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THE NEW GENERATION

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CONTENTS

03 EDITOR IN CHIEF

04 MEET THE TEAM

06 AFRICA

06 A New Generation of African Politics

Masika Daniela Vaninetti

07 Money for Everyone!

Noah Gibbs

10 ASIA-PACIFIC

10 China's New Generations

Ima Bishop

11 China's First Female Astronaut

Yue Zhou & Aidan Gibbs

EUROPE & RUSSIA

14

Chuka Umunna

14

Harrison Caine

A New Generation of European Energy Strategies

16

Jelena Sofronijevic

Explaining Pussy Riot

17

Barbara Wojazer

LATIN AMERICA

18

Cuba Under Raúl: Are Young Cubans Growing Up Under a Different Revolution?

19

Abigail Adams

Building Up Security in Latin America: Contradictions and Challenges for Future Millennial Leaders

20

Luis Reyes

Doing a Right-turn: Student Politics in Brazil

21

Julio Crêlier Othon

22 MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

23 'A Society Militarised?'

Dor Barak

24 Youth in Revolt: Iran's Rebellious New Generation

Linus Younger

25 NORTH AMERICA

25 Conflicting Generations: The Rise of American Intersectional Feminism

Nina Pusic

26 Ivanka Trump: The Face of the New American Elite in the Age of Inequality

Benjamin Gazda The Race for Canada's Conservative

28 Leadership

Sean Leonard

29 INTERNATIONAL

29 The Phoenix in the Proletariat: The Rebirth of Leftism

Abraham Assaily

31 The Patterns of Millennial Movements are Problematic

Camilla Hallman

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Hello, and welcome to Leviathan's third and final issue of the 2016-17 academic year.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you an issue on 'The New Generation.' In light of the many changes and trends detailed in the previous two issues, this issue focuses on identifying and analysing the driving forces behind a rapidly changing political environment and international system.

In the Africa section, articles broadly focus on a 'changing of the guard' taking place across the continent, as older leaders are increasingly challenged and replaced in response to more innovative and effective forms of governance. Masika Vaninetti provides a closer look at one such challenge, profiling Mmusi Maimane and how his 'Democratic Alliance' is helping to shape a viable alternative to previously unchallenged norms in South Africa. Noah Gibbs, Leviathan's Asia Pacific Editor also chimes in on these changes, albeit on a more radical note, focusing on the plausibility and potential consequences of implementing a universal basic income in Africa.

Other writers took a similar approach, noting how previously overlooked demographics have mobilised to precipitate innovative changes in the economy, governance, and social norms worldwide. In the Asia Pacific section Ima Bishop, Leviathan's Europe and Russia Editor, illustrates the growing influence of one of the largest—and fastest growing—groups in the world: the Chinese middle class. In a collaborative article, Edinburgh student Yue Zhou and Arizona State University student Aidan Gibbs ask whether or not the launch of China's first female astronaut will have an effect on Chinese gender norms back on Earth.

Articles in this issue's Europe and Russia section engage with the resurgence of populism and nationalism more critically than elsewhere, showing how such trends influence both the political environment and specific policy areas. Harrison Caine profiles Chuka Umunna, a rising star in the tumultuous Labour party, while Leviathan's own Jelena Sofrinjevic analyses the future of European Union's energy strategy. Additionally, long-time contributor and the Journal's next Editor in Chief Barbara Wojazer examines the challenges and opportunities for a feminist movement in Russia.

New Generations in both demographics and ideologies have swept the Middle East and Latin America perhaps more than in other regions; however, while articles in the Middle East section remain cautiously optimistic of such changes, those in the Latin America section argue that the region is on the verge of a breakthrough not seen in decades. Linus Younger asks how the Iranian middle class might precipitate change from the bottom up, while Abigail Adams profiles how Raul Castro might revolutionise Cuba from the top down.

While the North America section engages with specific individuals or movements ushering in a new generation of change, the International section engages with these phenomena more broadly. Sean Leonard profiles the race for Canada's conservative leadership, while Abraham Assaily examines how the left might reorganise itself to better appeal to changing demographics and needs.

Finally, I extend the greatest of thanks to my entire team, and especially Kanza Thorington and Betzy Hanninen, upon whom I have depended throughout the year. I would also like to use this space to congratulate Barbara Wojazer, the newest Editor-in-Chief of Leviathan, and the journal's first non-native English speaking Editor. Bernhardas Jurevicius, the International Editor for this volume has been elected as Deputy Editor-in-Chief, and I graduate restfully with the knowledge that the journal is in their capable hands. They will be selecting a small interim team to help prepare for next year over the summer, and will be hiring a full staff of 21 additional positions in the Fall. Please see the back cover for more details on how to get involved.

It has been an incredible honour to read and edit the articles submitted to Leviathan, and my tenure as Editor—and indeed, the entirety of my time at the Journal—has been one of the most challenging and rewarding experiences of my life. I thank all of you who read, submit, and edit the contents of these pages, and I look forward to reading Leviathan as it grows in the future.

Thank you, and I hope you enjoy this final issue.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Nicholas G. Pugh". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Nicholas G. Pugh
Editor-in-Chief

MEET THE TEAM



NICHOLAS PUGH

Editor in Chief

Nick is a fourth-year studying International Relations and he was previously the Africa Editor and Deputy Editor-in-Chief. He grew up on both coasts of the United States, but calls Edinburgh and Arlington, Virginia home.



KANZANIRA THORINGTON

Deputy Editor in Chief

Kanzasira is a fourth year student of Law and International Relations from Connecticut. She was previously a member of the Journal's Production Team and served as Latin America Editor last year.



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Matteo is a fourth year Sustainable Development & Politics student, with a primary regional focus on Africa and the Middle East. He originally hails from California, but spent the past summer interning at a Washington D.C. nonprofit focused on investment in Africa.



NOAH GIBBS

Editor for Asia-Pacific

Noah is a fourth year International Relations student and a proud Colorado native. He enjoys spending time in the Colorado Rocky Mountains, especially to ski and hike. He is primarily interested in matters of security, particularly when they relate to the use of airpower or outer space.



IMA BISHOP

Europe and Russia Editor

Ima is an International and European Politics masters student from Edinburgh. She completed her undergraduate degree at Oxford and her research interests lie in EU politics and the impact of nationalism, political identity and psychology on political events.



RAFAEL ROSALES

Editor for Latin America

Rafael is a fourth year student of International Relations from Venezuela who calls Norway his second home. Rafael is looking forward to be editor of his home region, and as someone who follows events there closely, is always willing to discuss Latin America.



MEERUM INAM

Editor for Middle East and North Africa

Meerum Inam is from Karachi, Pakistan. He currently a fourth year student studying International Relations. Meerum is one of the founders of Pathways for Peace, a platform that encourages dialogue and understanding on contentious issues through debates and discussions.



JONATHAN RIDDICK

Editor for North America

Jonathan is a fourth year student of History and Politics, originally from Kent. Academically, Jonathan is primarily interested in the area of political communication, in particular the impact of social media on campaigns and its ability to influence voters.



BERNARDAS JUREVICIUS

Editor for International

Bernardas is a second year studying English Literature and Language. Born in Lithuania, much of his political views were heavily influenced by the country's former status in the Soviet Union. His role models include Christopher Hitchens and Edward Snowden.



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Veronique is a postgraduate student in the School of Social and Political Science. Originally from Manchester, she has completed studies in London and Boston. She is particularly interested in the relationship between nationalism, education policy and the secondary education system, particularly in Ireland and Northern Ireland.



SAM PHILLIPS

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Sam is a second-year studying Politics, focusing on the former Soviet Union, and was previously the Europe and Russian regional editor for the journal. He is from Seattle, USA, and enjoys Edinburgh's relatively balmy weather.



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Lora is a third year International Relations student; she is originally from Kansas City, but feels lucky to call Edinburgh her second home. She loves to travel and learn about other cultures, which has fueled her interest in global studies.



JELENA SOFRONIJEVIC

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Jelena is a first year, studying Politics alongside Philosophy and Sociology. Born in England to Yugoslavian parents, she credits her inquisitive nature and desire to seek the untold side of a story to her upbringing.



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Copy Editor

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Ranjana Ravi is a second year studying Law and International Relations. Originally from Bangalore, India, she moved to Edinburgh more than five and a half years ago and considers it her home.



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Abigail is a first year History student from London. She has always been interested in the history behind the headlines, but volunteering with Restless Development as part of the International Citizen Service programme has encouraged her to view issues in a global context.

**BETZY HÄNNINEN****Chief of Production**

Betzy is a second year International Relations student. She is originally from Norway, but found her way to Edinburgh to pursue her studies. She is particularly interested in security studies, after spending a year at the Norwegian Joint Headquarters for the Armed Forces.

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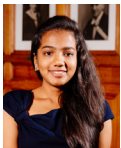
Sofiane is a visiting student from Grenoble, France. His family lives in Algeria, where he often visits. He studies in the Alps, but lives in Paris. After attending college, he aims to become a newspaper journalist.

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**ALEXIS NICOLE GAVIOLA****Digital Director**

Alexis is a fourth year law student from the United States. She grew up in New York City, but also lived in Los Angeles, New Jersey, and the Philippines. She is passionate about the abolition of modern day slavery, reforming the criminal justice system in East Africa, and is an avid Arsenal FC supporter.

