-based support strong enough to support the final take-over of the cities, this factor alone cannot explain the Communists' acquisition of political power.

The means by which political power was ultimately achieved was surely military force. Indeed, Levine, in his study on Northeast China, concludes that, '[f]ar from being the ineluctable outcome of underlying socioeconomic forces, the Communist triumph was a contingent victory, very much dependent upon a variety of political, military, and organisational factors.'[20] Levine's study, which focuses on Northeast China, demonstrates that the Communist armies and political organisation was essential in mobilising rural and urban dwellers for political-military conflict and that without this military effectiveness and organisation, there would have been 'no more than scattered unrest and the usual low level of violence in post-war Manchuria.'[21] Pepper has also made clear that, 'the cities fell to the Communists not through any popular uprising from within, but were taken by the advancing Communist armies.'[22] Indeed, it is clear that the CCP's military and organisational skills were much stronger than those of the Guomindang: 'the Communists excelled in strategy and tactical application, as well as morale or fighting spirit and sense of common purpose.'[23] Successful CCP organisation and military strategy in the three years before 1949 must therefore be incorporated into any explanation of the Communist victory.

In conclusion, arguments that hail either 'peasant nationalism' or socioeconomic 'communist' policies for the CCP's revolutionary success in 1949 are surely too simplistic and one-dimensional. There is evidence that origins of support for the CCP and the decline of the GMD did derive from nationalist sentiment and from socioeconomic grievances, however, the influence of both varied from region to region and from class to class within Chinese society. What is clear is that the military and organisational prowess of the Communists is the means by which political power was ultimately achieved. In order to ascertain to what extent ideology played a part in garnering support for the CCP during the civil war years, further regional studies are surely necessary. This article has rejected monocausal explanations and determined that both nationalist sentiment and communist policies played a part in the CCP's success in 1949. However, a further regional examination of ideological origins of the 1949 revolution, with an incorporated understanding that power was ultimately seized militarily, would surely shed interesting light on this victory that, despite the CCP of today's best efforts to forget, was by no means inevitable.

Phoebe Boswall is a second year student of Chinese Studies.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS | REGIONAL EDITOR

From the western tip of the Azores to the vast eastern expanses of the Russian steppe, individuals — empowered by a pluralization of information and membership in non-state organisations and other networks — are wielding more power and influence in decision-making processes than ever before. For Western Europe, the increased freedom and influence of individuals within a pluralised and diversified civil society can be seen as part of the continent's evolution from totalitarian and anti-individualist regimes of the all too recent past towards a future of individualism.

Russia, however, has experienced a very different trend towards personal empowerment. Whereas the average individual in the European Union and its associate nations has been empowered through pluralization of technology and an expansive civil society, in Russia the flow of power from the state to individuals has been a distinctly negative trend for most of the population. Throughout the Russian political system, the trend has empowered certain individuals to the exclusion of the majority: from the domination of Putin and the Kremlin over the nation's political and economic infrastructure, to the essential transformation of many areas of the Russian periphery into personal fiefs of governors and rogue bureaucrats. The very term 'individualism' has become polarized between the East and West, as symbolic of democracy and liberty in the West as it represents corruption and callous self-interest in the ex-Soviet East.

The articles in this section examines these conflicting trends and argues that severe consequences may arise if governments fail to adapt in the near future. In a guest submission, Dr. Nancy Ries of Colgate University argues that states are becoming bolder. By carelessly displaying their nuclear power and implying that they do not see it as 'taboo' anymore, the leaders of nuclear powers are playing a dangerous game.

The Broken Nuclear Taboo

DR. NANCY RIES argues that there are few remaining barriers to nuclear war.

In 2015, the world entered the eighth nuclear decade. Given that ground-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-deployed missiles have been on high alert – launchable within minutes – without pause since the early 1960s, indeed, it seems to be almost a miracle of political-military restrain that there has not been a nuclear exchange in the past seventy years.[1] There is little reason, however, to celebrate the miracle. Neither the strategy of mutual assured destruction, nor high-alert weapons deployments have ceased. A full quarter century after the collapse of the USSR, both the US and Russia maintain a portion of their arsenals – around 900 nuclear missiles each – on hair-trigger, 'launch on warning' alert, poised to obliterate urban targets and military installations across Eurasia and North America within less than an hour.[2] What makes this reality particularly dangerous is that official and public rhetoric around nuclear weapons seems to be changing in significant ways.[3] Discourse matters enormously in nuclearism, a point made by scholars and military professionals alike.[4] Some nuclear states are making declarative statements and displaying their nuclear powers in ways that suggest that what many dub 'the nuclear taboo' – a constraint on nuclear 'first use' and an internalised prohibition against using or even planning to use nuclear weapons in conventional military contexts – is fading.

While worry over very real problems of securing radioactive material or thwarting the nuclear ambitions of terrorist organisations or rogue leaders is widespread, the world public barely seems to notice what many nuclear arms experts have often warned in the past few years: the world is closer to the brink of a nuclear war initiated by Russia or the United States than it has ever been since the height of the Cold War in the early 1980s.

In January 2016, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* announced that that the hands of the famed Doomsday Clock would remain, for a second year, at three minutes to midnight. 'The probability of global catastrophe is very high', they wrote, and the actions needed to reduce the risks of disaster must be taken very soon.'[5] In an interview with *The Guardian* that same month, Former US Secretary of Defense William Perry declared, 'The probability of a nuclear calamity is higher today, I believe, that it was during the cold war[…] A new danger has been rising in the past three years and that is the possibility there might be a nuclear exchange between the United States and Russia […] brought about by a substantial miscalculation, a false alarm.'[6]

If recent geoscientific models are correct, even a 'small' nuclear war, where atomic bombs incinerate only a few large cities, will likely send enough ash into the atmosphere to induce nuclear winter, posing an immediate and severe threat to human agriculture and potentially extinguishing many forms of terrestrial life.[7] Quite starkly, what this means is that the vast nuclear force maintained by the US and Russia threatens a cataclysmic impact on all life across the entire planet. It is not merely 'human civilisation' that is at stake in a nuclear war, as the standard rhetoric puts it, but the very existence of terrestrial ecosystems and species. This reality makes nuclear threats, scenario-gaming, and televised missile-rattling not only unnerving but incomprehensible.

For many decades, what scholars call a 'nuclear taboo' has held among the nuclear weapons nations, and most crucially, in the two countries whose arsenals stand on hair-trigger alert: the US and USSR/Russia. In an influential 2005 essay, Nina Tannenwald characterised that taboo as an entire range of institutional, legal, behavioural, and discursive practices that create a powerful shared abhorrence for even considering the use of nuclear bombs.[8] Tannenwald argues that this taboo has been expressed and maintained via, 'public opinion, the diplomatic statements of governments and leaders, the resolutions of international organisations, and the private moral concerns of individual decision-makers.'[9]

This taboo has unravelled in profound ways since 2014. On 16 March of that year, Russian TV news anchor Dmitry Kiselev, General Director of Russian International Information Agency, discussed the Russian Federation's automated nuclear weapon launching system 'Perimetr', and in a tone of threatening glee announced that 'Russia is the only country in the world that can turn the United States into radioactive ash.'[10] This clip reverberated in news stories around the world, and was widely if mildly criticised in Russia, though not by official state spokespersons.[11]

Since then, dozens of broadcasts by other leading Russian TV hosts have featured stories that celebrate various components of the Russian nuclear system. Weekly shows on state-sponsored television such as 'Military Secret' with Igor Prokopenko, and 'Moment of Truth' with Andrei Karaulov, have featured open nuclear threats, missile-launch spectacles, and video simulations of destroyed

Manhattan.[12] Russian President Vladimir Putin has made a number of nuclear pronouncements in the past two years, the gist being that Russia's nuclear forces are ready to be used, and can strike the United States within half an hour via ICBMs.[13] In a documentary film about the takeover of Crimea, Putin clearly states that Russia was ready to utilise all of its forces, including nuclear, to defend its interests.[14] As if responding via its own nuclear taboo-busters, in early 2016 the BBC broadcast 'World War III: Inside the War Room' featured a fictional Russian invasion of Latvia and the resulting military consultations among top UK officials.[15] Will NATO or the US authorise the use of nuclear weapons in response? We all can find out at the end of the show.

The world has crossed a nuclear threshold without much public awareness. Such broadcasts, taken within a widening context of nuclear sabre-rattling and entertainment across many media, languages, and nations, illustrate that the old nuclear taboo is broken; the unthinkable has become not merely thinkable but part of the everyday mediated spectacle. Such military-political entertainment reverberates complexly, and alarmingly, across the planet – so that the BBC mockumentary is discussed in hundreds of Russian news stories and TV shows, as proof that the UK, US, and NATO are pondering a nuclear first strike on Russia.[16] This is a new phase of nuclearism, quite different from the stolid and secretive - but also phenomenally expensive - nuclear gaming of the Cold War.[17]

One chilling dimension of it is that leaders and potential leaders on both sides rattle their nuclear weapons seemingly in blasé indifference to the 'mutual' part of 'mutual assured destruction'. Neither the Russian declarations of nuclear readiness nor the bellicose statements about indiscriminate bombing that come out of the mouths of American presidential candidates seem to waste any words on the scale and ubiquity of annihilation that nuclear war guarantees. Nor do they attend at all to its horror, the humanitarian atrocity that nuclear war entails. A good portion of the world public is seduced by the figure, the antics, and the loose words of all-powerful leaders, ready and able, quite literally, to push the buttons that will end the world.

Dr. Nancy Ries is a Professor of Anthropology, Peace and Conflict Studies, and Russian Studies at Colgate University.

Ramzan Kadyrov and Russia's Empire of Obedience

SAM PHILLIPS argues that the personalisation of politics undermines the stability of the Russian periphery.

In 1818, along the banks of broad Sunzha river, the Russian fortress of Grozny — the Russian word for 'awesome', capable of capturing the duality within that term of paralyzing fear and respect — was founded by General Aleksey Yermolov, who dominated the North Caucasus in the name of the Tsar within unmatched brutality and terror.[1] A tyrant again sits in Grozny, carrying the General's legacies of brutality and autocracy into the 21st Century, through the one-man rule of Ramzan Kadyrov. There has been a great deal of discussion, in media and academia, about the increased personalization of Russian leadership under President Vladimir Putin,[2] yet the real autocratic shift in Russian politics has not been at the Federal metropole, but in restive territories on the periphery of Russian governance where local elites are allowed to carve out personally-controlled fiefdoms in exchange for loyalty and security. Federal tolerance for expansive unofficial networks of patronage, influence, and crime in areas of the Russian periphery — primarily the North Caucasus, with Kadyrov's unchecked power in Chechnya exemplifying the trend — successfully shored up rebellious or poorly controlled areas and created a system of local power bases to support Putin's power during his early struggle against the 'Yeltsin Family', but it has also hollowed out Russian rule in many areas, undermined future stability, exacerbated social problems, and fostered a resentment of Russian rule for Moscow's role in supporting the depredations of hated strongmen.

The phenomenon of intense personalities driving politics stems from a point of political compromise during the earliest months and years of Putin's tenure as Prime Minister. When Vladimir Putin took over from Yeltsin in 1999, Russia was falling apart — the economy was in shambles, the country looked weak on the global stage after failures to successfully deal with crises in Iraq and Tajikistan,[3] and a chunk of the North Caucasus had declared itself independent as the Ichkerian Republic, with many other areas threatening to do the same.[4] A yet unproven Putin needed to show that he was strong domestically and internationally. The crushing force and artillery which Putin brought to bear in Chechnya won him a needed media victory and nominal control over the war weary North Caucasus,[5] but keeping the area firmly within the Federation required the gaining control over the systems of administration within Chechnya.

During the militarization and breakdown of society between the two Chechen wars, administration had become intensely personalized and dependent on powerful personalities wielding huge informal powers through a network of paramilitaries, crime rings, and political cronyism.[6] Russian forces in the wake of the occupation had two options: destroy the informal systems of control and replace them with modern administration — something that was also severely lacking in the rest of Russia following the collapse of the USSR — or co-opt local elites into the administration and use their networks of control. Putin chose the easier option. Rather than commit Russian forces to a bloody quagmire of counter-insurgency in the mountains, the Federal government gave over military and political responsibility to powerful elites, leaving them the issue of mopping up and rebuilding in the post-war devastation.[7] Especially compared to the alternative of guerrilla warfare, this choice allowed President Putin in particular to declare a domestic victory, as the man who had united Russia, and chased away the spectre of separatism by placing fanatically loyal men in office. The decision to give local leaders, especially governors, greater room to manoeuvre in the establishment of personal power also has driven by domestic power politics against opponents of Putin's nascent administration. In particular, Putin faced strong domestic opposition from the so-called 'Yeltsin Family', a group of liberal oligarchs and administrators threatened by Putin's takeover, and he was actively looking for additional political support.[8] By turning a blind eye to the atrocities and corruption of its local officials in the North Caucasus — and elsewhere — Putin bought the loyalty of the more bedevilled provinces, who might have otherwise defected to the 'Family'.

Although it may have been formed by the political machinations of a specific time period, the covenant between the Putin administration and governors in the North Caucasus and across the Russian periphery of loyalty in exchange for free reign characterizes the current approach to difficult territories and the co-dependent relationship between Putin and the brutal leaders of the North Caucasus, where deteriorating conditions only serve

to reinforce a mutual dependence to maintain control over the region to the determent of earlier attempts at reform. Today obedience is the watchword for the personal relationship between the Presidential administration and Caucasian leadership, especially the highly publicized support of President Ramzan Kadyrov of Chechnya.[9] Without goading, in a sheer excess of attempting to demonstrate his loyalty to Mr. Putin, President Kadyrov has offered to send troops under his command to fight in both Syria and the Donbass, claiming that they would clear out ISIS in weeks.[10] President Kadyrov has also done numerous other favours for Putin, to the point that the men responsible for the murder of Boris Nemtsov — a prominent, but unpopular, critic of Putin's regime — are widely believed to be kadyrovsky, or men employed by President Kadyrov to do his pal Vladimir Putin a 'favour' by eliminating political opposition.[11] These are major public events, but go to demonstrate a deep emphasis on personal loyalty over, and in contravention of, official pathways of authority and power.

In return for an immense deal of personal loyalty, the federal administration of Russia promises to ignore what is essential a mass personalization of power around the current leadership. In the process of rebuilding and cementing the authority of Russian rule in the North Caucasus, the responsible persons — knowing Moscow had granted them essential impunity — struck back at rivals to power in all fields with the full force of the Russian state. In Chechnya, former warlords who challenged Ramzan Kadyrov were soon declared enemies of the state and actions against them were assisted by federal funds and special forces.[12] This transition is marked by a massive concentration of formal and informal power within the persons — not the office — of the presidents of the respective republics. Given free reign, leadership in the republics took the opportunity to expand their influence beyond the realm of their office, by placing themselves — often through the use of paramilitaries or mafia-style organizations — at the centre of influential and lucrative business enterprises or organized crime syndicates.[13] This move further entrenched the power of these leaders, turning a marriage of necessity into a relationship of dependence with the Russian state, as they guaranteed that, even if removed from office, they would remain major power brokers in the region.[14] Although the case of Chechnya and the widely publicized crimes of the Kadyrovsky against suspected insurgents and their families is the most graphic, the pattern of intensely personalized power outside of legal and administrative mechanisms in common throughout the North Caucasus and the Russian periphery — President Yevkurov of Ingushetia and President Gaizer of Komi can hardly be said to be much more savory characters than Mr. Kadyrov.[15,16] In all these territories, essential functions and services have been turned from public into private hands, under the personal control of local strongmen.[17] A policeman in Ingushetia is not employed or supported by the Republic of Ingushetia or the Russian Federation, he is a personal soldier being paid and directed by Yasus-Bek Yevkurov.

The personalization of politics in peripheral areas is terrible for as many reasons as there are atrocities committed by the ruling thugs, but it also undermines the Russian position in its periphery in two important ways. Firstly, it substantially weakens the stability of Russian rule in all marginal territories by making individuals into power brokers. The world has struggled to construct nation-states where power belongs to offices rather than people,[18] but the acquiescence of the Federal government to extra-legal networks of control undermines the region's future should the Central government fail to uphold its end of the bargain. Should the power dynamic between Moscow and the periphery shift — perhaps due to insolvency triggered by a financial crisis, or loses in a conventional war — the region is probable to break away from Russia for protection and support elsewhere. Rather than being linked by the administrative connections and working relationships which bind most countries together, these peripheral territories are bound to the metropole by only personal loyalty and the benefits of membership in the Russian Federation.[19] Should loyalties or situations change, the levels of administration, the interactions with local officials, and even the status of these peripheral republics within the Russian Federation, are subject to rapid degradation — as rather than multifarious state apparatuses choosing sides in an internal conflict, the allegiance of these republics can now change with the calculations of a single man.

Secondly, the support of the federal government for these brutal men governing in the name of Russia poses an existential risk to the future of the Russian Federation by alienating masses of people on the Russian periphery from the government as the resentment and hatred of local elites becomes conflated with the administration in Moscow. Going back to the Tsarist period, the Russian state has always managed to bring a massive array of ethnic groups, religious denominations, and peoples within its patrimony,[20] because the primary indication of Russian nationality is loyalty to the ruler and reception of benefits – such as protection or salaries – from the Russian state.[21] By looking at the faces of even nominally 'Russian' members of the Duma, the underlying ethnic diversity of the 'Russian people' is obvious. This, however, also implies that should basic services and protection stop being provided, there is a good probability of citizens losing their national identity and falling prey to ethnic differences which had been previously ignored. Especially in territories like the Caucasus, with large numbers of people who already do not identity as 'ethnic' Russian,[22] alienation from the state could easily spell a rebirth of nationalism and sectarian conflict – similar to the maelstrom of violence in Chechnya following the chaotic breakdown of the Soviet Union. This relation between service provision and nationalism would indicate that the resentment and alienation of the state caused by the personalization of politics in peripheral territories does not only impinge Russian ability to act in those areas, but also poses a threat to the continuation of a free and united Russia of fraternal peoples.

Sam Phillips is Leviathan's *Europe & Russia Regional Editor.*

KANZANIRA THORINGTON | REGIONAL EDITOR

Latin American politics has been traditionally characterised by its strong state leaders. Noted for their charisma, these individuals have used populist rhetoric to mobilize the masses. From Juan Peron, President of Argentina in the 1940s to the 1970s, to former President of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, these politicians have appealed to marginalised communities – often the poor – to gain popular support. Once in power, these leaders often exploit weak governmental institutions to denounce dissidents and promote their own political supremacy. While these politicians remain prominent, there is currently a shift in the region as power moves away from the state and authoritarian leadership to the people.

In Mexico, state-sponsored police chief, Julian Leyzaola, of Ciudad Juarez, a city that has been plagued by drug activity and criminal violence in the past, has been credited with pacifying the region through his new policing tactics. However, his government endorsement masks the reality of what is actually a growing alliance between the police and the Sinaloa cartel that is maintaining stability in the city.

Furthermore, in Argentina, individuals are using social media as a platform to expose gender violence in the country and throughout Latin America. The social movement, known as '#NiUnaMunos' is challenging the traditional acceptance of machismo culture and victim blaming promoted by the media. The movement has gained growing political influence, and has even been supported by current President of Argentina, Maurico Macri.

In Bolivia, President Evo Morales, one of Latin America's leading left-wing political leaders, has achieved immense popularity as the first indigenous President of the country. However, criticisms of his increasingly totalitarian regime from both right wing opposition and Morales' own supporters has caused the people to vote against a constitutional referendum that would have allowed Morales to run for fourth term and possibly stay in power until 2025.

Whilst the region still struggles with authoritarianism and individual autonomy, this issue of Leviathan *will explore these new developments that reflect the growing power and influence of the individual.*

Revenge in the Northern Mexican Border

LARISSA SANTOS examines the growing influence of the Sinaloa Cartel in the peace-making process of Ciuded Juárez.

Tackling graffiti – that was the advice former Mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani gave to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, during one of his rewarding incursions into Latin America, disseminating the zero tolerance policing rhetoric.[1] As a core spot in the route in trafficking narcotics, Juárez was once considered the world's most violent city. However, according to the 'broken windows' theory, the scholarly discourse behind the New York policing style, the narco-related violence is not the only problem of the Mexican northern border city. Under the theory, 'untended behaviour', such as provocative graffiti and other lower level criminal activity, is also a trigger for the 'breakdown of community controls.'[2]

The current headlines of local and international newspapers about Juárez point to a completely different reality from the one which made the city ask for Giuliani's consultancy. The city has overcome its legacy of unprecedented peaks of homicides from 2008 to 2010, and is now welcoming tourists to the renewed centre and proclaiming the end of cartels' rule. The official discourse attributes the positive shifts in the urban ordering of Juárez to the zero tolerance approach conducted by Colonel Julián Leyzaola, who became the head of the city's police force in 2011.

According to the official discourse, Juarez's transformation from a city of violence to a city pacified by a tough police approach is outlined as a story of revenge. On one side, it poses the heroes, agents of rescue ('supercops', entrepreneurs, decision makers declaring war to narco-trafficking) and on the other, the villains (big and small drug dealers), responsible for the degradation of the city and for the dynamic of violence which marked its recent history.[3]

The reality of Juárez shows that there is no clear distinction between 'heroes' and 'villains', and therefore, the claimed revanchism of 'bringing the city back' from the hands of the enemy is invalid. This article aims to demystify the narrative of 'rescue' of Juárez by highlighting how different actors interact contradictorily to keep the current stability of the city. Such narrative credits the pacification to the 'iron fists' of an individual who represents an extension of the state. In fact, what sustains this peace is an 'unwritten pact',[4] where the supposed enemies play an important role by forging alliances with the government forces.

Known for his hard-line style of dealing with crime, chief Julián Leyzaola assumed the leadership of the local police of Juárez after working in the same position in Tijuana, a border city where Leyzaola is also recognized for pacifying intense police corruption. His alleged successful operational strategy in Juarez divides the city into individual sectors, also known as 'crime hotspots', supported by the COMPSTAT (Computer Statistics) system. This organizational tool, imported from New York-style policing, is used to map designated areas of high criminal incidence, where systematic patrols should be more carefully conducted. Leyzaola is even accused of many human rights infractions committed during his personal interventions on the patrols, characterized by a harsh approach against any potential 'cholo' (Mexican designation to hoodlums). These individuals are viewed as a public threat through a securitization process that includes many young men (particularly the poor) becoming targets of police violence.[5] The term 'juvenicidios' has been increasingly used to designate the majoritarian killing of poor young men in Mexico,[6] and protests against 'la ley the Leyzaola' (the law of Leyzaola) denounced the arbitrariness and impunity of the Municipal Police under the motto 'todos son delincuentes' (all are criminals).[7]

Although Leyzaola is credited for the decline of homicides in Juarez, there are at least four considerations that challenge this notion. Firstly, a brief review of the city's recent history proves that Leyzaola was not the first one to apply a zero tolerance policing approach in Juárez. Since 1998, the city has been the target of zero tolerance policies, which have not resulted in significant improvement in homicides and crime rates in Juárez. In its last version before Leyzaola's onslaught (from 2008 to 2011, after the President Felipe Calderón's declaration of War on Drugs), the zero tolerance policing, which started with the deployment of the army by the government, actually resulted in an increment of the kidnappings, extortions, and executions.[8]

A second factor that calls into question the effectiveness of this intervention is that it may have just happened in a statistically favourable moment. The monthly homicides data of Juárez show that the rates reached their last peak of over 400 homicides per month in October 2010.[9] Since then, the numbers began to fall, and when Leyzaola assumed the coordination of local police, five months later, in March 2011, the monthly homicide rate fell by almost half, with

235 homicides registered. This general trend endured during the following months.[10] Furthermore, 'when violent crime reaches and unprecedented and extraordinary peak' (as it happened from 2008 to 2010), 'chances are things will get better.'[11]

Thirdly, the demographic decline that has taken place in Juarez since the beginning of the criminality upsurge in 2007 has also influenced homicide statistics. The international economic crisis of 2008 directly affected the employability of Maquiladora Industry, the main source of jobs in the city until recent years, and has led to demographic decline. According to the Public Perception Survey on Insecurity in Ciudad Juarez of 2009, about 230,000 people migrated from the city between 2007 and 2009.[12] Thus, the fall in homicide rates cannot be solely a result of the new policing style, but because of the massive displacements implied by the upsurge of violence from 2008 to 2010.

The fourth and most challenging point to Leyzaola's influence on the falling homicide rates is the substantially important role of the police institution in the peace-making process. The situation of Juaréz cannot be understood outside an interrelated set of forces and interests. It engages actors from cartels, official security forces, commercial businesses, and even the maquiladora industry – willing to do concessions and alliances in name of the stability of the market (where the drugs are just one of the commodities).[13] The engagement of police action in an 'unwritten pact' between local government and drug cartels, established in parallel with the zero tolerance policy since 2010 in Ciudad Juaréz, is mechanism actually responsible for the current 'narcopeace' that reigns in the city.

The 'war for Juárez' – a conflict between Sinaloa and Juárez Cartels for the drug routes of the border city – was won in 2010 by Sinaloa's Cartel (formerly headed by Joaquim 'El Chapo' Guzmán).[14] The Sinaloa cartel not only used this victory to control drug trafficking routes, but also to obtain control of law enforcement,[15] incorporating the federal police and army into its criminal enactment. Such incorporations were possible thanks to an intense operation of Sinaloa's Cartel against upper levels of law enforcement elites, which included lists of 'executables', extortions, and kidnappings.[16]

The tactic alliances established between Sinaloa's Cartel and the Mexican security forces express a gear shift in the 'arrangements between those moving the drugs, those with guns and those in political authority.'[17] This pact primarily aims to stabilise the drug market, geographically corresponding to a reticular constellation of neighbourhoods 'tagged' under the rule of the 'punteros' (operators of points of drug dealing, called 'puntos'). Not by chance, these 'puntos' are not detected by COMPSTAT. In case of pact breaching between the criminal factions, the 'punteros' can call the police to intervene and make the arrest, kidnap, or even murder, so that 'the drugs flow and new business model remains intact.' The territorial expression of this pact states that the zero tolerance approach is not addressed to the proper 'narcos', despite the legitimizing discourse that repeatedly claims it to be, but to the poor population directly affected by existential threats and forced displacements resulted from such a dynamic.

The zero tolerance policing adopted in 2011 proves itself unsatisfactory as a direct reason for the stabilization of the region. The official argument that Leyzaola is solely responsible as the stabilizing force of Juárez, is fragile at best. He is the personification of a strong state this is, in reality, in crisis. Realistically,, the zero tolerance police performs by allowing the eviction and criminalization of poverty, expressed, for example, by the naturalized police violence against poor young men in the city. The veiled pact between the police and criminal actors, which allows reaching the stability of 'narcopeace', declares the crisis of the state in providing security to its citizens, still under threats of forced displacement and imminent danger, and proves that the zero tolerance is not effectively addressing violent crime. Thus, the failure of individual justification of the stability of Juárez points to a more complex network structure, where the control is no longer in the state's hands.

Maria Larissa Silva Santos is a fourth year student of Politics.

Continuing the Momentum Against Femicide in Latin America

KATRINA COHEN COSENTINO discusses how the rise of social media movements addresses the relationship between machismo *culture and gender violence.*

A common colonial past has helped forge strong historical, linguistic, and cultural ties in Latin America. It has its own music (rumba, salsa, merengue, tango, samba and others), eat its own foods (dulce de leche in Argentina, manjar blanco in Colombia, and cajeta in Mexico), and even developed a literary genre, '*Realismo Mágico*'. However, not all of these shared characteristics are positive. Latin Americans also share a strong culture of '*machismo*', often distinguished from sexism. It is an attitude of male superiority and control over women, which in its extreme form has fuelled increasing violence against women.

Machismo is pervasive in Latin America but there is a perceived distinction between *machismo* and sexism. My Portuguese teacher once tried to explain the difference between sexism and *machismo*. 'Sexism is bad,' he said, 'but *machismo* isn't — it's a way of protecting women,' explains BBC Mexico and Central America correspondent, Katy Watson.[1] This here englobes the main issue: *machismo* is so deeply culturally engrained that people are blind to the harm this attitude provokes. Take the example of Argentina: women are frequently subjected to unpleasant comments in the street, whistling, and un-solicited 'pick-up' lines that are referred to as *piropos*. Though the use of *piropos* can amount to sexual harassment, the actions are culturally accepted as 'compliments', and the practice is condoned and even at times encouraged.[2] Academic Mariana Achugara argues 'the roles of men and women as depicted in the analysis of *piropos* shows a very defined place for each sex in these societies [in Latin America]. Women are constructed as passive, reactive recipients and men as active producers and initiators.'[3] This sort of 'cat-calling' therefore becomes a metaphor for the larger problem at hand: deeply engrained, culturally rooted *machismo*. Even politicians have expressed support for such practices, such as Mauricio Macri, now President of Argentina who in 2015 said that '[d]eep down, all women like being told a *piropo*."[4] Contrary to the the President's assertions, many women avoid such comments and feel threatened in such situations that many often condone.[5] However, President Macri's words are key in showing, with unusual clarity, how engrained this problem is. If a prominent politician condones sexual harassment, how can the people incite change? *Piropos* may seem harmless, but they are unpleasant, unwelcome, and their acceptance may even signal that other, more violent forms of harassment are also acceptable.