**SANJNA GIRISH****Fundraising Officer**

Sanjna is a first-year student of International Relations from Bangalore, India. With a particular interest in the refugee situation in the Middle East, Sanjna aims to broaden her understanding of the complexities that are intrinsic to the world in which we live.

**HELENA BONGARD****Fundraising Officer**

Helena is a third-year student of History at the University of Edinburgh. She grew up near London and Paris, and spent a few years living in Dublin. She was also the Interim Outreach Coordinator for Leviathan over the summer.

**ABIGAIL VACHERON****Outreach Coordinator**

Abigail is a third-year student of Philosophy and Politics. She grew up in Connecticut but prefers Edinburgh's grey skies. In addition to working with Leviathan, Abigail is the Vice President of African Prisons Projects, where she was previously the Head of Outreach.



The theme for this issue speaks to innovative technologies, new political movements, and progressive philosophies that are changing human nature. Across Africa new youth political movement struggling against the 'old guard'. This generation of Africans is being born into a globalised world with technological and economic opportunities that would have been unimaginable thirty years ago.

In this issue's Africa profile, Daniela Vaninetti examines the rise of youth leadership across Africa, with a special focus on Mmusi Maimane, the 36-year-old leader of South Africa's main opposition party, the Democratic Alliance. She examines the theoretical debates surrounding postcolonial African leadership and the potential for youth movements to push both

democratization and empowerment of citizens across the continent.

From a more development-oriented perspective, Noah Gibbs looks at the rising economic theory of a universal basic income (UBI), and the potential for its applicability as a tool of aid and welfare policy in Africa. Recent news has heralded several UBI trials in Finland and Scotland, yet Noah shifts the focus to Africa, addresses the plausibility of its implementation as not only a new aid model, but a new conceptualisation of basic rights.

Africa certainly is rising, and a new generation of African leaders are stepping up to shape the continent's future. As the postcolonial 'headmen' start to fade in political power, many African countries are developing truly progressive democratic practices. In many ways, Africa is turning a page from both its colonial and postcolonial past, stimulated by novel entrepreneurship in politics, economics, and technology.

A New Generation of African Politics

MASIKA DANIELA VANINETTI examines Mmusi Maimane's Democratic Alliance.

The African population is the youngest in the world, with a median age of 19.5 years, according to UN estimates.¹ However, many African leaders are among the oldest presidents in the world. The 93-year-old president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe is possibly the most striking example of a long list of elderly leaders, featuring among others, Cameroonian president Paul Biya (age 82),² Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika (age 80),³ Guinean president Alpha Condé (age 79),⁴ and South African president Jacob Zuma (age 74).⁵ The situation appears even more curious given the fact that a great number of the continent's political leaders have been in office since long before the birth of the majority of their citizens. 83 percent of the Zimbabwean population was not yet born when Mugabe took power in 1980, just as 85 percent of Angolans were born after José Dos Santos became president in 1979.⁶

Highlighting the puzzling age gap between many African leaders and their populations is certainly not an original idea. Many articles, both academic and otherwise, address this paradoxical discrepancy and the negative effects it has both on the democratic political process and on domestic socio-economic development. Different explanations for such phenomena range from the cultural justification that sees Africans as overly tied to a traditional veneration of elders' wisdom to more pragmatic considerations on the authoritative nature of some African governments.⁷ A nature that prevents any kind of opposition to grow, much less a youth-based one. From the traditional Western perspective, political leaders appear greedy and power-obsessed, ageing in their leadership roles instead of allowing younger generations to bring faces and ideas into government.⁸ On the other hand, some argue that some parts of the population still see them as the 'fathers' of their nations, partly due to a combination of factors related to postcolonial history and state media propaganda.⁹ However, the new generation that makes up the majority of the African population did not experience their fathers' fight for national independence first-hand, and now is increasingly disillusioned by old leaders' anticolonial rhetoric. While schools and national media zealously educate young Africans about the continent's struggle against foreign domination, millennials learn through the internet and social media about the value of political leadership turnover in functional democracies, and start to question their leaders' inability to step down.¹⁰

Although well-founded, most of the discourse on Africa's older political leaders tends to push a discouraging and incomplete narrative. This narrative assumes an underlying political helplessness on behalf of young Africans, portraying them as unable to get into the political arena because of its opacity.¹¹ Quite like the harmful and victimising tale surrounding aid campaigns that has been denounced and defined by many from the continent itself as 'badvocacy',¹² the idea often conveyed through conversations addressing the issue of aging African leadership is that of an impoverished young population that is unable to fight against the injustice of a corrupt, autocratic, and old political power given the complete absence of democratic institutions.¹³ And just like 'badvocacy', this narrative tends to miss the most interesting detail in the big picture. As Dambisa Moyo put it, 'Africa is rising,' more specifically, young Africa is rising.¹⁴

To capture this trend, it is necessary to break from the mainstream discourse on high rates of youth unemployment, growing populations, and authoritarian third-termism, and instead focus on the promising stories that are being written by young African leaders. A growing number of initiatives and education programmes aimed at empowering young people and creating a new generation of millennial leaders are being developed and promoted across the continent. The Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) launched by former President Obama in 2010 to, 'support young African leaders as they spur growth and prosperity, strengthen democratic governance, and enhance peace and security across Africa,'¹⁵ is just one of the most prominent ones. YALI is helping develop a new generation of leadership that Africa needs, producing many successful graduates between the ages of 25 and 35 from across the whole continent that are now actively and successfully involved in creating businesses, jobs, and education centres in their own countries.¹⁶

Despite the growth in number of these international programmes, the most interesting developments come from Africans themselves. A great number of bold and creative African millennial innovators are becoming leading figures in the technological sector, inventing revolutionary products inspired by their communities' daily struggles.¹⁷ Among them is 29-year-old Cameroonian Arthur Zang,¹⁸ who invented a touch screen medical tablet that enables heart examinations to be performed even in remote rural areas, and 29-year-old Clarisse Iribagiza,¹⁹ founder and CEO of Rwandan HeHe Limited, a mobile phone technologies company that connects businesses with customers in new, efficient ways.

As African youth leadership thrives in technological innovation, the continent is showing an increasing engagement and growing presence of young individuals in politics as well. Perhaps the most striking example in this realm is within the South Africa opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) party, led since 2015 by 36-year-old Mmusi Maimane.²⁰ The

millennial leader's political career began in 2011 when he was appointed DA's National Spokesperson. A quick and steady rise in popularity led him to become both the youngest and first black DA leader. He retains the support of 90 percent of his party members, and has considerably enlarged the party's voter base since taking power.

Maimane's leadership is driving the traditionally white party towards the pursuit of a post-racial country, with the specific intent of addressing South Africa's inequalities through youth-led economic growth.²¹ A great deal of criticism has been raised towards Maimane's leadership, especially by current president Jacob Zuma and his party, the African National Congress (ANC). Their main argument revolves around the belief that Maimane is not suited to represent the interests of the black majority of the population, and that his inexperience and naivety is simply reflective of his youthfulness.²² However, the ANC's criticism of the DA's young leader's ideals seems to reflect a fundamental clash between the old generation and the new one regarding African identity at large. Millennials envision Africa as a cosmopolitan continent characterised by a progressive identity that embraces diversity in terms of ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, and culture as catalysts for growth, development, and wellbeing.²³ On the other hand, the older generations are still tightly holding onto extremely narrow ideals of traditional African values ascribable to a pre-colonial imagination that, according to them, needs to be restored.²⁴ It is on the basis of such cultural nativism that aging leaders have been imposing their worldviews and justifying domestic political abuse.²⁵ But developments such as the DA's young leaders' rise suggest that the new African generation is willing to challenge their fathers' outdated beliefs. In fact, the DA has been experiencing an increasing electoral success that culminated in last year's municipal elections, where Maimane's party managed to steal Tshwane, the municipality that includes Pretoria, Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area, and Eastern Cape, a province traditionally under ANC control.²⁶

ANC rhetoric increasingly seems to mirror the expression of the toxic narrative on African youth discussed above. However, the steady growth in support experienced by the DA and its young leader is contradicting the assumption that South Africans still prefer elder leaders. The DA is investing significant energy into its younger voter base and their innovative worldview through its Young Leaders Programme, providing its future representatives with relevant training.²⁷ Along with the appointment of Maimane as the DA candidate for the next presidential election in 2019, some of the Programme's young graduates have already been elected and are successfully running some of the DA's municipalities: 36-year-old Solly Msimanga is currently the mayor of Tshwane,²⁸ while 29-year-old Bongani Baloyi is governing Midvaal as South Africa's youngest mayor.²⁹

The innovation and fresh ideas that these individuals are bringing to the South African political environment should not be underestimated. This statement does not refer specifically to policies, as perhaps the most important novelty brought by these millennial leaders is young leadership itself. Maimane and his peers are setting an example for the new millennial generation of African politicians, by showing that the outdated 'fathers' of the nations can be challenged by the country's youth. Although this is not yet a widespread phenomenon in the region, it is certainly something to look at optimistically. The combination of ever-increasing higher-education rates, the spread of young leadership programmes, and the subsequent growth of inspiring African success stories are all factors that point to the emergence of better African governance beyond the old generation of postcolonial leaders.