Crimes against women in Latin America are on the rise. A study from 2003 shows 'that seven Latin American countries score among the worst ten nations when measuring the rate of femicide per one

million women in 40 countries.'[6] Indignation with increasingly violent crimes against women led to a rally, held on June 3, 2015. The march, attended by about 200,000 people, took place in front of Congress in Buenos Aires and was organised to protest the deaths of women all over the country.[7] Known as '#NiUnaMenos', which translates to 'not one more', the rally was sparked by a single tweet by radio reporter, Marcela Ojeda. 'They're killing us,' she tweeted.[8] The outcry soon spread to over 80 cities and across the continent.[9] The original march in Buenos Aires on June 3rd was organised by a group of ten journalists who knew each other only through social media. Their actions, along with the public support of celebrities and important public figures, caused the hashtag #NiUnaMenos to go viral.[10] Liniers, a very famous Argentine cartoonist, made a drawing for the newspaper *Clarin*, in light of the movement, of a little girl holding a teddy bear in one hand, her other hand in a fist held up in the air, and overhead the hashtag #NiUnaMenos, which became the nation-wide symbol for the movement.[11] Ironically, even Mauricio Macri publically supported the movement, though his changed stance was undoubtedly a ploy to gain votes for his Presidential campaign.[12]

A few days after the organised march, Hinde Pomeraniec, one of the journalists who helped spread the movement, wrote a powerful article for *The Guardian* depicting the stories of four young girls Chiara Paez, 14, Daiana Garcia, 19, Melina Romero, 17, and Angeles Rawson, 16, who were all recent victims of gender violence in Argentina and whose deaths helped trigger the beginning of the movement.[13] Daiana Garcia, Melina Romero, and Angeles Rawson were all brutally murdered.[14] Chiara Paez was a pregnant schoolgirl buried alive by her boyfriend and his mother, yet despite her heinous death, the media's coverage of her murder focused on the fact that she was young and pregnant.[15] All of these murders took place in the span of a few months, and though they are only few examples, each death gained greater significance with this march. These girls became the centre of the movement as they represent all women: mothers, daughters, sisters, and friends. They became household names as protesters walking in front of the Congress wrote their names on their bodies, chanted their names, and held up signs with pictures of the four girls as well as those of hundreds of other victims of gender violence.[16]

On February 22nd 2016, Marina Menegazzo and María José Coni, two Argentine tourists in their early twenties travelling together, disappeared.[17] Their photos were shared on Facebook by thousands, in the hope of finding them. A few days after being reported missing they were found sexually abused and murdered on a beach in Montañita, Ecuador.[18] On March 3rd 2016, another march was organised in honour of these two victims in their hometown of Mendoza, demanding justice, and over 10,000 people marched through the streets.[19] This event was also organised through social media.

Addressing the problems of *machismo*, an attitude so deeply entrenched in Latin American culture is difficult. However, Latin Americans can no longer condone sexual harassment, nor allow the media to question the morals or lifestyles of femicide victims. A murder is a murder. The fault is of the perpetrator, not the victim, no matter what she was wearing, or whether she was alone, or intoxicated. Stopping the absurd media habit and social practice of victim blaming is where ending *machismo* begins.

The Argentine tourists murdered in Ecuador were shamed after their deaths for 'travelling alone', and putting themselves at risk for going on vacation, explains BBC journalist Mike Wendling.[20] This is yet another manifestation of the impact of *machismo*: people associating their murders to the fact they were travelling without a man. Wendling's article examines the recent post by Paraguayan student Guadalupe Acosta, who questions how the media can continue to criticise and blame the female murder victims for 'travelling alone'. Her post has been shared more than 700,000 times since it was posted on Facebook.[21] Acosta's post sparked a new twitter trend, '#viajosola', which translates to 'I travel alone', and is often used along with #NiUnaMenos.[22] By using these hashtags on social media, people are rejecting *machismo* in society, and speaking out against it publicly. Individuals are inciting a change of attitude not only in society through these posts, but in the way the media portrays the attacks. Social media sites, such as Twitter, represent a platform in which every individual can be a news reporter. Everyone can not only post and share information, and even share existing news reports, but also add personal thoughts and criticisms on an issue. Consequently, the criticised victim-blaming practice is being seen less and less in news reports, but has not yet disappeared.

Though not much has changed, the march on June 3rd of 2015 gave the movement a strong start. *Machismo* is so deeply engrained, that this attitude is not only present in men, but women as well. Some women accept that it is tolerable to be treated this way and analyse what a victim was wearing, or why she was alone. The movement incited thousands of women to see what they once accepted as tolerable, is wrong, and that the victim is not to blame, regardless of their circumstances. However, the media must stop victim-blaming in order to continue the movement, and focus on the real problem at hand: femicide.

The movement is just beginning, but change has begun. This and much more will be needed to permanently change these cultural attitudes that fuel continued violence against women, but one thing is clear: the media is a vital key in the fight against *machismo*. Twitter and Facebook have become platforms for voices to be heard, and for messages to spread quickly, nationwide as well as worldwide, which is demonstrated in the international spread of #NiUnaMenos. Social networks allow individuals to become social activists: posting a blog entry, such as Guadalupe Acosta's, or by making a Facebook event, like the journalists who incited #NiUnaMenos in June 2015. Through social media, people have begun to recognise and confront the societal impact of *Machismo* culture. These networks are an excellent start, not only bringing people together, but also providing a tool for individuals to address the issues affecting their society.

Katrina Cohen Cosentino is a first year student of Social Anthropology.

Evo Morales: The Time is Right for a Change

JULIA WARTMANN discusses the legacy of Bolivia's first indigenous president and the new limits to his popularity

Evo Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president, has been in office since 2006. Despite his achievements, including the improvement of indigenous rights and economic growth in one of Latin America's poorest countries, the people of Bolivia have voted against his bid for a fourth term in 2019.[1] Although he will be replaced as an individual, the change he enacted will hopefully endure.

Evo Morales was born in 1959 in the mining village of Isallavi in Bolivia's western Oruro department, where as a child he herded llamas. After moving to the Chapare region in eastern Bolivia his family took up farming. By the 1980s Morales became involved with the regional cocoa-growers union, and was elected the group's general secretary in 1985.[2] The U.S.-assisted governmental suppression of the cocoa production in the mid-1990s led to the birth of the leftist national political party, 'Movement Toward Socialism (MAS),' which Morales helped found and

to which he still belongs to today. After losing the presidential election to his opponent Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada in 2002, Morales played an active role in forcing the former President out of office one year later.[3] When Morales won the election two years later in 2005, he became the first Bolivian president to come from the country's indigenous majority, the Aymara.[4] Winning by a distinctive 54 per cent of the votes, he 'pledged to reduce poverty among the country's Indian population, ease restrictions on coca farmers, renationalize the country's energy sector, fight corruption, and increase taxes on the wealthy.'[5] By mid-2006, he had renationalised Bolivia's oil and gas industries, which increased the country's public investment and helped boost foreign reserves.[7] Revenues made from the gas industry were invested in public works projects and social programmes to fight poverty, which was successfully reduced by 25 per cent under his government, and extreme poverty even dropped by 43 per cent.[8]

As an avowed socialist, Morales' political ideology stands for left-wing ideas like addressing the extreme social divisions and inequalities of Bolivia, which have, above all, been caused by the indigenous population's continuous lack of access to social services like education and health, as well as land. Labour market discrimination of indigenous people, as well as the previous government's neglect of the rural sector, are further factors that contributed to the deepening of this divide.[8] Morales is tackling these inequalities mainly through the nationalisation of the gas and oil industry and through land redistribution.[9] New mines, in the hands of U.S., Canadian, European, and increasingly Chinese firms, are being established from the Andean highlands down to the Amazon basin.

However, the spread of extractive industries has been criticised by environmentalists and has even alienated many of Morales' indigenous allies.[10] They fear that extractive tendencies will lead to the fragmentation of local economies into highly specialised extractive industries dependant on the global market and therefore vulnerable to its volatility.[11] Paired with backward, low-tech domestic industries and a bloated informal sector, overt extractivism could lead to higher levels of unemployment and poverty, while the distribution of income and wealth could become even more unequal.[12] Morales discards these claims as a 'western plot to slow Bolivia's economic development and its redistribution of wealth through the nationalisation of resources.'[13] He deems the exploitation as 'a necessary step towards reducing poverty and reaching a level where the economy can diversify into cleaner, higher-value sectors.'[14] Despite Morales' success in boosting the economy, Bolivia continues to be one of the poorest Latin American countries.[15] Furthermore, economic analysts are concerned about the country's overt dependence on natural resources, as a study in 2014 revealed that natural gas and minerals represented 82 per cent of export revenues.[16]

Due to his socialist stance, Morales' relationship with the U.S. is strained. One of the promises during his presidential campaign in 2002 was the expulsion of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents from Bolivia.[17] Following Morales' remarks, the then U.S. ambassador's comment to reconsider aid to Bolivia, if Morales was elected, only bolstered his campaign.[18] Additionally, once elected, Morales expelled the subsequent U.S. ambassador, Philip Goldberg, in 2008 accusing him of conspiring against his government. In 2013, he also expelled the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) under the same suspicion.[19] Morales' anti-U.S. agenda even went so far as to call President Obama an imperialist in front of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2014.[20]

Morales' greatest achievement has been framing the rights of the indigenous majority in Bolivia. The measures he took in order to improve the conditions for the indigenous population include granting them more regional and local autonomy and declaring Bolivia a 'multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural' state.[21] With this aim he adopted the 'whipala,' a rainbow-coloured indigenous banner, which is flown alongside the traditional flag.[22] In a continent, where the rights of indigenous people have been trampled upon for centuries, having an indigenous president is a big step in the direction of ending their marginalisation. His background immensely contributes to his popularity and partly explains why Morales won a referendum in August 2008 on whether he should stay in office. He is currently serving his third presidential term, thanks to a ruling of Bolivia's constitutional court in April 2013, which allowed him to run for a third term in 2014.[23]

A second attempt at prolonging his presidential status in February 2016, however failed. The rejection of the referendum that would have let him run for a fourth term in 2019, can be considered his biggest electoral setback in the ten years of his presidency. However, the attempted constitutional amendment was defeated only by a slim margin of 51 per cent to 49 per cent.[24] If the referendum had passed, Morales could possibly have remained in power until 2025. Nevertheless, opposition in the eastern province of Santa Cruz, the country's economic stronghold, as well as increasing weariness of corruption in the government party in La Paz cut this vision short.[25] Up until very recently Morales' reputation seemed to be immune to allegations of corruption. However, a scandal involving his former lover and mother to his child, Gabriela Zapata, who holds an important position in the Chinese engineering company China CAMC Engineering has caused this image to crumble. The controversy consists of Zapata's company having secured contracts worth $576 million with the Bolivian government over the years.[26] Morales has fended off corruption allegations, and has set up investigations in order to prove that he has nothing to hide.[27]

Further criticisms have been voiced over his alleged favouritism towards his own indigenous tribe, the Aymaras.[28] When Morales declared the Aymara New Year a national holiday in 2009, non-Aymara indigenous groups felt that the government was exclusively favouring Aymara traditions.[29] Since he made ground in Santa Cruz in the 2009 elections, concerns rose among his indigenous supporters, that he is increasingly favouring the 'wealthy, light-skinned minority,' of European or mixed indigenous European descent, traditionally located in this area.[30] The opposition also has called Morales' politics increasingly authoritarian.[31] News of demonstrators from his MAS party setting fire to an opposition-run town hall in El Alto, leaving six people dead, only seem to corroborate this. The inhabitants of Bolivia's second biggest city, located right outside La Paz and one of the country's fastest-growing urban centres, vowed to make Morales pay for this 'at the ballot box.'[32]

However, in spite of the recent disrepute to his name, Morales' achievements as the leader of Bolivia's most stable government in history are still impressive. He has managed to 'improve indigenous rights, boost economic growth at an average rate of 5.15 per cent per year and reduce poverty and inequality.'[33] These achievements explain why the constitutional amendment was defeated only by a margin of two per cent. The people want his politics to continue they have just become more critical of Morales trying to extend his presidency. Leftist governments throughout Latin America have recently been swaying, but their policies have nevertheless taken a lasting hold on the continent.[34] Development raised expectations and demands on the side of the electorate and finally led the people to deny him a fourth term as president. One might say he has become a 'victim of his own success,'[35] a statement that definitely speaks well of his political achievements as Bolivia's first, and hopefully not last, indigenous president.

Julia Wartmann is a postgraduate student of International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic

ANNA SEARS | REGIONAL EDITOR

It would be easy to interpret the idea of 'individualism' as Western, and to assume that its application to a system of Arabian group identity would be unsatisfactory or even incongruent. In a region where the bonds of communal identity seem to be increasingly more salient every day, and more often than not used to intensify social cleavages or ensure individual conformity, it would be easy to assume that individualism itself was a near revolutionary act. The articles in this section will seek to explore this issue, most critically they frame individual socio-political agency within a distinctly Arabo-Islamic context, both within the Middle East and on the world stage.

First, Larissa Sterchi sketches a portrait of modern Iranian hijabis and their role within a society that alternatively encourages their individual development and instrumentalises the piety and obedience of women as a part of national identity. She will discuss the personal motivations behind veiling, and problematise the idea that the veil is a tool to remove individual identity.

In a further examination of Iranian society, Oscar Zollman-Thomas writes on rising consumerism in the context of the recent Iran nuclear deal and the lifted restrictions on international trade. He explains how individualist, consumerist culture has been incorporated into Persian society, and most importantly, how rather than being a challenge to national tradition, it has prompted a re-imagination of long-established ideals that serves to strengthen Iranian identity.

Merle Jungenkrüger takes a political psychology approach to the Israel-Palestine crisis. She explores the individual characteristics, attitudes and personalities of political leaders and how they influence decision-making and outcomes of peace talks.

Finally, Ingjerd Karstensen analyses the 'individuality' and autonomy of the military in Syria and Egypt, specifically with respect to their roles in the Arab Spring. She explains how the military, in many Arab regimes, constituted an individual political and ideological entity independent of the leadership. During the Arab Spring, the shifting loyalties of the military proved to be a decisive factor in the success of the revolution.

Consumerism Unleashed?

OSCAR ZOLLMAN THOMAS examines Iran's changing relationship with consumerism and indulgence.

Iran is going through a period of seismic change. The long-heralded lifting of U.S. sanctions and recent upheavals in the Iranian parliament have left the nation on the brink of a new era. The February elections in the Iranian *Majlis* have seen reformists make significant gains over the more conservative and radical 'Coalition of Principlists',[1] while the historic nuclear deal will see sanctions lifted on foreign trade and allow access to frozen assets.[2] These political changes are likely to beckon in an era of renewed geopolitical strength for Iran, and Lord Lamont has labelled the nation the 'biggest emerging market since the collapse of Soviet Union.'[3] However, perhaps it is more important to consider that these changes might equally have significant and far-reaching effects for the individual citizens of Iran. As ultraconservative politicians are pushed towards the fringes of Iranian politics and the creeping forces of globalisation make enticing foreign products available to the Iranian masses, no doubt Iranians will encounter inexorable changes.[4] This article will examine Iran's past and present relationship with consumerism and contemplate the developments the individual Iranian consumer can expect in light of shifting attitudes and bold political changes.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has had a fractious relationship with consumerism, individualism and capitalism throughout its 40-year lifetime. Many saw the 1979 revolution as an act of defiance against the hegemony of Western values and further, a bid to achieve independence and prosperity without the assistance or oversight of global superpowers.[5] Moreover, because of the deeply Islamic roots of the revolution, which were crystallised in a referendum that approved a theocratic constitution in December 1979, Iranian society was morally opposed to flagrant and indulgent consumerism.[6, 7] Iran's de facto motto since 1979, 'Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic', emphasises the core values of the nation.[8] Furthermore, it underscores that the first step towards realising these goals was ending the reliance upon and consumption of foreign goods, a practice endorsed and encouraged by the deposed Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.[9, 10] The Supreme Cultural Revolution Council, established in 1984, concerned itself primarily with ensuring that the cultural and educational activities of Iranians fell within boundaries permitted by an Islamic lifestyle.[11] Although the policies of the Islamic Republic deviated markedly from their strict revolutionary standards during a period of economic reconstruction after the costly Iran-Iraq war, an influx of foreign goods and heightened levels of consumption were seemingly approved by the Iranian authorities.[12] This can be evidenced by the designation of President Hashemi as as 'Sardar-e-Sazandegi' (the Commander of Reconstruction), after he was elected in 1989 on a platform supporting a freer domestic market and increased privatisation of state-owned industries.[13] This period of relative freedom allowed Iranian citizens a taste of universalist trends in self-expression and consumerism in a way they had not experienced since before the ousting of the Shah.[14] However, throughout this period of increased liberalisation, ultraconservative civil servants maintained control of powerful state organisations and fervently attacked any reforms they saw as a detriment to the intrinsic Islamic values of the Republic.[15]

The presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad saw previous progress repealed, and a 'return to the fundamentalist discourse of the 1979 Revolution.'[16] The brief window of opportunity to experiment with lifestyles existent outside of the Islamic framework ended abruptly in 2004, when the Judiciary Chief of Iran, Ayatollah Shahroudi, declared 'the West's massive cultural invasion, aimed at depriving Muslims of their Islamic culture,' a major problem.[17] Jafari emphasises this return to strict government oversight by pointing to an occasion when a group of Iranian MPs appealed to the police and judiciary in 2006 to clamp down on the brazen decadence of Iranian youth.[18] The current president, Hassan Rouhani, while less of a hard-liner on anti-Islamic behaviour, has nevertheless largely continued the policies of Ahmadinejad, and he has demonstrated a clear commitment to reducing foreign imports and the maintenance of laws such as the banning of satellite television.[19]

Given Iran's fervid commitment to maintaining Islamic values and predominantly Muslim population (99.4 per cent), many scholars have questioned whether the nation can pursue Islamic ideals while also permitting a consumer culture to develop.[20] Ernest Gellner sees the clash of consumer culture and Islam arising as a result of consumerism's 'currently fashionable form of relativism', which inspires 'universal, ecumenical tolerance and comprehension of alien cultures.'[21] This paradigm, he argues, clashes with the 'simple, powerful, earthy, sometimes cruel, absorbing, socially fortifying movement' that is Islam.[23] Bryan S. Turner agrees that Islam and consumerism are incompatible, hypothesising, however, that the clash of day-to-day customs will undermine the Islamic values of Iran: 'The corruption of pristine faith

is going to be brought about by Tina Turner and Coca-Cola and not by rational arguments…'[25] Certainly these sentiments seem to have been manifested recently under the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei. Farouk Sharifi quotes the current Supreme Leader and former President of Iran as having denounced consumerism harshly in 2002: 'Certainly… financial squandering is something that must be avoided in the Islamic Republic.' Those who 'do not resist… are against Islam.'[26]

Although influential Shi'ite clerics seem unlikely to support a relaxing of Iran's attitudes to consumerism and individualism, a separate school of thought has recently emerged.[27] James Beckford claims that harsh government attitudes to excessive consumption and imports are not an indication that the majority of the Muslim population in Iran is critical of consumerism and wary of the lifestyle changes an appreciation of foreign culture would bring.[28] Beckford's thinking hints at the activities of more adventurous Iranian citizens and their changing relationship with the West and consumerism.

Indeed, despite the Islamic Republic's obdurate official stance on the dilution of Iran's Islamic values, over the last several years many have begun yearning for the option to indulge in products and ideas that originated outside of Iran.[29] Indeed, the incompatibility of Iranian traditional values with a Western lifestyle may be irrelevant when an educated, youthful, and inquisitive population strives for foreign television, internet sites, rituals, and routines. There have already been significant lifestyle changes brought about as a result of youth exposure to 'illicit' foreign material.[31] While his studies were mainly focused on more affluent, urban youth, Jafari's interviews indicate that Iranian youth are beginning to 'question their established social principles previously set by religion, traditions, and common law.'[32] Similarly, Godazgar highlights several factors that have affected the lifestyle of young Iranians over the last decade, foremost among them, satellite TV (only 2.5 per cent of his respondents claimed not to have watched satellite TV), music, films, outward appearance, and Western traditions such as Valentine's Day.[33] Godazgar also put forward the interesting example of the changing diets of Iranian youth, shifting away from 'animal fat and hydrogenated oil to the healthier oils, such as vegetable and olive oil,' as evidence of Western thought filtering through to receptive Iranian citizens.[34] However, Jafari's analysis also indicated that the influence of foreign material, while encouraging young Iranians to 'practice their individuality and individual freedom' did not necessarily contradict the Islamic values of Iran, and rather often facilitated a deeper appreciation of Iranian culture.[35,36] While his research suggests there already exists a deep-rooted hunger to experience foreign goods and customs, it also illustrates that consumerism can be compatible with Iranian patriotism.

Iran was recently dubbed one of 'the best opportunities in the investment world right now' by the *Financial Times*, not least because of lifted sanctions and the election of a more outward looking parliament.[37] This makes it seem almost inevitable that the strict policy of the government will eventually catch up to the aspirations of its population. Jafari saliently proffers that Iranian participation in the 'global marketplace paves the way for consumption, as a symbolic mediator, providing the ground for reflection and creation of meanings, self-images, self-identities, and values.'[38] Despite the persistent and strident calls from the senior members of the Iranian political sphere for austere measures regarding Iran's cultural development,[39] the heightened affluence of Iranian citizens and, further, the increased access to the melting pot of global culture will surely yield a prosperous and rewarding relationship between Iranians and consumerism for the approaching future.

Oscar Zollman Thomas is a first year student of Economics & Politics.

The Failure of the Camp David Summit in 2000

MERLE JUNGENKRÜGER examines the extent to which the personalities and behaviours of the individual leaders influenced the outcome.

Were Arafat capable of reaching a deal, we would have had one; the fact that we do not proves that he is not.'[1] The narrative in Israel, somewhat echoed in the US, after the failure of the Camp David Summit in Summer 2000 was unequivocal: Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak had made a generous offer that the Palestinians rejected.[2,3] This account of the events was simple, easily understood by the masses, and most importantly, it placed all the blame on to the Palestinians and President Yasser Arafat in particular.

But is the story of the Camp David Accords really so black and white? Was it really Arafat's fault? Or were both Arafat and Barak responsible for the failure? More generally, do leading politicians and negotiators as individuals actually determine the outcome of high-profile talks, or, are they tied down to the wishes of their government and public opinion?

This article will try to unravel the many factors that played a role at the Camp David Summit and examine whether a positive outcome would have been possible with different leaders.

The 2000 Camp David Summit was when U.S. President Bill Clinton's attempt to resolve the Israel-Palestine crisis and carry on the talks that had started with the Oslo Accords in the early 90s. The talks took place just a few months before the end of Clinton's second term in office, and were attended by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, and the President of the Palestinian Authority (PA), Yasser Arafat. At Camp David, Clinton intended to address some of the most contentious points of Israeli-Palestinian disagreement, particularly the issues that had been deferred to 'final status talks' at Oslo.[4] Of these topics, the three most important were territory and final borders, the potential partition of Jerusalem, and the issue of Palestinian refugees.[5] The negotiations eventually ended when Arafat had turned down a final proposal by the Israelis. Clinton praised Israel's efforts and claimed that Arafat had not been willing to compromise.[6] Shortly after the Camp David Accords, in September 2000, a second Intifada broke out in Palestine, further complicating the already very damaged peace process. Nevertheless, talks resumed in Taba, Egypt, during the last weeks of Clinton's term and shortly before Israeli presidential elections.[7] However, these talks again ended in failure when Arafat did not agree to the final offer.[8]

The final proposal by the Israelis at Camp David entailed great concessions from both sides. Although Israel's bottom line was never exactly clear, many claimed Barak 'sketched out an offer that was politically courageous.'[9,10] Yet, much of the land that Israel claimed for itself in its final proposal, particularly land outside the 1967 borders, was seen as 'given back by Palestine.'[11] Critically, although Israel would have purportedly given East Jerusalem to Palestine, some Arab neighbourhoods would have remained under Israeli sovereignty; this and other 'land swaps' were considered unfavourable and too big a compromise for Arafat.[12] As for the question of refugees, one of the most important issues for the Palestinians, the agreement only promised the issue would be be 'satisfactorily' resolved.[13] As such, Arafat refused every American

and Israeli idea and not once came up with a counterproposal that would have facilitated an agreement.[14] With his refusal of the Israeli proposal, Arafat placed his trust in the international legitimacy of UN Resolutions against Israeli occupation of land outside the 1967 borders.[15] By agreeing at Camp David, Arafat likely assumed, Palestinians would have lost the security provided by the UN, as the original 1967 borders would have been officially altered.[16]

Originally, Arafat asked for more time for preparatory talks and only reluctantly agreed to take part officially, hence, as some argue the final outcome was foreseeable.[17,18] Yet at the same time, Arafat enjoyed a special relationship with Clinton and it was not clear whether the next Israeli PM would be as willing and eager for an agreement as Barak.[19,20] However, at the time of the talks, Israel still regarded Arafat as a 'terrorist and guerrilla fighter' and was in turn seen by the Palestinians as having a 'mentality of occupation and control.'[21,22]

While Barak's proposals and timetable were gauged by the US team as 'coherent,' 'comprehensive', and 'willing,' he seemed unable 'to establish an effective working relationship' with Arafat.[23,24,25,26] He furthermore failed to comply with interim agreements and focussed on the 'big picture', afraid to 'waste' these steps in case the talks failed.[27] This left Arafat doubting Barak's intention to deliver.[28,29,30] Additionally, Barak had chosen a 'Syria First' strategy, which meant concluding a peace agreement with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad was prioritised before starting to negotiate with the Palestinians, and further alienated Arafat.[31,32] This lead to prevalent mutual suspicions about the other delegation's true agenda.[33] The Palestinians also felt like the summit became equally concerned with preserving Barak's coalition in the Knesset as it was with achieving peace.[34,35] The Israeli 'piecemeal negotiation style' did nothing to refute Palestinian suspicion.[37] Arafat in particular was very wary and his defensive attitude led him to being perceived as uncompromising.[38] The PA President often seemed to be mistrustful and self-pitying, unable to actively contribute to the negotiations.[39,40,41] Arafat was reported as having said 'no to everything.'[42] In retrospect, a proactive Palestinian negotiation style, in spite of many reservations, might have increased the possibility of an agreeable proposal for the Palestinian side.

However, it is important to understand that the behaviour of the two delegations and leaders was shaped by their domestic political conditions. While Barak lead a minority government, Arafat's team was taken aback by the lack of popular support for a Camp David success by Palestinian constituencies.[43,44,45] Both delegations were rather cautious when it came to finding an agreement, for they would have to sell the deal to their people; the PA claimed that an unsatisfactory deal would lead 'the entire Palestinian system [to] collapse.'[46] The Palestinians thought that their political conditions were disregarded by the U.S., whereas those of the Israelis were taken very seriously.[47] They further struggled with contests over political and economic power and succession within the PA.[48] Moreover, Israel had been expanding its settlements in the West Bank, which put more pressure on the Palestinians and created 'facts on the ground' that would influence final border positions.[49] Hence, the Palestinians felt cornered, and increasingly saw themselves as the victims of the talks.[50]

In the context of their individual domestic responsibilities, it is far from certain whether the Palestinian and Israeli camps could have ever reached an agreement, since both sides would have had to make concessions that were fundamentally unacceptable to their constituents.

Considering both the political situation in Israel and Palestine, and the behaviour of Barak and Arafat, it is clear that neither element was the decisive factor in derailing the negotiations. Even had Barak negotiated more tactfully, and had Arafat been more proactive, and had both sides been less suspicious, they still would have had to deal with their political situation at home, which at the time was unfavourable to a peace agreement in both Israel and Palestine. Even if an agreement had been signed, Arafat and Barak could have expected strong reactions domestically. In turn, had the political conditions been different and more supportive of peace, the two leaders would still have had the potential to fail the talks, due to their complicated personalities and distrustful relationship.

Therefore, neither the regional political environment nor the personalities of the individual negotiators alone give sufficient explanation for the failure of the Camp David Summit in 2000. The failure of these talks, and the continuation of the Israeli-Palestine conflict therefore shows the multi-dimensionality of the politics of conflict, as well as the interdependence of the behaviour of individual actors and their existing political background.

Merle Jungenkrüger is a member of Leviathan's *Production Team.*

The Individual behind the Veil

LARISSA STERCHI explores the individual behind the hijab *and the context in which they are worn.*

Post 9/11, the Islamophobia of the Western media, and also the rise of accessible global online media outlets, has allowed for a re-appearance of the rhetoric of Western colonial policy.[4] Simply, this rhetoric aims to demonise Muslims and Arabs for their government's policies on gender, and specifically the imposition of the veil.[5] In Western media, there are immediate assumptions about the veiled Islamic women: she is a good mother, she is an obedient wife, and a daughter of a tyrannical father, she is wholly controlled by outside forces. It is this image that leads many to assume that she ought to be saved.[6] The façade of maltreatment of women in the Middle East is used as evidence of the moral, cultural and political deficiencies of the Islamic world, and consequently presents the West as the champion of women's rights.[7] This is a skewed and unjustified portrayal of the individual behind the veil. The motives behind such depictions have to be challenged and examined, especially when we are attempting to learn about the veiled individual herself. Orientalist views of the Muslim woman need to be forgotten, as they place the onlooker in a falsely superior position, and they blend the experiences of all veiled women into one monolithic narrative. However, there are also significant issues with retaining a postmodernist position with regards to this issue; becoming too anti-Orientalist may inadvertently lend support to a repressive movement in the region: Islamic fundamentalism.[8] Therefore, a nuanced balance needs to be struck when analysing the lives of veiled women.

The enforcement of obligatory veiling is a policy that has become politicised and assumed by conservative governments; therefore, in many cases the veil represents the state rather than the individual.[9] In this article, the 'veil' will refer to the *hijab* in the Islamic tradition, although it must be acknowledged that the covering of a woman's hair is a practice not unique to Islam.[10] Moreover, there is also vast evidence to suggest that the enforcement of the *hijab* is a tradition rather than a Qur'anic prescription, and therefore refers only to specific types of societal encounters in which the *hijab* is considered appropriate. The woman who chooses to wear the veil is, therefore, a complex agent to analyse. Is she exerting agency by choosing to wear

the veil and hide a part of her body from the public, or, are there strong societal undertones that unofficially require certain women to wear the veil – thus removing an element of her agency? However, an important part of this issue is the reductionist aspect of the act of veiling; both the former and latter questions point to a woman's quintessential *unfreedom*.[11] The question of 'who is' the individual behind the veil is therefore reflexive. The assumptions that are held when one begs the question, perhaps, are subconscious, and point to the questioner's preconceived notions of power and womanhood.