Masika Daniela Vaninetti is a fourth-year Politics student at the University of Edinburgh,

Money for Everyone!

NOAH GIBBS examines the plausibility of implementing a universal basic income in Africa.

In late 2016, two Scottish councils, Glasgow and Fife, announced that they would be trialling a universal basic income in 2017.¹ Two counties within a short reach of the University of Edinburgh are trialling what has become a new strand of economic thinking worldwide, and could provide a new welfare model not just in Scotland, but in Africa and the rest of the developing world as well.

Universal basic income (UBI) is a form of public expenditure which provides all citizens with a fixed amount of monthly income.² UBI is part of a country's social security net as it helps the least affluent individuals to meet their essential needs. That said, UBI should not be confused with traditional welfare systems such as unemployment benefits. UBI is different because it is paid unconditionally to all citizens regardless of their wealth or employment status.³ The basic idea behind UBI is that people understand their needs the best. Thus, they can decide how to spend the money provided through UBI in the most efficient way for their specific context.⁴

The efficiency of UBI provides a strong social safety net for all members of society.⁵ Unlike unemployment benefits which are removed when an individual starts making a certain income, UBI incentivises people to seek individualised employment. By providing a fixed income regardless of employment situation, unemployed people are more likely to take up part-time work or one-off jobs because they can use the income from UBI to supplement, rather than replace, their welfare benefits.⁶ UBI also promotes entrepreneurship as people can innovate without the fear of failing to meet their basic needs. This can also motivate people to pursue more altruistic or creative work which would not normally be lucrative enough to live off, to the benefit of society as a whole. As such, UBI can increase social cohesion and a sense of community.⁷

UBI is not without criticism. There are many who see unconditional payments as something that will breed dependence on the government and remove incentives to work.⁸ Others point out that the cost of providing everyone with UBI would be prohibitively expensive.⁹ However, both points reflect a misunderstanding of UBI. First, UBI does a better job of incentivising people to work because it does not disappear after employment has been found. It therefore removes the so-called 'unemployment trap', in which the benefits of working bring in less revenue than remaining fully on social benefits.¹⁰ Furthermore, it has been shown that people use their UBI payments to invest in themselves, instead of buying luxury items like alcohol and tobacco.¹¹ UBI also saves on expenses because it can cut down bureaucratic waste.¹² Governments do not need a welfare fraud department if everyone receives the same welfare. The revenue used to fund UBI can also replace existing welfare program funding, further cutting down on both the overall funding expenses and management and logistic costs.¹³ Finally, expenses for UBI would be lowered by making the income taxable. This would make it so that wealthier people would pay most, if not all, of their UBI payments back to the government in taxes.¹⁴

Some may find it counterintuitive that wealthy people would receive a UBI that they would just pay back through taxes. However, the universal nature of the UBI is one of its features. Its universality gives every citizen a level playing field, and removes the disincentive of making a higher salary. In this way, UBI reduces inequality by ensuring everyone can meet their basic needs.¹⁵ People are no longer stuck in the cycle of poverty whereby they struggle to make enough just to subsist, and therefore allows every individual to invest in themselves.

Fortunately for advocates of UBI, governments are starting to realise its merits. Beyond Scotland, Finland is planning to follow suit with its own trial.¹⁶ Meanwhile, aid organisations in Africa have begun to see UBI as a way they can increase the efficiency of their aid. In Namibia, UBI has been implemented on the local level with excellent results,¹⁷ while Kenya is also planning its own experiment with UBI, the initial reception of which looks promising.¹⁸

In the context of Africa, UBI has the potential to improve the way aid is provided to those who are suffering from extreme poverty. Universal basic income might even be able to act as a substitute for current forms of aid. Take microfinance for example. Unlike UBI, microfinance consists of loans that must be paid back. It essentially is a 'social business' model. Conversely, UBI is a model of humanitarian development. Both microfinance and UBI are theoretically capable of spurring business, entrepreneurship, and productivity by injecting cash into impoverished communities.¹⁹ However, UBI provides several benefits that microfinance does not.

UBI can work in communities that are so impoverished that entrepreneurship would be nearly impossible, because no one in the community would have enough money to purchase any of the products or services that the business would provide. Even if everyone is a natural entrepreneur, as Muhammad Yunus, the pseudo-creator of microfinance, claims, no one can start a business without a consumer class.²⁰ UBI circumvents this problem by providing cash to both producers and consumers, rather than just producers.²¹ The producers can invest in their businesses while the consumers receive the money they need to actually purchase products and services. In turn, the entire economy benefits as the increase in commerce allows businesses to hire more employees, who then have more cash to purchase even more products, spurring economic growth.²²

UBI is not just an alternative to microfinance; it also has distinct benefits over other types of more traditional development aid. Many development and aid organisations have a laser-like focus on only one or a few issues. Religious charities will often provide only the services that their congregations deem to be beneficial, and that follow their respective religious teachings. This can be problematic for the aid recipients, as a charity might provide them with goods or services that are not critical to their wellbeing. A new cow is not particularly helpful if a drought means that the cow immediately dies. Unfortunately, these topic-specific charities can have incredibly inefficient results. The response to the 2004 tsunami in Sri Lanka is particularly illustrative. Aid organisations tended to specialise in activities that would garner them publicity and therefore more donations.²³ This created an oversupply of some resources, like fishing boats, while undersupplying resources that were more imminently needed by the victims of the disaster.²⁴

UBI can help prevent the inefficient application of aid by giving the recipients of aid more agency to obtain the resources they need. Victims of poverty and disasters are intrinsically aware of the dangers they face and what they need most. Giving them cash allows them to meet their basic needs in the most efficient way possible, both supporting their endeavours and reducing exorbitant waste. This freedom also acts as a counter to the neocolonial nature of aid. By specialising in a specific form of aid, Western charities are making an implicit statement that they know what Africans need better than the Africans themselves. These assumptions about what people need constructs a paternalistic quality whereby white Westerners are seen as coming to Africa in order to prescribe their values. UBI escapes this tendency in a very practical way. It takes the billions of dollars that developed countries spend on aid and simply gives the money to the people who need it most, no strings attached.²⁵ The process of transferring money is relatively simple; all it requires is a phone with a money transfer app. Such apps are extremely common in some African countries, such as Kenya, where the microfinance organisation M-pesa has had

remarkable success.²⁶ The simplicity of UBI has the potential to increase the effectiveness of the money spent on aid by reducing administrative and logistical costs. The straightforwardness of UBI, combined with its unconditional nature, sheds traditional aid's neocolonial quality while streamlining aid.

The benefits of UBI have been demonstrated in several petri-dish environments. In 2008, the Basic Income Grant Coalition, a civil society coalition in Namibia, implemented a UBI in Otivero-Omitara, Namibia for a one-year trial period.²⁷ All people under the age of 60 were provided with 100 Namibian dollars each month, for a twelve month period. The only condition was that participants must have been a resident of Otivero-Omitara since July 2007. Before the implementation of UBI, the area was rife with debilitating poverty and hunger that prevented anyone from leaving.²⁸ Conditions rapidly improved within the yearlong trial period of the UBI's implementation. The most immediate effect was an increase in community organisation. An eighteen-member committee was created to help advise locals on how to spend their UBI payments.²⁹ More concrete benefits subsequently followed. While 76 percent of the population were below the food poverty-line before the initial UBI payments,³⁰ only 37 percent remained below the line one year after the start of payments. This coincided with a significant rise in employment.³¹ Finally, the school dropout rate and the crime rate declined significantly in Otivero-Omitara.³²

The primary drawback of the Otivero-Omitara trial was its limited geographic scope and short-term nature. The increased incomes of the people in Otivero-Omitara led others to migrate to the area despite the fact that they would not receive UBI payments since they were new residents. The increased population put additional strain on the area's limited resources and thus dampened the positive effects of the trial.³³ However, this negative effect would be countered if UBI were implemented universally throughout Namibia.

Kenya is also planning its own UBI trial whereby residents of several impoverished villages will be given a UBI for twelve years.³⁴ The project is still in the planning stages, however its increased scope and longer timespan than the Otivero-Omitara project should provide useful information regarding the long-term viability of UBI as an instrument of international aid. Initial social changes are promising, as the citizens of the villages affected have already begun to organise in a similar manner to the citizens of Otivero-Omitara, before the payments have even begun. Furthermore, the Kenyan recipients of UBI have indicated that they plan to use their increased income to invest in their long-term future through education and business.³⁵ With luck, Kenya will see the same excellent results that Namibia did, and will provide a practical demonstration of UBI's effectiveness.

In many ways UBI represents the new face of social welfare benefits and international aid. While Western economists see its importance rising with the risk of automation replacing most service and labour jobs in industrial societies, UBI's potential in less industrialised regions, such as Africa, is enormous. By raising up millions of people from poverty, the entrepreneurial and economic potential of Africa could be significantly expanded, to the benefit of both the global economy and the social welfare of the poorest socioeconomic brackets. UBI remains in its trial period in just a few countries around the world, but fortunately its appeal as a valid policy option is on the rise. UBI stands to change the relationship between the poor and the rich by putting them on an equal footing, and provides a fresh approach to the government's role in society.

Noah Gibbs is the Asia-Pacific Editor for Leviathan.



We live in the so called 'Chinese Century.' The rising influence of China is undeniable. It has already surpassed the United States' economy in terms of GDP PPP. Furthermore, China has been using its power to exert itself in the Asia-Pacific region through economic policies such as One Belt, One Road. It also has more militaristic policies, such as its island building in the South China Sea. However, the Chinese Century is

nowhere near a forgone conclusion. For one, other regional powers, such as India with its youthful population, challenge China's movement towards becoming the regional hegemon. That is not to mention the United States, which challenges China through its network of allies in places like Japan and Taiwan.

Regardless of China's future in the world, its importance in global politics

means that we must understand what Chinese society is like. That is why we take a closer look at the social issues facing China in this issue. We start with our profile piece of Liu Yang, China's first female astronaut. Yue Zhou and Aidan Gibbs examine how Yang's selection and launch into space was effected by issues of gender. They find that women face challenges in the space program, the media, and Chinese society that male astronauts do not have to face.

Our second article examines the influence that the sons and daughters of prominent Communist Party officials wield over Chinese society. These youths, commonly known as princelings, live privileged lives. Ima Bishop questions if their position of influence is sustainable in the face of a newly empowered Chinese middle class. In the short term, it would appear likely that princelings will manage to preserve the status quo. That said, anything might be possible as China's impressive economic growth slows and its population ages.

China's New Generations

IMA BISHOP asks if the Rise of the Middle Class Poses a Challenge to the Princeling Regime.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, China has seen the rise of two powerful social groups. The 'Princelings', descendants of prominent Chinese elites and Communist Party officials,¹ represent the new generation of elites; the rising middle class reflects a new face for Chinese citizens. The Princelings steer China's political and business institutions while the middle classes place demands on China's system, on both the state and wider economy, increasingly questioning political legitimacy and transparency. In the West, and indeed other parts of South-East Asia, the rise of such a middle class has often posed a challenge for the existing political regime. Is this the case in China?

Having been handed power and opportunities by the previous generation, the Princelings run modern China. They are a huge group of people whose reach is felt in one way or another at every level of government and in many economic and business sectors.² This tongue-in-cheek moniker, often used in Western media and academia, emphasises the irony of dynastic government and economic relations in a Communist country. Yet the West should not underestimate the power of the Princelings. Indeed, the 2012 leadership change essentially handed political power to this group. Four out of seven of the Central Committee of the Communist Party fall into this category of 'Red Aristocracy',³ including President Xi Jinping.⁴ While this group of individuals will ultimately shape China's future, its upper echelons remain a very shrouded area. These particular Princelings are kept in particular isolation away from public and foreign scrutiny.⁵ Although they are clearly the pinnacle of influence, very little is known about the precise nature of their lives and networks.

However, it is easier to observe the power and influence of the Princelings who are involved in finance and business. These Princelings have largely been concentrated in banking but have more recently moved into domestic equity and other areas of business.⁶ The inner workings of these Princelings are clearer to the international community, mainly because major financial institutions have been complicit in securing their power and expanding their wealth. Banks such as HSBC, JP Morgan, Goldman Sachs, and Deutsche Bank have all been scrutinised for their practice of hiring Princelings upon family recommendation, despite their being underqualified for the job. Indeed, as a result of their 'Sons and Daughters' hiring programme JP Morgan was subject to an SEC probe under the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.⁷ The company was fined and forced to agree to a three-year non-prosecution agreement in exchange for cooperation with the investigation.⁸ Assistant Attorney General Leslie Caldwell described the Sons and Daughters programme as, 'nothing more

than bribery under another name.'⁹ Yet, American banks are clearly willing to take such risks. This reflects the Princelings' power in China today. They provide an essential route into the country for global corporations where traditional institutional routes do not exist,¹⁰ demonstrating the sway that these business Princelings hold over China's markets. In some ways they are just as essential to the infrastructure of modern China as their political counterparts.

China's middle class represents a new generation of materially successful citizens apart from the 'Red Aristocracy'.¹¹ China's economic development has been strongly linked to the rise of its middle class,¹² and the group is growing rapidly. McKinsey and Co. suggest that while the middle class contained around five million households in 2000, today this figure is closer to 225 million households.¹³ This group is young: 80 percent of them own property, the majority live in urban areas and most are graduates.¹⁴ Most members of this generation have grown up under the one child policy, meaning they have received the full financial and emotional investments of their families.¹⁵ This sets them apart from previous generations in China due to their wealth and comfortable upbringing. Young middle class people, also known as Generation C, have generally not known as much hardship as their parents growing up and behave more like Westernised consumers.¹⁶

The new middle class has a greater awareness of the problems China faces. They have an acute understanding of the inequality, corruption, and environmental and economic issues that the government must tackle.¹⁷ This could, in theory, lead to challenges to the Princelings' regime. While studies show that the rising middle class is not a politically radical group, they are increasingly discontent with the lack of transparency and accountability in their political system.¹⁸ A survey by Anthony Saich carried out between 2003 and 2016 shows that the wealthy think less of the government than the poor,¹⁹ while Wang Zhengxu and You Yu's work suggests that this is the beginning of the 'era of critical citizens'.²⁰ Indeed, political sociology suggests that once an individual's material concerns are satisfied they become more concerned with 'post-material' values such as liberty, autonomy, self-expression, and rights.²¹ China's middle class do have concerns. The ramifications of the one child policy are coming home to roost with fears over caring for the elderly and a shrinking younger generation, while property is insecure, and the middle class' fate is tied to that of China's economy.²² If much of the world's history is anything to go by, a strong middle class are well positioned and often motivated to drive forward democracy and political change.²³ For instance, the rise of the middle class students in South Korea in the 1980s and in Taiwan in the 1990s both brought about significant changes to the regimes.²⁴ In China, similarly, this group has the potential to challenge to the Princelings' reign.

Protesting amongst the middle class has remained large online. Recently, however, public protesting has been on the rise for the first

time since 1989. These protests revolve around environmental issues as China's pollution reaches intolerable levels. However, it is important to note that environment protests are not an intrinsically political issue. Everyone in China is affected by environmental concerns regardless of their socioeconomic and political standing. These protests do not call for a change of regime but merely an alternation in how leaders utilise their powers with regards to the environment. While the middle class are protesting in this area, their discontent in more political areas has not manifested publicly.

Nonetheless a potential motivation for challenging the Princelings' regime could result from the perception of corruption, particularly as the middle class feel their economic foundations crumbling and look for someone to blame. Corruption and lack of transparency do not align with the middle class's interests, particularly when this relates to matters of economics and social standing. It could be argued that the nepotism and networks underpinning the Princelings' dynasties is problematic. Barboza and La Froniere speculate that the Princelings are automatically involved in any big lucrative deals in China, and this allows the Communist Party a hegemony over wealth and power. Of course, it is hard to prove whether an individual's wealth gain is proper or improper due to the secrecy shrouding such dealings. Officials do not legally have to disclose their wealth and interests to the public. Often the only way citizens can discover such dealings is via scandals reported in the foreign media outlets that they have access to, and many of these stories are quickly censored by the state. Nonetheless, suspicion of corruption is enough to brew discontent. There is some evidence of unrest stirring against the Princelings, particularly in online forums. In 2016, the Chinese government censored the use of the name Zhao on social media frequented by young members of the middle class. This had become a code name for China's elite families and was used to criticise the Princelings' crony capitalism. 'Zhao' refers to Lu Xun's novella *The True Story of Ah Q* in which the protagonist tries to win favour with the local powerful family, the Zhaos. However, the family detests him and reinforces that he will never be one of them.

Nevertheless, while the 'Zhao' phenomenon may have gone viral, criticism levelled against the government beyond these online forums is not widespread. While the middle class may allege corruption, and complain about the lack of transparency, it is not in their interest to launch a direct challenge to the Princelings' hegemony. They are the main beneficiaries of China's current system, which has granted them their wealth, opportunities and social standing. Indeed, Weber suggests that when they do speak out it is a result of self-interest stemming from maintaining their privilege. So long as China's economy supports the middle class, this group is unlikely to push for radical change, as is seen so often in the history of the West. Of course, this may change should the nature of regime and economic support for the middle classes change. The era of a civil society that holds the government to account based on intrinsic rather than instrumental reasons is likely a long way off, as those best placed to form this civil society still rely on the support of the government for their own social standing.

It seems the political Princelings understand the middle class's dependence on a strong economy. They are equally aware of the potential for discontent that a drastic deterioration in the state of China's economy could cause. This is reflected in the government's narrative. President Xi has frequently spoken out against party corruption, a stance that he is praised for. Officials are now obliged to report who their children work for, their wealth, and conflicts of interest, although these are not released to the public. However, this is very much a token gesture and when it is put into practice its ramifications appear to fall hardest on Mr Xi's rivals, such as Ling Jihau who was jailed for life for accepting bribes and abuse of power. This suggests his stance is more pragmatic than ideological.