When you look at her, does she want to be asked 'who' the woman behind the veil is? This is a question without a definite answer, as it is an individual opinion, which has been constructed through a lifetime of experiences and spirituality. The veil by its very nature is a tool to conceal her; it is a symbol of communal dignity, of which she would be disciplined for defiance, as woman is seen as susceptible to corruption.[12] Similarly, the patriarchal structure that the cloth represents can be the site of shame, confinement, anxiety and compulsion for women.[13] The compulsion to remain behind the veil can create a powerful identity crisis between the modern feminist self and the authentic cultural self.[14] The *modern* woman, so to say, may have struck a balance between the inner versus outer expressions of her faith and modernity: a state of mind in which she can interact with and challenge ongoing social realities. Today, Islamic feminists have re-interpreted the dichotomy of authenticity and modernity into a movement that actively questions the Qur'anic interpretation of their status in society, and recognises that the individual behind the veil cannot be constrained by patriarchal values.[15]

In Iran today, a growing current of Islamic feminists are re-interpreting Qur'anic texts to prove that some of the Shari'a codes are based on the socialised context of the Prophet Mohammed's (PBUH) lifetime.[16] Their works claims to show that the scriptures must be scrutinised in the light of present-day socioeconomic and political realities.[17] There is in large part, a consensus that gender policies have to be reformed within an Islamic framework, merely due to the fact that the ruling body consists of Shiite Ulama.[18] Under these constraints, far-reaching reforms are unfortunately not realistic for Iranian women; however there still exists a degree of secular ideals within the movement that aim to divorce the concept of the veil from religious dignity.[19] However, at present this is a very lofty goal, as Iran's revolutionary regime is built on an anti-Western ideal that has been reproduced and politicised in the realm of its policies on women's rights.[20] The veiling of the individual is a token to signify that pious Persian women cannot behave as the promiscuous women of the West do.[21] The veil is representative of what the state is not. However, the term *Islamic* feminist may also be an exclusionary and restrictive description; simply because she is both a Muslim and a feminist should not immediately place her within a category of movements. Similarly, the literature does not categorise the Western feminist as a *Christian* feminist, whilst unknowingly she may hold religious values that may translate into public policy. Nevertheless, spirituality is a deeply personal matter, and should not immediately be assumed as corresponding to a certain political view. The individual behind the veil can be religious and secular at the same time, and values can intermingle; Islam is not static.

A growing sexual and gender revolution in Iran illuminates the dynamic cultural individuality that can be exercised behind the veil. The public demeanour of Iranian *hijabis* projects shy, embarrassed and modest girls, but their private demeanour suggests women in control of their needs, wants and sexualities.[22] Women in Iran are getting divorced at a much higher rate: in urban areas, the rate of divorce has increased by 50 per cent, from below 100 divorces per 1,000 marriages in 2001 to 153 divorces per marriage in 2010.[23] Surprisingly, in rural areas this figure increased by 87 per cent.[24] Additionally, in Iran from 2011-2012, women comprised 65 per cent of Bachelor's degrees in humanities, 69 per cent in sciences and 62 per cent in medical sciences, 50 per cent of Masters degrees, and 38 per cent of students in Ph.D. programmes.[25] In terms of increasing sexual freedoms of young Iranian women, research suggests that there exists a ten-year period before marriage in which women and men are engaging in sexual relations illegally.[26] It may be noteworthy to add however, that the individuals involved in such acts are not necessarily religious, or do not believe in the value of sex before marriage. Whether the defiant sexual acts are political statements also remains an individual opinion, however the widespread acts in Tehran suggest an expanding occupancy of *space*, both physical and ideological.[27] These growing trends of increased individualism, education, and sexual assertiveness all seem to point to the growing agency of Iranian women. A sub-culture has emerged that has begun to challenge deeply embedded national values, perhaps revealing that women may have accepted the veil in order to disguise other forbidden behaviours. The use of the body to speak back to a repressive regime has also culminated in the growth of hymen restoration surgery (hymenoplasty).[28,29] Arguably, this creates another agency dilemma: are the individuals seeking hymenoplasty exerting agency as they are finding means to *cheat* the regime or are they conforming to the expectations of the regime? Regardless, the individual behind the veil has discovered avenues to remain an *individual* independently. She may not want you to ask her what it is like to live behind a veil, but perhaps, to recognise her for what she does irrespective of her *hijab*.

Larissa Sterchi is Leviathan's *Digital Director.*

For the People or for the Regime

INGJERD KARSTENSEN discusses how the degree of the military's autonomy in Syria and Egypt affected the events of the Arab Spring in 2011.

In the popular uprisings of 2011, commonly known as the Arab Spring, the militaries in Egypt and Syria played decisive roles determining the fate of their respective regimes. While Mubarak fought for the prospect of establishing a new dynasty in Egypt, Assad fought for the survival of his family's dominance over the political system as well as for the rights of the minority Alawite community in a Sunni-dominated Syria.[1] This crucial difference tilted the army's loyalty in opposite directions in Egypt and Syria. Mubarak and Assad used strong patrimonial regimes and patronage systems to stay in power, yet societal and sectarian cleavages had unexpected affects on the attitudes of their militaries. This essay will discuss how the relationships between the regime and the military in Egypt and Syria affected military support for the oppressed versus the oppressor during the Arab uprisings.

On January 25, 2011, after the police force had exhausted itself in Egypt and Mubarak called on the army to replace them, the tanks halted unexpectedly on the edge of Tahrir Square.[2] Instead of opening fire on the protesters, the soldiers reportedly chanted solidarity with them.[3] A couple of months later, the Syrian army gunned down the civilian population in Dar'a.[4] The differences in the outcomes of these two seemingly similar situations can be attributed to the socio-economic ties of the national military in each state. In Egypt, the centralised, authoritarian regime was entirely dependent on the power of the Egyptian Armed Forces.[5] In order

to keep the loyalty of his army, Mubarak relied heavily on a patron-client relationship with his officers.[6] An ex-pilot himself, Mubarak also secured his military power by offering economic opportunities and benefits to senior officers, giving the military more power and autonomy than in most other Arab countries – in particular, Syria.[7] However, while the generals enjoyed a multitude of economic benefits, the junior officers in the Egyptian Army made barely more than an Egyptian cab driver.[8] Thus, while the generals and officers had economic motives to support Mubarak publicly and denounce the protesters in Tahrir, the soldiers in the Square had little reason to shoot for him.

However, despite reports of Egyptian soldiers singing with demonstrators, there is little evidence to prove any willingness by the military to protect or serve the Egyptian people during the outbreak of the January revolution. Even today, it is not clear what the position of the Armed Forces was in this period[9] and inconsistent action further complicates the issue. On February 2nd, 2011, regime loyalists attacked protesters in Tahrir Square.[10] Reportedly, the soldiers did nothing to separate the factions and prevent any further violence;[11] instead, the army seemed firmly neutral, and free to watch as power shifted between factions.

In addition to the economic inequalities of Mubarak's regime, military leadership sensed a shift in the balance of power in the system,[12] which could have threatened their economic stake in the status quo. At the time, Mubarak was grooming his son, Gamal Mubarak, as his successor.[13] Gamal's succession threatened the military's status in a number of different ways. Firstly, he did not have military experience or strong ties to the military, like his father.[14] Secondly, this form of succession bore strong resemblance to Assad's succession to the presidency after his father in 2000. The military had expected the regime to follow the same procedure as in previous years – with the president coming from their own ranks.[15] Furthermore, if the regime was indeed heading in the footsteps of the Syrian model, military autonomy would undoubtedly be in danger. Thus, as the power balance tilted in Tahrir, the military made their decision, and abandoned Mubarak.

Ostensibly, the Army's decision was motivated by the desire to preserve the status quo, and was not motivated by the concerns of external forces (like the U.S.) or by their duty to the Egyptian people.[16] After Mubarak's resignation, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) was created to oversee the transitional period of Egypt into a democracy.[17] Though Mubarak's resignation in February 2011 cannot simply be defined as a military coup, the formation of the SCAF can only be seen as the establishment of a 'guarded democracy', intended to secure the military's interests. Ultimately, the Egyptian military enjoyed a political and economic autonomy that allowed them to choose sides independently of the president in the revolution – a freedom the Syrian army did not have. The composition of Egypt's military closely mirrored the composition of the general population,[18] connecting them to the will of the people. This important connection may have stayed their hand in Tahrir Square, while forcing the hand of the military in the heavily sectarian society of Syria.

As in Egypt, the Assad regime was founded on a military coup that underwent decades of reforms, resulting in a small elite clenching the reigns of a huge military.[19] In contrast to Mubarak, Assad is part of a minority elite ruling a majority – which benefitted him greatly. In addition to a personalised patronage system that greatly favoured the upper classes, Assad sporadically rotated government officials to weaken the military and to play the sectarian factions against each other.[20] Furthermore, nepotism runs rampant in the government's top positions; Bashar al-Assad's brother, Maher al-Assad, led the elite Republican Guard against Dar'a on March 23, and his sister, Bushra, filled a top government job, together with her husband who was a previous Deputy Defence Minister.[21] Remaining governmental positions were filled by rich sons of former military officers close to the Assad family, from both the Sunni and Alawite communities.[22] Thus, the army is heavily intertwined with the government.

The Syrian army could have followed in the footsteps of Egypt, and disposed of their dictator, yet they decided instead to support the minority elite, the Alawites. This small Shi'a community hailed from the Syrian mountains, and make up about 12 per cent of the Syrian population, while Sunni Arabs make up about 66 per cent.[23] Unlike Egypt's army, the population's ethnic mixture is not reflected in the military's structure. The troops have a small majority of Sunni conscripts in their ranks, while the Alawites still make up about half of the military and continue to occupy most top military positions.[24] The most important of these positions military positions are in two of the four units of the Syrian military, namely the Republican Guard and the Special Forces.[25] Consequently, even after the first few months of protests and clashes, deaths and defections,[26] the Alawite leadership still controlled the Sunni dominated infantry, despite heavy losses and the exhaustion of their supplies.[27] As previously stated, Assad would sporadically rotate the positions at any sign of disloyalty or defiance – no doubt having learned from the Syrian history of coup d'états. Furthermore, there are reports that suggest a harsh policy for any defection or sign of disloyalty in the Syrian army.[28] Nevertheless, the Sunni soldiers, for the most part, stayed on Assad's side, and did not break the army in half to seize power from the Alawites.

However, there were some defections from the Syrian army and Assad's political party, the Ba'ath.[29] As the violence escalated between armed protesters and the military in the latter half of 2011, the number of defections within the military increased, at least according to the Free Syrian Army and Syrian human rights organisations.[30] If this were the case, then why would the Syrian Army generals not turn on Assad himself? On one hand, there might not have been sufficient support for such an operation. More likely, however, is the fact that the Syrian army was, by extension, also fighting for its own survival.

During 2011, there were a number of attacks on the military itself,[31] which reinforced Assad's claiming they were fighting thugs looking to destroy the Syrian government – not just the survival of the Alawite minority.[32] Nine soldiers were gunned down in Dar'a in April 2011, followed by the assassinations of two military generals.[33] These attacks, no doubt fuelled the fear of the soldiers and the military as a whole, which Assad continuous to feed on.

Thus far, the Egyptian people's ambivalent, but mostly positive relationship to the military has been illustrated. In Syria, the relationship is much different. Since, the military reflected the imbalance in power in the government, the Syrian Sunni Arab majority had no reason to trust the Alawite-led military, especially with the memories of the infamous siege of Hama in 1982,[34] still fresh in their minds. The protests and the resilience of the Syrian people persisted, even in the face of an increasingly brutal military.[35] The use of lethal force[36] seemed to do nothing but escalate the resistance, and the military, though exasperated, still continues their support of Assad, five years on.

In sum, the Egyptian and Syrian army's responses to national uprisings were motivated by a number of different factors, but the different socio-economic makeup of each society became the pivotal factor that separated massacre from an unsteady transitional period. While both regimes used extensive patronage systems to keep their military in place, the Egyptian army, from the time of the Free Officers Coup,[37] has remained an individual actor, allowing them to be both opportunistic and indecisive. This freedom and autonomy is not replicated in the attitudes of the Syrian army.

Ingjerd Karstensen is a second year student of Arabic and Spanish.

CONNOR HOWNSLOW | REGIONAL EDITOR

How should one consider an individual within society? One ought to consider the wisdom of one of the American founding fathers and fourth President of the United States, James Madison: 'the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in little danger from interested combinations of the majority.' [1] The concern for the inevitability of factions evidently gave great pause to Madison, and considering the state of the American society and system of governance now, Madison would certainly recognise the vindication of his ideas. The North American section for this issue of Leviathan *focuses on the state of the Union in terms of how American citizens are understood and consequently treated within its political and legal frameworks.*

Sara Myers explores the development of corporate legal personality prioritised over the individual through her exploration of singer Kesha Rose Sebert and her sexual assault case against her employer and the company he works for. Since Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, *scholars and politicians have engaged in a dialectic regarding whether the personality of a company supersedes an individual's rights, namely those of its employees. Furthermore, Sophie Mellor explores the proliferation of corporate lobbying, especially by Wall Street corporations and those enlisted by K-Street firms. She highlights the debate of American citizenship and the extent to which an individual's right to vote has been contested by corporate monetary power and its resources.*

Ultimately, Ollie Ballinger offers a discussion about American representative democracy in terms of the Democratic Party's electoral system. His employment of comparative politics and historical comparison with the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong sheds light on how the United States situates itself within the world of democracies. Likewise, he calls to question whether the Democratic Party, in particular, can claim to be such an exemplary system of democratic governance. Hopefully after these commentaries and studies of American politics, the readers will 'arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives,' [2] 'to be their own Governors.' [3]

One Person, One Vote?

OLLIE BALLINGER conducts a comparative analysis of candidate selection procedures in the U.S. Democratic Primaries and in the proposed electoral reforms that sparked Hong Kong's 'Umbrella Revolution' in 2014.

The central feature of representative democracy, and the main reason it is such an attractive ideology, is the idea that individuals of the *polis* have a fundamental right to determine the makeup of the bodies that will govern them.[1] This is an affirmation of the inherent worth and equality of all citizens, notions that form the basis of our conceptions of justice, as arbitrary inequality and disenfranchisement themselves inherently unjust. In the words of John Rawls, universal equality is the 'starting point' of justice, and any deviation therefrom must be justified.[2] These principles are embodied in the phrase 'one person, one vote', the rallying cry of suffragists and suffragettes throughout the world and throughout the ages; the phrase was even embedded in United States Constitutional law in the Supreme Court case *Baker v. Carr*.[3] Regardless of democracy's speciation and evolution across the globe, the tenets of equality and universality remain its guiding principles. The deep sense of injustice associated with the infringement of these principles has been the source of upheaval around the globe, the burning ember at the heart of the Arab Spring, the Umbrella Revolution, and the American Civil Rights movement.