On the whole, the status quo has been largely maintained since the new committee took power and Mr Xi's politics have made it clear that campaigning for greater democracy in China is a dangerous move. Furthermore, there is little incentive for the government to instigate change. The political Princelings and their families are intrinsically tied to the economy and current state of affairs. Barboza and La Froniere state, 'The Communist Party has effectively institutionalised an entire ecosystem of crony capitalism.' Consequently, over and above brewing middle class unrest, handing power to the Princelings was a smart political move by the previous generation of elites. It gave the illusion of sufficient potential change to pacify the middle class, yet was also a measure to ensure the Communist Party maintains its power and order.

Overall, it seems unlikely that China's new middle class poses much threat to the Princelings' political and economic hegemony. While in many countries the rise of the middle class has heralded the era of democracy and revolution, this is not the case in China. China's middle class is not politically active enough to stage any uprising that would truly challenge the state. Their knowledge of the full extent of corruption and nepotism amongst the Princelings is limited, as is their scope for public critique. The fact that such critique occurs under the codename Zhao suggests how taboo public opposition remains, particularly among a group who rely on the regime for their social position and are becoming increasingly entwined with its economic and business powers. In this case it seems that China's middle class will support an undemocratic regime so long as it supports their interests. It is highly plausible that China's new generations will continue to coexist relatively peacefully so long as each has a stake in maintaining the other's societal position. Yet, should the economy decline, the state will be forced to better accommodate the concerns of the rising middle class.

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China's First Female Astronaut

YUE ZHOU and AIDAN GIBBS ask if Liu Yang's historic space flight has helped fight sexist norms in China.

Five years ago, China's developing space programme launched its first female taikonaut, Liu Yang. Her launch, as part of the Shenzhou Nine mission on 16 June 2012, placed her among the ranks of women space pioneers like Valentina Tereshkova and Sally Ride,¹ the first female cosmonaut and astronaut respectively. Space is not yet equally open to men and women. To date, of the over 550 humans who have travelled to space, fewer than 70 have been women.² Despite spaceflight becoming regular for Russia and the United States (US), the number of female astronauts has remained comparatively low. Even after the Soviet Union's early launch of Valentina Tereshkova in 1963, women remained essentially blocked from space until twenty years after the space race began. Russia did not launch a second woman until 1982.³ Tereshkova's experience makes us question if Liu Yang's mission was a publicity grab like Tereshkova's or if her mission signalled the beginning of women's increased role in the Chinese taikonaut programme. The reaction and comments from both inside China and around the world show that women still face sexism in the elite astronaut profession. Her launch was undoubtedly a huge achievement for China, and for Chinese women, but it did not necessarily represent a significant improvement in the societal standards expected of women in China.

China's space programme has developed in a time period much different than the one that fostered the Russian and American programmes. This difference could have implications for how women have been allowed to participate in the programme. The American and Russian programmes sprouted in fierce Cold War competition, with both nations eager and willing to go to great lengths to outperform the other.⁴ It is sobering to remember that without this competition, it is unlikely that humans would have gone to the moon. Far behind the achievements of Russia and the United States, China began human spaceflight in 2003,⁵ and has been building a programme focused on catching up rather than competing in a race with any other country. This has also meant that China's human spaceflight programme has gathered the same accomplishments Russia and the United States achieved long ago in the Cold War with much more efficiency. China performed its first spacewalk, rendezvous-docking, spacelab, and launched its first female into space in fewer flights than it took Russia or the United States to accomplish the same goals.⁶ China's efficiency is in part because it is not under the same pressure of the Cold War that hampered the original space powers.

It is possible this lack of pressure and abundance of time has caused the Chinese space programme to be more open to women. That said, some are suspicious that it could just be for appearances.⁷ Because the Soviet Union took 20 years to send a second woman into space,⁸ it is reasonable to conclude that the launch of Tereshkova was done at least partly so that the Soviets could claim to be the first to send a woman to space. Having achieved the goal of being first, women then did not become regular cosmonauts until a decade after the United States had reached the moon and the space race had cooled. The United States also considered launching women early in the space race; however, the idea quickly took a backseat to other objectives. It was decided it was too expensive and unimportant to start a female programme during a time when the focus was to beat the Soviets.⁹ They already had plenty of male candidates and adding a separate women's group was considered unnecessary, even with many women eager to train.¹⁰ It seems China has made the opposite decision. The recruitment of two female taikonaut candidates, Liu Yang and Wang Yaping, before the Shenzhou Nine launch surprised many in the West, as China already had male candidates who had been in training for as many as ten years.¹¹ Liu Yang only reported for training in 2010, two years before her launch.¹² It would theoretically be an inconvenience for them to recruit these women so close to their eventual launch. Without the pressures of Cold War, China has been able to decide that sending women into space is a worthy objective for advancing the spaceflight programme. Still, the brevity of these women's training has led some to suspect it was a rushed decision, made only for appearances of inclusivity. It will require more time to determine whether China is committed to putting women in space, as the Chinese continue space launches at a modest, unpressured pace.

The experience of Liu Yang and Wang Yaping in China's taikonaut programme sheds light on the expectations that Chinese culture has of women. In China, finding a spouse and having a child is prioritised.¹³ After completing this task, a person can then begin to focus on his or her other career goals.¹⁴ The norm is different for men and women. For men, working on a fruitful career is also an important expectation, whereas for women, it is not always expected. These same expectations are visibly present for taikonauts as well. Feminism, as with most social activism in China, rubs up against the communist party. Activists are frequently questioned by officials and police, and occasionally are detained and held without charge.¹⁵ Since taikonauts are People's Liberation Army officers, and members of the communist party, appearing to maintain the party line is important for any hopeful taikonaut. As such, it is difficult to ascertain the internal politics that might have occurred in association with Liu Yang's launch. Regardless of personal feelings, it is in the taikonauts

best interest to remain uncontroversial.

Chinese and Western media coverage of the Liu Yang's launch helps to reveal the stigmas women taikonauts face, and shows that Liu Yang's success did not necessarily remove them. A common theme of the reporting about Liu Yang's launch was the attention towards her family.¹⁶ Her family was primarily brought to attention due to comments of officials in the Chinese space programme. Officials wanted to make clear that being married was not a selection requirement for female taikonauts; however, in a special CCTV interview, the director of the Chinese Astronaut Centre at Jiuquan stated, 'We prefer married women because they are more likely to devote themselves.'¹⁷ This same sentiment has been echoed by other officials, as well as the additional speculation that China must be careful with sending women to space, as they are unsure how it might affect the female physiology or her future family planning.¹⁸ These statements reinforce the idea that family is more important than a career for women, and that going to space is not as an important a goal. In fairness, astronauts around the world often receive attention about how their jobs affect their families regardless of gender, since their intense training process is known to be extremely difficult on family relationships. Both Liu Yang and China's first male taikonaut, Yang Liwei, have publicly expressed sorrow for having to spend so much time away from their families during training.¹⁹ This truth is likely familiar to westerners, as most Apollo astronauts eventually became divorced in large part because of the stresses of being an astronaut.²⁰ It is therefore surprising that Chinese officials would place an emphasis on a taikonaut having a family, as most female astronauts in the West did not have children at the time of their flights, partly because it would be an added difficulty.²¹ Liu Yang's launch was not able to escape the family focus for women, and still shows sexism towards women.

What does the future hold for Chinese women in space? After Liu Yang's successful mission in 2012, a second female taikonaut, Wang Yaping, was successfully launched to the Tiangong One space laboratory the following year.²² Via livestream from the spacelab, she taught a physics class to an estimated 60 million students.²³ The second launch of a female taikonaut brings hope that women will become a regular appearance aboard Chinese space missions. It also lends credence to the claim of Hu Shixiang, deputy commander of China's manned space programme in 2004, that, 'Our selection of women will not merely be a symbolic, image project.'²⁴ Since Wang Yaping's flight, only one other manned mission has been launched, with another planned for 2018. However, sexism still surrounds the space programme as it has been suggested that female taikonauts are only suited to certain tasks.²⁵ For example, it has been stated by the Chinese space programme that female taikonauts may not be suited for tasks like construction.²⁶ That said, China's current record suggests that women have a continued place in the space programme despite continuing sexism.

Liu Yang's launch and the successive launch of Wang Yaping have so far made China's human spaceflight programme the quickest in its acceptance of woman. However, while China has been the fastest to launch a woman (and a second) into space, it has not been without controversy and sexism from both from officials and the public. It does not appear that Liu Yang's launch has been able to dispel the many of the harmful norms about women in Chinese society. That said, Liu Wang has blazed a trail for a new generation female Taikonauts. With luck, the growing cadre of women in the space programme will be able to fight back against norms Chinese society has imposed on them.

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Europe's millennial generation have grown up in a vastly different political and social climate to previous generations. They have not lived through the world wars, can only remember life after the fall of the Iron Curtain and have always felt the EU's stable omnipresence. They have largely been raised under an era of relative stability and peace. Yet, this generation will face its own challenges, among them ongoing economic upheavals from the 2008 financial crash, the refugee crisis, terrorism, climate change, and challenges to the EU's stability. Each of these challenges demands a new innovative spirit, and a new generation. It is important to note that the new generation in Europe does not solely refer to young people and the obstacles they face. It equally refers to the new

ideas and movements sweeping the continent. Populism and nationalism are undeniably on the rise while older political movements, such as social democracy, are resurging in new forms.

In the profile piece, Harry Caine discusses Chuka Umunna, an individual with the potential to be the Labour Party's next leader, and whose ideas and policies could lead the party in a fresh direction. Jelena Sofronijevic considers the new generation through the lens of policy change, exploring the ways in which the EU seeks to diversify its energy sources in a move to become less dependent on Russia and more supportive of renewable energy. Barbara Wojazer analyses the emerging feminist movement in Russia and the significant challenges it faces. These articles capture the new face of Europe: its people, its ideologies and movements, and the significant challenges these face in the future alongside their vast potential for change.

Chuka Umunna

HARRISON CAINE discusses the Labour Party's rising star, Chuka Umunna, and his ideology's impact on the party.

On 6 May 2010, the Labour party's thirteen years of governance came to an end with a wounding electoral defeat, where they achieved a mere 29 percent of the vote.¹ Amid this poor result, a promising new intake of Labour MPs were elected, among them the new MP for Streatham, Chuka Umunna.

This generation was elected at a time when Labour were seen as economically unreliable,² out of touch with the electorate,³ and its leader Gordon Brown had a reputation as a bully towards his colleagues.⁴ These new MPs did not carry the weight of being responsible for the highly controversial Iraq War, and had not been caught up in the MPs' expenses scandal.⁵ This new intake of MPs offered a fresh start for Labour. Chuka Umunna has become this generation of MPs' spearhead. His impressive appearances in the media and skilful management in his role as Shadow Secretary for Business quickly established Umunna as a bastion of hope for Labour. Umunna was soon earmarked as a future leader for the party.⁶

Umunna was viewed as different to previous Labour politicians: a strong communicator without the stigma of spin, someone who was in favour of enterprise, and opposed to the war in Iraq.⁷ However, his career came to a halt in 2015 after an aborted leadership bid and the subsequent election of Jeremy Corbyn.⁸ Umunna appeared to be down and out, no longer in the Shadow Cabinet and instead on the Opposition backbenches. Yet with the party in disarray, it is possible that he is the integral person required for Labour's revival.

Born in London in 1978 to a Nigerian businessman and an English solicitor, Chuka Umunna enjoyed a background of relative wealth which had not been enjoyed by his father Bennett Umunna, an immigrant who came to the UK with 'nothing but a suitcase,'⁹ and worked part-time in London while earning qualifications in accountancy and business. Bennett died in a car crash when Umunna was thirteen, but his politics played a big part in influencing his son's career and ideology. 'My dad was probably the only member of the Institute of Directors in the 1980s who worshipped Harold Wilson,'¹⁰ claims Umunna. After gaining a Law degree at the University of Manchester and pursuing a career as a solicitor Chuka Umunna eventually found his way into politics, becoming the Labour candidate for Streatham in 2008, and an MP two years later.¹¹

Between 2011 and 2015, Umunna was a given Shadow Cabinet position under the new Labour leader, Ed Miliband. He received the

brief of Shadow Secretary for Business, Innovation and Skills, a tough brief for any Labour politician. While the Conservative party has always had strong affiliations with businesses, Labour historically been linked with trade unions. Consequently, it has suffered the stigma of being 'anti-business,' or 'under the thumb of the unions.'¹² Yet throughout his time in his post Umunna shined as a voice for Labour that was 'pro-business, but not any business.'¹³ His background in law proved useful at many points such as interrogating the banks over their faults during his time on the Treasury Select Committee,¹⁴ and grilling large businesses who were found to be exploiting the lowest paid members of their workforce.¹⁵ He was also commended for highlighting the need to endorse smaller businesses, as well as his efforts to continue Labour's message of keeping the tax burden, 'as low as possible.'¹⁶ While Umunna was Shadow Business Secretary, the number of large businesses endorsing Labour increased from its lull in the late 2000s.¹⁷

As a result of this work, Umunna was quickly touted as one of Labour's rising stars and, after the election defeat in 2015, its next leader. His outlook on business was commended by both the media on the right and the left. Umunna appeared to have forged a popular middle ground between the strongly pro-business 'Prawn Cocktail offensive' espoused by New Labour,¹⁸ and the old Labour approach that former Labour Chancellor Denis Healey called 'squeezing the rich until the pips squeak.'¹⁹ Under pressure from colleagues, Umunna announced a leadership bid on 12 May 2015, but withdrew from the contest three days later. In a statement to the press Umunna cited the level of media scrutiny on his relatives being the main reason for his withdrawal, claiming he had, 'not found it to be a comfortable experience.'²⁰ What followed was the election of Jeremy Corbyn.

Corbyn, a man from the left of the party who became an MP in 1983, promised to bring a, 'new, kinder politics,' to the country.²¹ This was a shock for the 2010 intake, who expected to be the generation that would shape Labour's future. Instead, Corbyn's shadow cabinets have generally been a mix of old Labour firebrands such as John McDonnell and Diane Abbott, and newer MPs such Rebecca Long-Bailey and Keir Starmer.²² While figures like Dan Jarvis (a Labour 'moderate' who became an MP in 2011) have also featured in the Shadow Cabinet,²³ Umunna and his closest colleagues from the 2010 intake refused Shadow Cabinet positions. Since Jeremy Corbyn was elected Labour leader, he has received plaudits for playing a part in increasing the party membership to the largest in Europe,²⁴ but it appears that his left-wing message has not resonated with the electorate. In the recent by-election Labour relinquished an 80 year hold on its seat in Copeland to the Conservatives, a shock for the party.²⁵ A recent YouGov poll placed Labour's popularity at 25 percent. The party has not seen since such a low level of popularity since 1918.²⁶

Some of the voices on the right of the party are calling for a return to the approach adopted by Tony Blair: a Labour party that is pro-markets, pro-privatisation and pro-business. While the previous Labour governments were responsible for many great achievements in social justice and making Britain a more prosperous country,²⁷ the people who espouse this approach are disconnected from the electorate.

Throughout Labour's time in government, it relied on deregulating the financial sector during times of high economic growth to fund public services such as health and education to benefit the middle and working classes.²⁸ However, this did not solve the problems of the poorer communities outside of London. The Labour heartlands in the North of England and Scotland were left behind, and in these areas Labour has lost key votes to UKIP and the SNP respectively.²⁹ It is thanks to the New Labour image that the party is seen as elitist, London centric, and out of touch with the aspirations of people in poorer parts of the country.³⁰

So is there an alternative? Is there a middle way between embracing the markets and shunning them? A new school of thought is required, from a younger generation who understand the complexities of the problems of today, and why poorer communities feel left behind.

During his time on the opposition backbenches, Chuka Umunna has been crafting a general strategy as to how Labour can become relevant to Britain's electorate today. In an impressive 5000-word piece for *The New Statesman*, Umunna initially sets out the Labour mission: the party needs to bring back the reciprocal relationship of the public and the state: 'In return for their support, our obligation is to use the power of government to protect and further their interests.'³¹ Umunna advocates boosting the 'Foundational Economy', which is, 'made up of the services, production and social goods that sustain all our daily lives.'³²

This implies that while policies and strategies surrounding industry are generally city-centric and focus on the property and technology industries, not enough is being done to help the public and private industries that all people need. Notably, there is a poor performance in certain aspects of care, education, and health, as well as low wage growth in retail and hospitality sectors, where jobs are becoming increasingly insecure. The 'Foundational Economy' is the brainchild of the University of Manchester's Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change, who affirm that the Foundational Economy represents around a third of Britain's economy.³³ Citing work from other academics and think tanks across the ideological spectrum such as the Smith Institute and the Fabian Society, Umunna states that today's society requires 'new forms of ownership' to resolve the problems of forgotten communities and insecure employment.³⁴ He also suggests that despite representing a London constituency, his current role as Chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Social Integration means he understands the concerns of those left behind.³⁵

Overall Umunna's piece shows promise. There is an optimistic middle ground; a way to make Labour relevant again. Yet, these changes may have to wait. Having won two leadership contests in a row, Jeremy Corbyn will likely retain the leadership until the time of his choosing. While, a career in long-term opposition has proved too much for some, including Umunna's good friend and colleague Tristram Hunt who recently resigned as an MP,³⁶ it seems that Umunna is here to stay. Since the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union, Umunna has founded Vote Leave Watch, an organisation hoping to bring the Vote Leave camp to account on some of its campaign promises.³⁷ Arguably his most important role in addition to being an MP, however, is his role on advisory board for the Centre for Progressive Capitalism,³⁸ a cross-party group where his work with academics, such as former Business Secretary Vince Cable and others, has helped to further inform the

debate provided in the aforementioned *New Statesman* essay.

There appears to be a long road ahead before Chuka Umunna may have a chance to change Labour policy and shape the party's electoral change, but the ideas are there, and so is hope. As Umunna says in his lengthy calling card, where there is a way, there is a will.

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A New Generation of European Energy Strategies

JELENA SOFRONIJEVIC explores EU's future energy strategy and its potential move towards renewable energy.