The United States, referred to by itself and by others as the pinnacle of liberal democracy, is often quick to denounce the shortcomings of 'less developed' democracies. These denunciations, however, are rather contradictory upon closer examination of the American electoral system. This analysis will examine parallels between the controversial proposed reforms to Hong Kong's electoral system in 2014 (which sparked the protests referred to colloquially as the Umbrella Revolution), and the U.S. Democratic primary system. Though the White House denounced the reforms that would allow a minority of 'party elites' to have disproportionate influence on the selection of candidates for the legislature, the U.S. Democratic primary system does almost exactly that.[4] Thus, the argument herein is that the U.S. Democratic Party's candidate selection process fails to live up to the normative standards of democratic procedure that it has set for other countries.

Ensuring that the procedures for nominating or selecting candidates is done in a representative way is a vital component of the democratic process. The grievances of the protestors in Hong Kong's Umbrella Revolution mainly concerned reforms that would have afforded Beijing greater power in selecting the candidates able to run for Hong Kong's highest public office.[5] In 2014, the Chinese central government announced that Hong Kong would be able to directly elect its Chief Executive for the first time by 2017, under the condition that its electoral process be reformed.[6] These reforms stipulated that candidates wishing to run for the position had to be selected by over one-half of a 'Nominating Committee', a body which was 'stacked with [Communist] Party members', and aligned strongly with Beijing.[7,8] According to activists, this effectively precluded the nomination of candidates critical of the central government.[9] In response, over 100,000 people took to the streets in protest, resulting in violent clashes with police, who fired tear gas canisters at protesters defending themselves with umbrellas (leading the movement to be coined the Umbrella Revolution).[10,11] The protesters' claims that the selection of candidates by a group of elite Party members was an affront to their right of self-determination and to democracy itself received strong support from several branches of the U.S. government. The proposed reforms prompted Senator Sherrod Brown, Chairman of the Congressional-Executive Committee on China, to state that 'freedom and democracy in Hong Kong are under serious threat'.[12] Additionally, the White House issued the following statement in support of the protesters: 'The United States supports universal suffrage in Hong Kong […] We believe that the legitimacy of the Chief Executive will be greatly enhanced if the election provides the people of Hong Kong with a genuine choice of candidates representative of the voters' will.'[13] The implication of this statement, then, is either that the United States' procedure for the selection of candidates is 'representative of the voters' will', or at least that such a procedure is normatively desirable.

The U.S. Democratic Primary system affords the Party elite a comparably large degree of influence over the selection candidates. In order to run for president as the Democratic Party's nominee, a candidate must first win the primary election, in which Democratic hopefuls must compete for delegates who represent districts within states. A candidate must win the votes of 2,383 delegates in order to receive the nomination.[14] On its face, this seems to conform with the principles of equality and universality outlined above: district delegates are beholden to their electorates, and the aggregation of delegates is thus a representation of democratic popular will. However, in the Democratic primary, there are 717 'unpledged delegates' (also known as 'superdelegates'), who are not beholden to any electorate and may

vote as they choose.[15] These are mostly distinguished party leaders and Democratic senators. For reference, 29 states and territories 'combined' have a total of 714 regular delegates: [16]

California, the largest state in America, has 473 regular delegates.[17] Even if a candidate were to win 100 per cent of the vote in either the 29 states and territories above or in California, the U.S. Democratic primary affords the party elite enough unconstrained voting power to effectively nullify these votes were they to side with the other candidate. Considering that 8,571,580 votes were cast in the 2012 democratic primary, which were distributed among 4,826 regular delegates, one delegate represented roughly 3,777 people.[18,19] Combined, the 726 unpledged delegates effectively had the voting power of 2,742,737 American voters. And though defenders of the *status quo* are quick to point to the fact that 'superdelegates have never overturned the outcome of a presidential election', in the current race, 95.4 per cent of superdelegates (an unprecedented margin) have pledged support for Hillary Clinton.[20,21] Faced with criticism that this might be undemocratic or at the very least unfair, Debbie Wasserman-Schultz, Chair of the Democratic National Convention and former co-chair of Clinton's 2012 presidential campaign explained that 'Unpledged delegates exist really to make sure that party leaders and elected officials don't have to be in a position where they are running against grassroots activists.'[22] Had President Xi Jinping issued a similar statement in reference to Hong Kong, it would almost certainly have drawn the ire of Washington policymakers.

Subordinating the popular will to the judgments of a cadre of party elites undermines the notion that citizens have an equal and important part to play in the representative democratic process. If one considers the value of democracy to lie in its affirmation of the individual worth and equality of all citizens, then the harms of unrepresentative candidate selection procedures – by virtue of being procedurally undemocratic – are inherent. Even scholars who defend elite-selection procedures acknowledge these harms, but argue that they are justified because they insure against extremism and demagoguery.[23] As such, the extent of the harms caused by elite-selection depends on whether one considers the value of democracy to lie principally in its procedures (as has been argued herein), or in its outcomes. In other words, whether one sees democracy as a means to the end of better governance and deviation from democratic procedures can be justified if it enhances outcomes, or whether one considers the process of democratic election as an end itself and should not be deviated from. However, not only it is unclear why political 'extremism' is intrinsically harmful (abolitionism, after all, was considered an extremist ideology in the 19th century),[24] but the United States' statement in response to the Umbrella Revolution is indicative of a comparatively greater concern for democratic procedures. If voters in Hong Kong should have the right to a 'genuine choice of candidates representative of the voters' will,'[25] then so too should voters in the United States.

Ollie Ballinger is a third year student of International Relations.

Individual v. Individual

SARA L. MYERS delves into the struggle between individuals and corporations by analyzing the ongoing court case between Kesha Rose Sebert and Lukasz Gottwalk.

Much of today's news is eclipsed by the chronicles of the omnipresent Donald Drumpf,[1] and in particular, the developing coverage of one woman's fight for justice and the underlying societal ills that her case seeks to expose. In October 2014, Kesha Rose Sebert, the American singer, pressed charges against her producer, Lukasz Gottwalk, a.k.a. Dr. Luke, for sexually assaulting her, amongst other things (i.e., sexual assault and battery; sexual harassment; gender violence; civil harassment; violation of California's unfair business laws; intentional infliction of emotional distress; negligent infliction of emotional distress; negligent retention and supervision).[2] Sebert dates Gottwalk's abuses to the beginning of their professional relationship, after he persuaded her to drop out of high school and leave her hometown to start life as a superstar.[3] In a twenty-eight page plea to the court, Sebert describes her life with Gottwalk and how he abused her, degraded her and took 'complete control over her life and career.'[4] Sebert maintains that Gottwalk assaulted her to the point where she 'nearly lost her life.'[5]

Gottwalk immediately responded by filing a defamation suit and claimed that the entire thing was just a conspiracy concocted by Sebert and her legal team so that she could be released from her original contract sooner.[6, 7] A contract signed with Kemosabe Records through the *Kasz Money Inc.* production company; both are satellite companies of Sony but are ultimately owned and overseen by Gottwalk himself, her alleged rapist.[8] Wishing to remove herself from the quickly destabilising situation, the singer-songwriter attempted to formally emancipate herself from her rapist through an injunction before the actual trial proceedings commenced. Sebert initially filed the injunction to be released from her contract in February of 2015, but it took an entire year before she had her day in court.[9] Unfortunately for her, the New York Supreme Court Judge, Shirley Werner Kornreich, said it wasn't proper to 'decimate a contract that was heavily negotiated' and denied Sebert's motion.[10] Despite the abuses that Sebert described in her lawsuit, the New York Supreme Court said her claims were vague and lacked medical evidence, and so the judge was forced to deny the motion.[11] Accounts of Lukasz's many depraved acts against Sebert, other female victims, and even his own wife were seen as circumstantial and not reason enough to break the contract. In response to the failed injunction, Gottwalk's lawyer Christine Lepera said that Sebert is technically free to work and create music without having Gottwalk involved, calling her proclaimed imprisonment a 'myth'.[13]

Music fans and sexual rights activists are outraged at Sebert's treatment by the New York legal system, and have started a #FreeKesha campaign to publicly support her in her pursuit of freedom from her abuser.[14,15] Celebrities have taken to social media to support Sebert, from Lady Gaga to Taylor Swift, offering emotional and even financial support.[16] Most recently, Adele, who works under *Sony*, openly showed support for Sebert during an acceptance speech at the Brit Awards, in a brazen and politicised move.[17] Another supporter of Sebert's is Lena Dunham, a vocal feminist and fellow celebrity, who argued that Sony could make this entire issue go away, and easily break the contract, 'but instead the company has chosen to engage in a protracted legal battle to protect Gottwalk's stake in Kesha's future.'[18] Sony argues that Sebert does not in fact need to have direct contact with Gottwalk; nonetheless, she must still work within the same environment and under the professional supervision of her abuser. CNN reported that despite the failed injunction, her civil complaint will continue on, but it could take months or years to complete.[19] Which either means spending months in fear under her alleged rapist or months away from work; neither of which are remotely appealing.

As a part of the Sony family, Gottwalk is protected by more than just his own lawyer,[20] and all the 'no comments' from them are starting to add up. Does this mean that the company, or even the company's reputation, matters more than the physical wellbeing of

its individual employees? If you have a large corporation on your side, you are unbeatable? Scott Edelman is the lead council for *Sony* and has asserted that '*Sony* has made it possible for Kesha to record without any connection, involvement or interaction with Luke whatsoever, but Sony is not in a position to terminate the contractual relationship between Luke and Kesha.'[21] But how can it support her in such a way, allowing her to 'work without contact' while being unable to break the contract? As one reporter stated, '*Sony Music Entertainment*, *Kemosabe records* and the law itself were perpetuating a system that was holding hostage the very life and livelihood of a victim of abuse.'[22] Another described Sebert's recent treatment at the hands of her multiple 'abusers' as 'a parade of horrific allegations, lawsuits, stunted artistic vision, and the occasional huge hit to make it worthwhile for the record company and producer to keep fighting for control.'[23] In addition to Gottwalk's alleged assaults against Sebert, the lawsuit also calls out Gottwalk's co-workers and bosses for engaging 'in efforts to cover up his conduct and continu[ing] their business relationships with him despite knowledge of his despicable conduct.'[24] Sebert has been a victim of harassment, but now she is a victim of bureaucracy, specifically corporate bureaucracy. While Sony claims that she can do what she wants, Sebert's lawyer says it is merely 'an elusive promise,' and means nothing.[25] Despite the legal denial, *Sony's* refusal to dissolve the contract sends an acute message 'that the company values money over the well-being and safety of an artist.'[26] Sebert is currently tied to her six-album contract,[27] but she is only released two albums in the past ten years. The remaining four could be torturous to complete.

This case has sparked a crucial debate on individual versus corporate rights, asking 'what right does a company have to dictate how an individual lives their life and more crucially, perceives their own safety?' Especially when that individual has alleged such intimate and personally damaging crimes. Additionally, the New York Supreme Court's quick defense of Sony and dismissal of Sebert's pleas seems to denote a desire to 'wall corporations off from accountability.'[28] Years ago Obama said, 'Corporations aren't people. People are people,' but if that was true then Sebert would be free from this David versus Goliath story gone wrong.[29] As a celebrity, Serbert and her case are slowly gaining media attention around the world. And despite the assault and abuse she underwent, her fame has given her the opportunity to make a usually taboo topic known to millions. Sebert is not a politician fighting for women's rights nor is she the next Erin Brockovich looking to take down a corporation; she's just a woman trying to have her story heard.

One individual's potential to incite change is rare, but not impossible, and the fact that Sebert has a mass following supporting her is wonderful, but there is still red tape between her and legal victory. The next step for Sebert's trial will be to submit the evidence for her case by March 21st. Objections to those claims are due a month after. But this back and forth period has until January 2017 to continue. In an idyllic world, everything will be submitted on time, which means that the earliest Sebert and Gottwalk can battle it out in court will be after February 2017.[30] While *Sony* claims to be doing all it can to help Sebert as an artist, but have their hands tied legally, Gottwalk and his own label's contract are up for renewal soon.[31] So the world will see which individual Sony really stands behind in the near future.

Sara Myers is Leviathan's *Chief Copy Editor.*

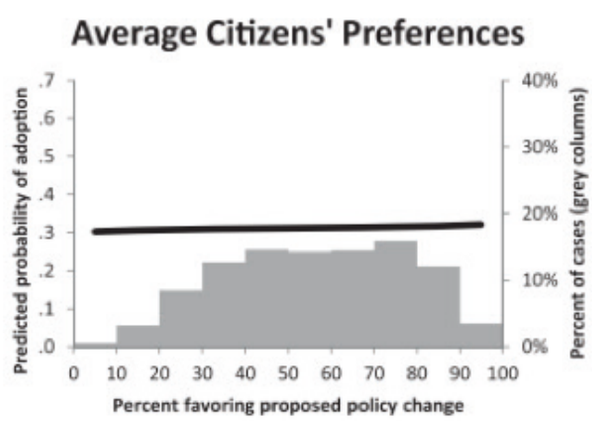
The Rise in Corporate Lobbying has led to the Decline of the Voice of the Individual

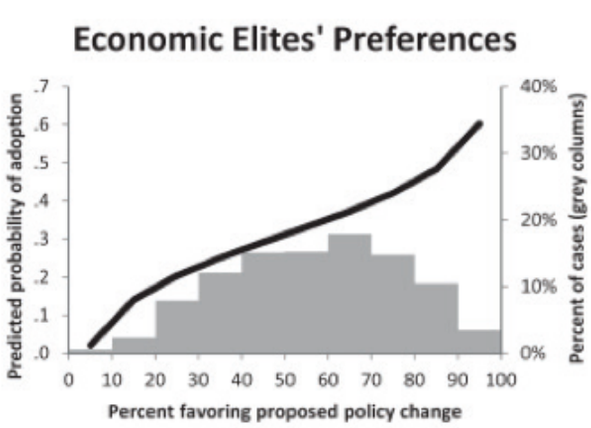
SOPHIE MELLOR scrutinises the origins and manifestation of corporate lobbying in America to unveil its relationship with democracy.

'Socialism never took root in America because the poor see themselves not as an exploited proletariat but as temporarily embarrassed millionaires.'
- Ronald Wright

Lobbying in Washington wasn't always as lucrative as it is today. With corporations now spending more than $2.6 billion dollars a year on lobbying expenditures,[1] the group formation of shared individual preferences has manifested itself in the government of the United States, impacting the nation's public policy and perpetuating a society where power is no longer in the hands of the individual.