The European Union (EU) and Russia share a level of energy interdependency.^{1, 2} However, in pursuit of energy security, sustainability and competition, the European Union is attempting to diversify its energy sources.³ Investment in renewable energy development could reduce the EU's dependency on Russia, whilst respecting this trilemma of energy security.⁴ Yet, the EU faces obstacles against diversification, including rigid, long-term gas contracts,⁵ disparities in opinion and policy across the member states,⁶ and security issues of renewable energies.⁷

Renewables are a potential, desirable vehicle for energy diversification, and their more widespread adoption could give rise to the new generation of a more independent European energy strategies. However, decreasing dependency on Russian energy is a long-term process, demanding greater unity within the European Union itself.

Although Russia is the main exporter of oil, coal and gas to the European Union,⁸ this article focuses primarily on gas as an energy source because gas dependency is one of the European Union's greatest energy security issues.⁹ Furthermore, gas is widely considered to be a short-term bridge fuel to the wider use of low carbon alternatives and renewable fuels.¹⁰ Hence, the possibility of a movement to renewable energies shall be posited against the current European dependency on Russian gas exports.

At present, Russia is connected to Europe via three main gas corridors; Yamal, Nord Stream and the Trans-Siberian or 'Brotherhood' Pipeline.¹¹ In 2016 alone, Gazprom, Russia's largest and government-controlled gas corporation, exported approximately 178.3 billion cubic metres of gas to Europe.¹² Energy relations between the EU and Russia, however, are characterised by symbiosis.^{13, 14} In 2013, oil and natural gas sales accounted for 68 percent of Russian export revenue, whilst extraction and export taxes in the same year generated 50 percent of the federal government budget.¹⁵ Whilst the European Union is dependent on Russian energy supply, the Russian economy is sustained by European demand. Indeed, this economic relationship was both established in and endured periods of historic political turmoil.¹⁶ From 1962, the USSR exported oil to the nations of eastern and central Europe by the Druzhba (Friendship) Pipeline.¹⁷ These natural gas infrastructures were symbolic of the, 'hidden integration,' of Cold War Europe.^{18, 19} Energy relations between Russia and the European Union are hence best considered as an intricate and complex intertwining of business and political interests. Critically, Europe's dependency on Russian energy has strengthened

in recent years,^{20, 21, 22} partially due to the closure of fossil fuel energy plants across Europe.²³ Perhaps this indicates a shift in Russia and the European Union's symbiotic energy relationship.

Energy dependency is troubling insofar as some nations are heavily reliant on a singular energy source, making them vulnerable to supply shortages and the political endeavours of the producing nation.^{24, 25} After gas conflicts between Russia and Ukraine in 2006 and 2009, European leaders expressed concern over Russia's lack of reliability as a trading partner.²⁶ After failing to reach new trade deals, Russia suspended the sale of subsidised gas to Ukraine, thus halting the onward transfer of gas through Europe.^{27, 28} Indeed, during the 2000s, around 80 percent of Russian gas was imported through Ukraine.^{29, 30} The stoppages primarily affected southeastern and east-central European states with high dependency on Russian gas.³¹ Alongside factory closures, over 100,000 Serbian people and 72,000 Bosnian homes were left without heating.³² By contrast, Western European nations with close to zero percent gas dependency were hardly affected.³³ Suspensions of supply, and the resulting effects on particularly dependent nations, are a central concern of European energy security strategy, particularly in the aftermath of the 2014 Ukraine/Crimea conflict.³⁴ The asymmetric implications of the crises of 2006 and 2009 reveal a potential obstacle against diversification, namely dependency disparities across the member states of the European Union. Diversification is not only motivated by European vulnerability; it is necessary for the European Union to move to renewable energies in order to satisfy their targets for climate change.³⁵

Investment and development of renewable energies seems the most plausible way for the European Union to diversify away from Russian energy dependency.^{36, 37} Russia's attempts to construct gas pipelines avoiding politically contentious regions have been unsuccessful.³⁸ Firstly, proposed pipelines have either faltered or been abandoned due to political conflict. For instance, the Ukraine/Crimea crisis of 2014 led to the cancellation of the South Stream pipeline.³⁹ Secondly, membership of the European Union has increased. In 2004, ten new countries joined the European Union, including Poland and the former Soviet bloc states of Latvia and Lithuania.⁴⁰ As each state has its own geopolitical sensitivities, it seems infeasible to attempt to construct more pipelines while avoiding areas of possible political contention.⁴¹ Current attempts at energy diversification based on the 2014 European Energy Security Strategy and Energy Union (2015) seem disconnected from the material reality of European energy requirements.^{42, 43} Although the 2014 European Energy Security Strategy comprises a list of methods with which states might bolster their energy security,⁴⁴ in practice European efforts are devoted to diversifying external supplies and their related structures,⁴⁵ by investing in liquid nitrogen gas (LNG) development and seeking alternative trading partners.⁴⁶ Marco Siddi argues that diversifying the source of gas strategy is unrealistic, given that gas markets are more local in nature, making long distance transport more difficult.⁴⁷ In addition, demand for gas in Europe is declining,⁴⁸ meaning an expansion of gas infrastructures may be unnecessary.⁴⁹ In contrast, renewable energies provide an opportunity for energy diversification. Indeed, the benefits of renewable energy and low carbon alternatives extend beyond sustainability and environmentalism to long-term economic benefit.⁵⁰ Using renewable energies in periods of high oil pricing can reduce the consumer cost of electricity,⁵¹ and during the oil price cycle of 1998 to 2008, the European Union gained around 47 billion euros from renewable energy initiatives.⁵² In 2014 alone, the renewable energy sector turned over 144 billion euros, ensuring the employment of one million people in the European Union.⁵³ Renewable energies are thus a financially lucrative, as well as sustainable (in terms of both natural resources and energy security) vehicle for European energy diversification.

However, the European Union faces many obstacles to diversification. On the one hand, gas export contracts have been tightly constructed to endure short term or circumstantial political conflict.⁵⁴ Indeed, the gas trade has been the only major area of continued cooperation between Russia and the European Union following the Ukraine/Crimea conflict of 2014.^{55, 56} Additionally, existing path dependencies of energy infrastructures and pipelines mean that it is cheaper and more straightforward, particularly for Russian-dependent states, to maintain the energy status quo.^{57, 58} Therefore, both long-term political and short-term economic interests serve as barriers.

Divisions within the European Union itself are arguably the greatest obstacle to energy diversification.⁵⁹ The EU is a divided and ambivalent actor in energy security.⁶⁰ Prominent leaders have often supported or acquiesced action to strengthen its dependency on Russian energy.⁶¹ In particular, the European Commission vacillated on Russia's attempts to bypass Ukraine by the construction of the South Stream pipeline, before finally deeming the project incompatible with the Third Energy Package (TEP) in 2014.⁶² Inconsistencies within European energy documents, policies and actions are reflective of the internal conflicts and contradictions of the European Union as an actor.⁶³ The reasons for disparities between the member states of the European Union are evident. In the first place, it is more difficult for southeastern and east-central European states to diversify their energy sources due to their greater dependency on Russian gas.^{64, 65} A 2012 study by Eurogas found that Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Latvia are all 100 percent dependent on Russian gas,⁶⁶ by contrast, the average gas dependency across the EU-28 member states is just 24 percent, due to Western Europe's relative independence.⁶⁷ Dependency disparities, alongside the different histories and geopolitical strategies of member states,⁶⁸ are thus responsible for the internal conflict of opinion in the European Union.

Renewable energies incur their own problems for energy security.⁶⁹ Some energy sources including wind and solar are considered intermittent insofar as they cannot be guaranteed to consistently supply energy.⁷⁰ Although storage facilities can be developed to collect renewable power, this would require vast investment, contingent on the initiative and motivation of individual member states.⁷¹ This highlights that renewable energies cannot guarantee energy security, but also re-emphasises the impact of divisions within the European Union on diversification. However, renewable energy remains a viable, though long-term, option for diversification.^{72, 73} Under the Renewable Energy Directive, the European Union is committed to fulfilling 20 percent of its energy consumption through renewable fuels by 2020, and 27 percent by 2030 under the revised directive.⁷⁴ The latest EU-wide progress report, published in 2017, found that most countries are likely to reach their renewable energy targets, with 16.4 percent of total energy consumption in 2015 generated by renewables.⁷⁵ In accordance with Article 194 of the Lisbon Treaty and the principle of subsidiarity, European targets for renewable energy supersede national sovereignty.⁷⁶ This implies that strong European leadership in the realm of renewables has the potential to override the shortcomings of individual states. Progress in the development and universalisation of renewable technologies might be gradual, yet it is still a potential alternative to dependency on Russian energy in the future.

Overall, the European Union and Russia share a historic and interdependent energy relationship. However, renewable energies provide an attractive future alternative for the European Union to dependency on Russian gas as a more environmentally sustainable and financially viable energy source. In some respects, the EU is already progressing towards this new generation in its energy strategy, as demonstrated by initiatives including the Renewable Energy Directive. Yet, it is prevented from immediate diversification by durable gas

contracts, energy security problems and fundamentally, divisions within the European Union. Arguably, the disparities of energy dependency, perceptions of vulnerability, and prioritisation of renewable energies across the European Union are the underlying problem and present the greatest set of obstacles preventing a great and rapid change in energy strategy. Consequently, renewable energies may facilitate diversification from dependency on Russian energy in the long-term, if disparities between member states of the European Union can be challenged.