In a perfect democratic society the percentage of individuals who are in support of a proposed policy change would be equally proportional to the likelihood of adoption, creating a diagonal linear line. However, a study done by Gilen and Page in 2014 calculated the impacts of mass-based interest groups and economic elites on U.S. government policy over the course of 19 years and 1,923 independent cases.[2]





The upper graph is the average citizens' preferences of the bottom 90 per cent wealth bracket of citizens. It displays a probability of adoption of 0.3 for any policy change regardless of the percentage favoring the proposal. Conversely, the lower graph indicates the individuals who have substantial economic resources including, but not limited to,

ownership of business firms. This does not imply that the preferences of the average citizen and the economic elites are not bivariate; however, the true manipulation of policy originates from the economic elite.[3]

After World War Two, U.S. President Harry Truman believed that individuals who felt frustrated or deprived because of economic or political changes would be incentivised to associate, in order to serve their own interest. These groups would then contend with other associations until social equilibrium returned.[4] Contrarily, Olson challenged Truman's central psychological assumption in his book, *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965). He stated that, for most individuals, becoming aware of the existence of common interests actually hindered spontaneous organisation. He argued that the marginal costs of political participation differ too widely among collective groups and make individual incentives for political action usually ineffective.[5] In the past, special interest groups were predominantly diverse and subsisted with the goal of improving the general welfare of people. However, in the last 20 years, these groups have grown in size, adaptability, and have become a fundamental part of pluralist democracy, fulfilling Olson's predictions.[6]

Lobbying in the U.S., primarily organised in special interest groups, takes place at every level of the federal government. A study done in 2010 by economic analyst James Thurber, estimated more than 100,000 lobbyists worked in Washington alone, making it the third largest enterprise in the U.S. capital.[7] They can influence policy formation by either offering large campaign finance contributions or lobbying members of congress and federal agencies.[8]

In the years leading up to the mortgage financial crisis in 2008, lobbying aiming to prevent tighter regulating laws on issues related to mortgage lending and securitization significantly rose. This allowed significantly riskier mortgage lending strategies.[9] Companies developed mortgages with higher loan-to-income ratios and had faster-growing mortgage-loan portfolios.[10] Thurbur's study found that lobbying by financial institutions was a significant factor in the decay of credit integrity, creating greater risks leading up to the financial crisis.

After the crisis, Obama spoke out against lobbying stating 'We are going to change how Washington works. They will not run our party. They will not run our White House. They will not drown out the views of the American people. I suffer from the same original sin of all politicians, which is we've got to raise money… But my argument has been and will continue to be that the disproportionate influence of lobbyists and special interest is a problem in Washington and in state capitals.'[11]

There are still strict regulations on what lobbyists are permitted to do, as well as publicly available records of how much and whom they are endorsing, all as a result of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act.[12] However, this influence on government has infiltrated the social sector of the government in both positive and negative ways. The disparity of power and wealth has led to significant deviations in America's three largest government budgets: pensions, health care, and education.[13] Retirement plans are a substantial portion of the nations budget, and the relationship between lobbyists and average citizens is epitomised by the way pensions are funded. Currently two-thirds of the 90 million Americans in the public workforce do not have a pension plan.[14]

Along with the absence of the worker's retirement plan, pension industry groups have a powerful phalanx backed by millions of dollars used to block changes in the system.

Conglomerated industry committees staff full-time lobbyists for pension issues who carefully manipulate conferences to seem in favour of the individual citizen. However, as Ferguson explains in her book *Pension in Crisis*, 'talk of radical change, such as worker participation in plan investment decision, immediately puts members on red alert… CEOs of major corporations will be on the phone to key members of congress. Contributions from political action committees will begin to flow toward legislators likely to stand against the proposal.'[15]

Yet the most hypocritical aspect of this pension affair is that in 20 states, lobbyists, who are members of private organizations, legally receive state-paid retirement benefits. The same lobbyists who have been promoting austerity and benefit cuts for workers, have solid state pension, and in some cases state health care benefits, as well.[16]

The health care industry in the United States has spent more money on lobbying than any other industry from 1998 to 2005. Ironically, drug firms hired lobbyists and spent $900 million on public relation campaigns in Washington to overcome the negative image that drug companies put profit above patient.[17] The growth of fully or partially tax-funded health service proposals attracted waves of lobbying efforts in 2000. Health care costs have continued to grow exponentially from 2000 to 2006. Health care premiums for families increased by 87 per cent, four times greater than inflation and wages,[18] currently making it the most expensive health care per capita in the entire world.[19] This does not negate government interests in improving affordable care. In 1993, Bill Clinton proposed the Clinton Health Security Act, which despite small success, was quickly met by opposition, led by the health insurance industry, where reform was hailed down at the expense of the individual citizen.[20]

Furthermore, lobbying is not synonymous with rapacity. The education industry has given a valiant effort to lobby for what they believe in. In 2011, Congress was given a deadline to renew the No Child Left Behind Act to keep young students from falling behind in standardised tests. In spite of on-going debt-ceiling battles, the education industry spent $22.6 million in lobbying, according to Center's research, to continue funding the No Child Left Behind Act.[21]

The fundamental idea of lobbying has become aggravated as the disparity of wealth grows in America. However, when we rewind to the start of lobbying groups in 1963, a study by American Business and Public Policy by three political scientists found 'when we look at the typical lobby, we find its opportunities to maneuver are sharply limited, its staff mediocre, and its typical problem not the influencing of Congressional votes but finding the clients and contributors to enable it to survive at all.' This transformation from 'what can I do to help my country?' to 'what can my country do for me?' resembles a war propaganda poster typo. In a survey, corporate lobbyists were asked to rank the reasoning behind a Washington office on a one-to-seven scale. 'To protect the company against changes in government policy' was the first reason, with an average of 6.2. Closely followed by a 5.7 average rating for 'need to improve ability to compete by seeking favorable changes in government policy.'[22]

This article is not meant to imply that legislation that originates from lobbying is detrimental to society. However, the medium of lobbying merely takes the power from the hands of the individual and allows the corporations and wealthy sponsors to decide our public welfare. With reference to the initial graph displaying the disparity of influence based on affluence, one sees that this axiomatic problem in the United States stems from a system that keeps the individual powerless against the industries who have the wealth to not only hire lobbyists and invest millions of dollars in campaign contributions, but also misallocate public resources from individual welfare to financial welfare.[23]

Despite lobbying rooting from the voice of the disgruntled average citizen, it has evolved into the corporate voice of American democracy. So as we reach into our pockets for a chance to play the game of American politics and come up empty handed against lobbyists, we must understand the words of Ice-T, 'don't hate the player, hate the game.'

Sophie Mellor is a second year student of Economics.

BARBARA WOJAZER | REGIONAL EDITOR

In light of global transformations, citizens can play an active part in defining their world and contesting traditions. The focus, for this international section, can be summarised: how adequate are traditional frameworks and hierarchies, and how do citizens understand and influence them in a changing world?

Some frameworks still represent our world quite well, according to Nicolette Teta. She argues that classical theories of war, namely, Clausewitz's theory, are far from obsolete. In face of new threats, there is definitely a need to rethink military strategy, but this could be done with traditional theoretical basis in mind.

Other traditional models are more problematic. Kiva Richards focuses the traditional representation of women in the media, the contrasting image of female terrorists, and the problems arising from this gap. The outdated portrayals of women are not only degrading, but they are also potentially dangerous, as some terrorist organisations are using this gap to their advantage.

Finally, Helal Khan tackles a central issue in contemporary politics: the legitimacy of borders. Central in defining the international scene, they are debated more than ever. Khan does not disregard the importance of borders, but questions state-centrism and what factors contribute to individual identity. He argues for alternative means of structuring our world, means that would come from a more individual-based approach.

The Thinning Red Lines

HELAL KHAN stresses the need for rethinking national borders in 21st century International Relations.

Borders have played many interesting roles in international development. On the one hand they serve to narrate history, setting the limits of actions they help to define theories.[1] One couldn't possibly explain any of the realist discourses involving the Cuban Missile Crisis if there were no drawn up maps of America, Cuba and the USSR. Borders also help set limits for the discipline: look at how the European Union with its 28 member-states and individual boundaries integrate in a largely contiguous part within Eurasia and how its policies shape up.[2]

Borders, at the same time, also significantly complicate matters. A possible demarcation of the Franco-British influence zones during the First World War – aimed at a division of the then Ottoman Empire according to a Sykes-Picot agreement[3] – carried debates and conflicts even into the next century,[4] just as the present and existing lines of controls between India and Pakistan cause perennial distress for the Kashmiri people across the divide.[5] In the Middle East, the ever-expanding boundaries of Israel sit at the very core of a number of regional crises.[6] And as if none of these were enough, the recent ISIS – or the *Da'ish* phenomenon – goes on to make sure that a good portion of borders between Iraq, Syria and Turkey remain liquefied, leaving the borderlands in peril, and bordering people exposed to precarious management.[7]

Fifteen years into the new millennium, many of the national borders appear to be in shambles.[8] Compared to only a half century ago – when transnational and ideology-bound movements were yet to pose formidable threats to the international order and the Twin Towers stood high in a New York skyline – the borders now look more porous.[9] Violated simultaneously by men and machine (for reasons of not only trans-border crimes but also trans-border raids, both land and air) they remain more debated than ever.[10,11] Given the present state of things, evaluation of national borders as tools of governance are in need of serious review, and this essay attempts such an investigation from citizen-centric points of view. Selected border-induced problems – which display non-state-centric and non-traditional dimensions in a number of world regions – help emphasise the need for devaluating the roles of national borders in existing discourses. Typical 21st century narratives of globalisation, universal human rights and international citizenship etc. that are increasingly taking precedence over traditional state-centric views of security and development help argue for a need of alternative identities to be built around people and polities which may be utilised towards better governance.[12]

Let us start by recognising the importance of borders and border studies (the latter being an important sub-branch of social sciences) in both intrastate and interstate global discourses. Despite the movements for so-called 'borderless world' and amid all the fuss of globalisation and global civil societies the world has continued to be heavy on its fences and walls (with the exception of the fall of the Berlin Wall, discussed later in this essay);[13,14] and it is important to ask why. Why do borders seem to dominate international relations to this day? Scholars and historians have found answers in political, cultural and societal causes. It is believed that borders between states are not only political or administrative tools, but also they represent cultural or linguistic divides that promote centuries of living together, ones that pull people into bondages and consequently distinguish them and set apart from others.[15] Accordingly, most studies of society, culture and history have accepted national territories as natural building blocks for academic enquiries, perpetuating notions such as the *Indian Society*, *Chinese Nation*, or *Indonesian Culture* etc.[16]

Interestingly however, there is nothing that could possibly and practically be identified as the 'Indian Society', or for that matter 'Chinese Nation' or 'Indonesian Culture'. Phenomena like society, nation and culture have their own anthropological building blocks (as Ernest Renan had maintained in the question of nationhood, that a nation was a 'daily plebiscite' to which one had to belong to rather than being thrown into),[17] and they do not build out of physical enclosures only.Walking in the streets of Delhi, therefore, one would expect to come across people from diverse sub-class and strata like the urban rich, the middle class, the people from ghetto, the Dalit, the Buddhists, the Muslims, the Tamils, or the Bengalis or Punjabis (etc.) – each group carrying their own identities, clustered and yet distinguishable, and more importantly, with their own transnational outlooks and practices.[18] Officially the umbrella of an Indian state would help them identify to a present status and provide them with access to benefits and support services, but in their interactions and engagements they would probably maintain links both intra and interstate, and often go beyond national boundaries. Accordingly the Buddhists of India, for example, would go on to connect to the Buddhists at Tibet or at Myanmar or even at China for their religious communications. Similarly the Muslims, the Bengalis, the Tamils and the Punjabis – all would have their own networks and distinctive ways of engagements within and outside national borders.[19]

The global citizenry today have learnt to live in their own backyards – marked by states within certain geographic boundaries – and yet able to make the whole globe their playground. National borders are increasingly becoming less-relevant and less-assertive, and growing more as concepts and agreements (in case of Schengen the need for border checks between most of the European countries has been eliminated).[20] That said, in many of the world regions,the borders still contribute to the expansion of physical as well as social and economic fault lines. In Africa, it is believed that post-colonial state boundaries were used to entrap people and communities

rather than enlightening them in education, health or social welfare.[21] In the 1990s, the borderlands between Congo, Uganda, Rwanda and Angola were used to ferment territorial conflicts by respective regimes, leading to unimaginable wars.[22] In Asia, until today the Bangladesh-Myanmar borders are being used to separate the stateless people of the Rohingya community – straddled at either sides of the borders for decades – and doing nothing to reduce their pain, poverty or duress.[23] In fact as of 2015 an approximated five million Rohingya people were living in dire life-conditions, and with non-citizen status, in the Arakan State of Myanmar along with another two to three million scattered in the Chittagong region of Bangladesh, and many others in several countries including Saudi Arabia, Thailand and Indonesia.[24]

Paradoxically, many of the borders we see today were created out of nothing or, ostensibly, out of misplaced assumptions. In the colonisation of Africa, Middle East and South Asia, the European colonial powers divided up their colonies often simply by convenience; some by drawing arbitrary straight lines to make things easier i.e. borders between Egypt, Sudan and Libya and some out of debated notions of religion (as in between India and Pakistan).[25] [26] Many of these boundaries survived the rapid decolonisation post-World War Two, binding together different ethnic or racial identities in some cases, while splitting apart others. This created chaos, confusion and often conflicts, leaving behind political and economic mess that has persisted in many of these regions until today.[27]

It is probably no surprise, then, that a few of the 20th century borders came to be rather short-lived. In the events leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall, in September 1989 when the East Germans were chanting *Wir wollen raus!* (we want out!) to reunite with the rest of the Germans, and then afterwards – quite in a nationalistic fervour – *Wir bleiben hier!* (we're staying here), Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister at that time was pleading with the Soviet President Gorbachev so that the Berlin Wall would not fall. 'This would lead to a change of postwar borders', she had said, 'and we cannot allow that because such a development would undermine the stability of the whole international situation and could endanger our security.'[28] To her, that wall was very important, but as history would educate us all, it still fell, and fell in ignominy. Thatcher's fears proved to be misconceived, and the years that followed saw the people of united Germany – quite like the British people – as increasingly committed to freedom and democracy, and acting as a model of development aspirations worldwide.[29]

It is with such insights that 21st century borders should be read and understood. As the world concertedly move towards a global society, and as we notice in the case of the European Union, newer versions of supra- and transnational identity and collective approaches to development appear ready to dominate over the individual and singular interests of nation states, and in many of these exercises the national borders could be utilised for the better. On the other hand, examples are not too far down history when borders were used to divide, dismiss and ultimately to destroy values and ethos of particular people. Faulty in their very creation, these borders stayed far removed from their ostensible use in administration and support services, and consequently met with disorder or dysfunction.

In conclusion, a brief discussion on one of the alternative narratives, the global civil society, may help our understanding. Instead of a discourse encompassing singular ideas, perhaps it is better to speak of global civil society as a 'dynamic space of multiple differences' and as a kaleidoscope of overlapping – and sometimes contrasting – thoughts, but all for the better of humankind, and more often than not, beyond structured and state-centric international exchanges.[30] While it encourages people to commonly stand up for freedom, work together to observe their duties, and strive for mutual recognition and reconciliation (and thus to make liveable space for many kinds of civil organisations and ways of life), it also has considerable grey zones and, to this day, remain ambiguous and underdeveloped.[31] The idea, nevertheless, has shown its effectiveness: simply consider the Nobel-winning efforts of anti-land mine movements,[32] and you know why we should make the most out of these discourses.

Overall, while the importance of national borders is acknowledged, the counter-narratives that call for identification of people by alternative means need to be addressed with vigor and intensity – through communities and societies formed out of common race, religion, culture and socio-economic divisions (etc.) as opposed to identities like citizenship acquired often only through externally-inspired state borders. As we have discussed in this essay, these newer credentials for states and societies may be more credible and also practicable in present-day contexts. Besides, since they commit to shared values, beliefs and principles developed often through processes older than the states themselves, they would presuppose longevity, and therefore be likely to hold together towards common benefit.

Helal Mohammed Khan is a postgraduate student of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies.

Is Clausewitz Still Relevant in the 21st Century?

NICOLETTE TETA argues that, despite the rise of the individual, Clausewitz's theories are still of the utmost relevance.

The advancements of technology in a globalized world in the twenty-first century has redefined the meaning of war, its implications, its actors, and its tactics. No longer does war come to hold the traditional meaning of two armies opposing one another in trenches using conventional weaponry. Rather, our view of the battlefield has evolved in novel and complex ways. Carl von Clausewitz, the author of *On War*, has, to this day, largely been considered as one of the most influential military theorists. Clausewitz's original goal was to author a book on war and military strategy that would remain relevant. Even though he passed away before completing it, frequent references to his work remain a testament to his individual impact on global military affairs.[1] Clausewitz's book is largely an exploratory analysis of military strategy. It incudes various aspects of military strategy, as he defines war as 'an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.'[2] The relevance of Clausewitz's state-centric view is frequently challenged, with critics drawing upon drone wars, proxy wars, and the involvement of non-state actors as proof of a redefined battlefield including a multitude of factors.[3] Using Clausewitz's statement that 'war is merely the continuation of policy by other means'[4] demonstrates the remaining relevance of his theories. Although modern tactical warfare evolves, his analytical frameworks are still used as a useful lens through which strategists, states, other actors, and individuals view war. This essay argues 'old' and 'new' wars embrace overlapping themes and are not mutually exclusive, which allows for a combination of military strategy, both old and new, to be used and referred to in war times.

Those who argue for Clausewitz's irrelevance often draw upon the dichotomy between 'old' and 'new' wars. They aim to demonstrate that the rising importance of the individual as a political actor, along with presence of new, non-state actors and networks and their influence no longer fit in the old 'Clausewitzian' world of state-centric warfare.[5] It is important to define exactly what 'new' and 'old' wars are in order to determine whether or not states and other actors still behave according to the Clausewitzian framework. For Mary Kaldor, the model of 'old' wars can be found in Europe from the eighteenth to mid-twentieth century. Wars were then fought between armed, uniformed soldiers on behalf of a state against another state, and this conferred the state the status of legitimate protector, along with forging and strengthening

political communities in times of war.[6] The state did not only use war to protect its borders and citizens, but it also extended its foreign policy to the domestic sphere by increasing or decreasing services and programs and encouraging nationalist sentiment to further legitimacy.[7] Concerning foreign policy and external conflict, clearly defined rules were essential to justifying going to war.

'New' wars, on the contrary, take place in less defined contexts in which lines, including rules of war, are often blurred.[8] In 'new' wars, traditional battles are rare, interaction is often sporadic, civilians become the targets of both non-state and state violence, and new boundaries are drawn; additionally, war does not necessarily increase legitimacy of the state.[9]

While it is important to acknowledge these changes, it is equally important to recognize that, while war is continually in the process of being redefined, elements of 'new' wars can be found in prior twenty-first century wars; that is, 'old' wars and 'new' wars are not mutually exclusive. As long as 'new' or modern warfare resembles some aspects of 'old' wars, it is still possible to apply Clausewitzian thought and principles to modern day warfare. Clausewitz certainly recognizes that war is a process of continuous change and is not rigid in its application or definition, which are filled with unknowns and variables. This is a testament to the timelessness of his theory and strategy.[10]

The War on Terror, the attacks of September 11th, and the subsequent campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq are commonly used as examples of the beginning of contemporary and non-traditional warfare.[11] The main actors are not individual states anymore; the United States did not declare war on another state, but on an ideology, a terrorist group, and its leader, Osama Bin Laden. Non-state actors and new tactics thus certainly do not fall under the traditional Clausewitzian definition of political actors. But states treated them as equals, or at least in a way that enabled them to use traditional tactics against them. We also see how legitimate states and governing bodies (such as the United Nations or military alliances/blocs such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) are conferring legitimacy to non-state actors in order to make the case to wage legitimate war against them, though it may also be by unconventional means, such as drone warfare, counter-insurgency, net-war, and the increase of using civilians as chess pieces for tactical purposes.

It is crucial, when highlighting the new aspects of the War on Terror, to acknowledge that the immediate goals were not to acquire territory and were defensive in nature; they were, at least in Afghanistan, a response to attacks on American soil.[12] So, though the acts were committed by a non-state actor based on non-classical war principles –terrorism, Al-Qaeda could also be seen as using its own personal principles and policy against Western imperialism by attacking those they deemed as the enemy. In more recent times, we can also see other terrorist cells such as *Daesh* (otherwise known as ISIS, or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) using unconventional methods to spread their own personal mantras and policies around the globe.[13] The American government declared war on terrorism and terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and their leaders, but also used this opportunity to start a war in Iraq. We see how in this case the United States went to war under the guise of fighting terrorism to continue the strategy that had been started during the Gulf War of 1991.[14] The hunt for Sadaam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction allowed the United States to extend its policy and global reach in the name of international and domestic peace and stability. As per Clausewitz, this war was certainly a continuation of policy, and even fits his definition of war in some ways: the United States was certainly keen on overthrowing the Hussein regime and used brute force in an attempt to achieve complicity.[15] The tactics of this war evolved, as seen with counter-insurgency and drone warfare and with the involvement of non-state actors and high risk of civilian casualties. But a deeper analysis shows that the reason for engaging in war was still primarily Clausewitzian.

It is evident that in the face of new threats and challenges, Clausewitz's supposedly outdated methodology remains relevant in various forms and does, indeed, still remain one of the most influential military theories. Selective criticisms, while certainly important in facing in the ever-changing side warfare, are not sufficient to conclude Clausewitz's irrelevance. Perhaps, if Clausewitzian thought does not fully apply to some modern principles, it is still able to provide a helpful blueprint. The state is still intrinsic to all aspects of warfare despite advancements in the modern battlefield, something Clausewitz consistently acknowledges. Besides, the reactions of actors, whether they be states, individuals, or non-state actors, are still observable according to a traditional framework.[16] Policy still shapes the world we live in today, it is the legitimacy given to non-sate actors and other elements which challenges the traditional Clausewitzian policy actions as how to react and respond to such threats. Strategists, non-state actors, and individuals must thus find a way to view war using both traditional and new analytical lenses. State-centrism is still relevant, but, in face of new threats, innovative tactics are needed.

Nicolette Teta is a postgraduate student of International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic.

A Woman Did That? Coming to Terms with The Female Terrorist Paradox.

KIVA RICHARDS bridges the gap between female terrorism and the traditional, stereotypical categorization of women by the media.

Since the Caliphate was officially declared in 2014, it has been estimated that around 550 women from Western Europe have travelled to Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) held territory.[1] For many of us, it is particularly difficult to comprehend that 'women' are embracing violent jihad and joining a blood-thirsty terrorist organisation. Reports of the treatment of women by ISIS is deplorable, and enough to make one wonder how women could voluntarily join such an organisation.[2] However, there may be another reason why we find the idea of women joining ISIS confusing. This is because the image of violent women goes against the grain of gendered expectations of femininity, which tell us that women are gentle, peaceful and caring. As scholars have noted, it is difficult to reconcile 'nurturing female' with 'calculating killer'.[3]

While this surge in recruitment to ISIS is unprecedented, female prescribed violence in global politics in not a new phenomenon. Women have acted as terrorists in violent insurgencies in a number of capacities in modern history. The list of terrorist organisations that women have been involved in is as divergent as terrorism itself including, but in no way limited to, the Liberation Tigers of Talem Eelam in Sri Lanka, the Palestine People's Front in Palestine, Al-Qaeda in Iraq, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Ireland, Baader-Meinhof in Germany, and the Klu Klux Klan in America.[4]

While this cursory glance at history shows us that female terrorism is nothing new, some experts such as Mia Bloom have argued that female terrorism is on the rise.[5] This is largely because terrorist organisations are using the gendered stereotype that 'women don't kill' to their strategic advantage.[6] For instance, female terrorists are more likely to slip through the net of surveillance as they do not fit the stereotypical profile of the terrorist, which is young, male, and, since 9/11, Muslim.[7] In places where there are cultural norms against women being searched by men, women are also able to slip through checkpoints and they are able to disguise suicide belts by presenting the appearance of pregnant women. Women are also able

to get closer to their targets without raising suspicion. An example of this is the seventeen year-old female from the Liberation Tigers of Talem Eelam who was able to kill the former prime minister of India in a suicide mission.[8]

While there needs to be more research into why women are motivated to join terrorists organisations and how to prevent such radicalisation (recognising that women likely share similar to motivations to men), the area of research that I am interested in is how the media reacts to female terrorism and how individual women who commit acts of terror are portrayed. Analysis show that they are not characterised as regular criminals or regular terrorists, instead their stories are appropriated and sensationalised in a way that denies women's agency and reinforces gendered stereotypes and subordination.[9] The rest of this article will locate individual instances of female terrorism within the three dominant narratives that violent women are portrayed, as either 'mothers, monsters, or whores.'[10] I shall reflect on how personal actions influence international relations, as well as how gendered stories of women effect gendered personal lives. I shall finish by drawing on lessons learned from this gendered analysis of female terrorism in relation to the rise of female terrorists in ISIS. First, an understanding of the role of the media in shaping gendered stories is important.

The media acts as a discursive place where gendered stereotypes that subordinate violent women are constructed. Rather than reporting reality objectively, it has been noted that journalists often construct events through frames that make stories digestible for their readers.[11] This is often used in instances where we are faced with perplexing and contradictory situations, such as female terrorism. When women commit acts of violence, instead of recognising the falseness of the underlining stereotype that women are non-violent, accounts tend to singularise or 'other' these violent women.[12] Furthermore, women's violence is also often described in different terms than men's violence.

Sjoberg and Gentry, have captured the nature of this reporting in relation to female terrorism by persuasively arguing that these women are framed within three dominant narratives; either as 'mothers, monsters or whores.'[13] A comparative approach is useful to deepen our understanding of how individual instances of female terrorism, while differing in their nature are framed in a way that puts gender at the forefront of their actions.

We can turn first to Wafa Idris who is presented within the mother narrative. She was Palestine's first female suicide bomber, detonating an explosive vest in 2002, killing herself and an 81-year-old man.[14] The media located an explanation for her violence in the fact that she was divorced. The burden she apparently felt this put on her family is often used as a rationalisation for actions. While first-hand interviews with women in Palestine tend to reveal a political or ideological rationale for their actions, the media tends to focus more on personal reasons such as divorce or even failure to have children as the driving motivation to blow themselves up.

While the mother narrative emphasises personal reasons relating to the women's gender to explain why they committed violence, the monster narrative expresses that these women suffer pathological defects that strip them of rational thought. These women who commit acts of terror are described as more monstrous or deadly than men. While this narrative can be located in ancient mythology such as the Gorgons,[15] there are also contemporary examples, showing that the narrative permeates across time and space. Sanna Sillanpaa, a Finnish woman who shot dead three men was characterised as 'sick' and 'bad'.[16] By characterising her as having pathological flaws, this takes away not only her humanity, but also her femininity, and strips her of the ability to perform rational actions.

Finally, the subordinating practice of sexualising women's violence in presented through the whore narrative. Here, we can look at the portrayals of Benardine Dohrn from the Weather Underground that mention her short skits, thigh high boots, and breasts as often as they mention the terrorist acts that she was involved in.[17] Maureen O'Hara from the IRA is also reported to be akin to a Medusa like figure, seducing British Soldiers with her striking figure before killing them.[18] Leila Khaled who hijacked a plane in 1969 was also depicted through the scantily clad villain, Leela, in Doctor Who.[19] This sexualisation of female violence obfuscates their agency and is subordinating.

Having outlined the narratives briefly, we can now turn to theorising how these stories about individuals relate to women, gender and terrorism more widely. Feminists are interested in studying international relations from the level of women's individual lives.[20] Cynthia Enloe reconfigured the popular feminist phrase to say that the, 'the personal is the international… and the international is the personal'.[21]

Individual instances of female terrorism matter; this is not a truism. Their personal actions of course matter for international relations, for example Wafa Idris set the stage for including women in a violent insurgency in Palestine against Israel. While personal actions matter in international relations, so too do the gendered stories that are told about them for women's personal lives. By 'othering' violent women as 'less feminine', or by reducing or obfuscating their agency, this maintains the ideal archetype of women as 'beautiful souls' who require voyeuristic protection form men who are 'just warriors'.[22] These gendered narratives are subordinating not just for the violent women, but for women everywhere, as it perpetuates gender polarities. Women are still associated with peace, vulnerability and in need of protection, whereas men are associated with violence and terror. Both of these constructions are problematic for the people that fall within either category as it offers them only one way of being. In this sense international relations become personal.

So what are the lessons we can draw from this analysis in the face of the growing threat from ISIS and the inclusion of women in this terrorist organisation? Feminists in International Relations often start by asking the simple question, 'where are the women?'[23] In relation to terrorism, women have been excluded from scholarly theorising on terrorism as well in counter-terrorism policy. Excluding women is clearly a dangerous oversight. While women in ISIS are largely reported to be operating from the side-lines for now, their roles may soon change. Other groups such as Al-Qaeda who initially restricted women's fighting changed their tactics when faced with a loss of male soldiers and an increasing awareness of women's strategic advantage in carrying out attacks. There is no reason to suggest that ISIS could not follow the same path.

In terms of locating gender in the portrayal of women in ISIS, journalists have already used reductionist and gendered stereotypes. Women in ISIS have been framed in the media through the title of 'jihadi brides'.[24] This vaguely humorous nickname trivialises their motivations by framing it within a personal desire to become wives and brides. It also places them in the domestic realm of the group, which blinds us to their potential to move on to the front line. These gendered stereotypes that singularise women's violence and try and explain away their actions make us blind to the reality that women are terrorists, just like men. This reality, as uncomfortable as it may be, is one we must face up to now more than ever.

Kiva Richards is a fourth year student of Politics.

LEVIATHAN IS HIRING

From September-October 2016, we will be looking for new team members in production, fundraising, editing, copy editing, and managing our online presence.

To find out more about how you can be involved please contact us.

Facebook.com/leviathanjournal

leviathanjournal@gmail.com

@LeviathanEdUni

LEVIATHAN is the University of Edinburgh's official, student-run Journal of Politics and International Relations. We are generously supported by the Edinburgh Political Union and the University of Edinburgh's School of Social and Political Science. LEVIATHAN provides students and staff with an opportunity to explore a variety of topics in an unbiased, creative, and deliberative manner. It gives aspiring journalists, political scientists, international relations theorists, diplomats, politicians, and motivated students an outlet to demonstrate their abilities, express their views and opinions, and engage in meaningful debate. The articles published in LEVIATHAN do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the LEVIATHAN Team, the Edinburgh Political Union, the School of Social and Political Science, or the University of Edinburgh.