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Explaining Pussy Riot

BARBARA WOJAZER discusses the emerging feminist movement in Russia, and societal backlash it faces.

On Women's Day, March eighth, 2017, the few Russian activists who defied the authorities and marched for women's rights were promptly arrested.¹ However, the arrests were no surprise to the protestors. Just as unsurprising to them was the lack of reaction from the population, whose perception of feminists continues to be remarkably negative.²

Pussy Riot, and its predecessor Voïna are beyond doubt the most famous feminist groups in Russia. Pussy Riot received a lot of attention from the media for its striking actions. The group's loud, punk music, surprise performances and balaclavas are now known worldwide. Yet, they seem to have drawn the antipathy of most of the Russian population.³ Tellingly, the arrest of members of Pussy Riot after their stunt in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour left the population unmoved – and in fact made the group even more disliked.⁴ The verdict, while denounced internationally, was seen as adequate punishment by more than half of the population,⁵ who agreed with Putin's opinion that they were merely trying to, 'erode [Russian] moral foundations and undermine the country.'⁶ Yet, this did not push the collective to seek compromise in the hopes of attracting the extremely hostile population, attached to 'traditional' values.⁷ Even in feminist circles, they were criticised for alienating parts of the society: Marina Yusupova argues that most Russians struggle to make sense of the Pussy Riot performance.⁸ However, the emergence of Pussy Riot only makes sense in the Russian context. In a regime where the dominant ideology and law are rigged against them, feminists of the new generations are left with no choice but to adopt an artistic, confrontational and sometimes shocking strategy to make their voices heard.

Putin consolidated what Johnson and Saarinen conceptualised as a neo-masculinist semi-authoritarian regime.⁹ This concept helps us to understand why and how the regime made such an enemy of feminism. Russian feminists are confronted with a very hostile ideological environment. Russian's negative perception of feminists is partly historically inherited. This could seem paradoxical, since state socialist countries had a general commitment to gender equality. In Soviet times, women's status benefitted from laws encouraging full political and economic participation.¹⁰ But the laws were justified by economic objectives rather than gender equality or women's liberation. Consequently, gender roles did not change much, and women, in addition to work, still carried much of the burden for household activities.¹¹ 'Feminist' laws passed during the USSR are seen in a rather negative light, and are not a reliable indicator of women's emancipation.¹²

But the hardships of the Soviet times cannot sufficiently explain the hostility of the Russian society towards feminism. Rather, one needs to understand that the foundations of Putin's regime rest on heteronormativity and hypermasculinity.¹³ When he came to power, Putin still needed to establish his public image: he was described by commentators as a man, 'bland in personality and in appearance,' unlikely to seize the population's imagination.¹⁴ Yet he did, by playing on his apparent virility, contrasting with Yelstin's alcoholism and heart condition. Putin painted himself as the new real Russian man, the model to follow.¹⁵ Omnipresent in the media and branding himself as a sex-symbol,¹⁶ Putin established his brand of masculinity. He became known for his dominating posture, muscular interventions and verbal attacks on other men, and macho comments.¹⁷ He benefitted from this image of the strongman. His strong and decisive character remains his most attractive feature for Russians.¹⁸ Central to his campaign of the mobilisation of the public,¹⁹ the masculinisation extended beyond Putin's mere behaviour. Heteronormativity became a prominent feature in the organisation of civil society. For example, the Kremlin-sponsored youth groups were organised according to a male-dominated, heteronormative norm.²⁰

For women, neo-masculinism means the promotion of 'traditional' feminine roles – even partly as part of a campaign to address the decline in birth rates.²¹ The ideal Russian woman is thus an attractive young woman, or a respected mother. In addition to being a mother, the accomplished Russian woman is a good хозяйка. There is no equivalent to this word in English, but it is used to designate a good hostess, housekeeper, house-manager (and sometimes landlady). Being good at managing the house is the most appreciated quality in a woman, as shown in a 2015 poll – closely followed by beauty, and loyalty.²² The 8th of March, Women's Day, is part of the state-led campaign promoting a loyal, attractive woman. As a Levada poll showed, Women's Day is the eighth most popular celebration in the country.²³ This year, like every year, the streets were filled with women proudly carrying flowers they had been offered, and couples enjoying their day off – Women's Day is a bank holiday. The country celebrated women who, as Vladimir Putin praised, 'give us life and perpetuate it in our children.'²⁴ In his congratulations to Russian women, Putin did acknowledge that they needed support, a support that would consist of, 'care and attention, so that [women] can smile more often.'²⁵

Putin also established himself as the defender of the traditional family, against, 'genderless and fruitless tolerance.'²⁶ It has become clear that feminists ideas, in so far as they advocate for gender equality, have no place within Putin's neo-masculinist system. Conveniently, masculinism also serves to justify Putin's toughening of the regime.²⁸ Through a semi-authoritarian legal system, Putin can make it harder for feminists to organise within the realm of traditional politics.

As the regime has become more authoritarian, political feminist action has become quasi-impossible. It should be noted that a few women have reached important positions in Putin's government. The Kremlin has rewarded women that conformed to the model. Elvira Nabiullina is a striking example. Serving as Minister of Economic Development from 2007 to 2012, she was the choice for the top Central bank Position, a first for a woman in the G-8.²⁸ Some of the recruited women even once identified as feminists,²⁹ but far from paving the way for new feminists, or even trying to improve women's conditions in Russia, these women seem to have done everything to reinforce gender inequalities. Most famous of all, known for her 'gay propaganda' laws, Senator Yelena Mizulina has recently proposed a new law to the Duma, the Russian assembly. This new law decriminalises domestic violence that does not seriously injure the person,³⁰ in order to protect the, 'unity of the family.'³¹ The law is an ominous sign for women in a country in which 40 percent of serious criminal offences occur within the family.³²

Historically, the women's issue that has received the most attention in Russia has been domestic violence.³³ Johnson and Saarinen have studied the Women's Crisis Centres in 1999 and in 2008 to 2009. They argue that, when Putin came in power, the Women's Crisis Centre represented something close to social movement. Thus, their study tells us a lot about the increasing difficulties of feminist work in Russia.³⁴ Two patterns emerge: the number of crisis centres has shrunk, and most remaining ones have lost their initial political commitment. About half of independent crisis centres had to close because of a lack of financial support.³⁵ It seems that the only way for centres to survive is to become part of a governmental agency,³⁶ but this means giving up their feminist commitment. Consequently, in 2008 to 2009, only five out of 36 centres identified as feminists.³⁷ The organisations still kept their commitment to fight violence against women but the effects of Mizulina's law on their work are yet to be seen.³⁸

As for new feminist organisations, a number of restrictive laws enable the authorities to control the creation and work of non-governmental organisations.³⁹ All in all, Putin achieved control over civil society, suppressing sources of opposition and tightening his grip on power.⁴⁰ In a recent interview to *Le Monde*, Tatiana Soukhareva compared feminism in Russia to a 'besieged military camp'.⁴¹ Arrested and detained for eight months just as she was preparing to run for elections, and now in house arrest, she has tried three times to register her NGO, in vain.

In this situation, informal politics are to be the best hope for Russian feminists, and artistic expression the method of choice to disturb the established order. Pussy Riot fights both patriarchy and authoritarianism, both of which are so intrinsically linked in Putin's regime.

Recognised by the contemporary art community, Pussy Riot's performances are always political.⁴² As Nadezhda Tolokonnikova put it in her closing statement of her trial in 2012: 'Pussy Riot's performances can either be called dissident art, or political action that engages art forms.'⁴³ This assimilation of arts and politics derives from a view of politics as a performance, but also from a need to be heard. Since the government controls mass media,⁴⁴ the use of radical, shocking

performances is necessary to attract the population's attention and make their voices heard.⁴⁵

Pussy Riot refutes the claim that they would be an import from the West, a 'feminist band lost in translation and history'.⁴⁶ In the closing statement of her trial,⁴⁷ Nadezhda Tolokonnikova placed herself and the group within the Russian artistic tradition of protest against repressive systems. She invoked Aleksandr Vvedensky and the OBERIU poets, from which the group inherited their radical style of performance. Pussy Riot, even if contemporarily misunderstood, aspires to shape Russian consciousness, just as Vvedensky's work did. Indeed, seen as, 'inexplicable and incomprehensible' by their contemporaries,⁴⁸ their work had a lasting influence on the Russian society. OBERIU poets liked bad rhymes, a principle dear to Pussy Riot. Bad rhyme and provocation, in their perspective, are necessary in order to be heard in an oppressive regime. Indeed, Tolokonnikova argues, in the end – and she quotes Solzhenitsyn – 'word will break cement.'⁴⁹

All the artists she refers to paid a price for their art, for their opinions. That price, though, means that 'the artistic became an historical fact.'⁵⁰ Through these comparisons with other artists, the strategy becomes clear. By attracting the wrath of the government, they are also gaining notoriety, which means potentially shaping the image of the society and changing history. Only time will tell if they will succeed. For now, the results are mixed. As many feminists argue, Pussy Riots actions seemed to have led to another crackdown on arts, civil society, and feminists.⁵¹ In any case, as Vera Akulova, a feminist but critic of Pussy Riot, admits, Pussy Riot single-handedly added feminism to the Russian public consciousness.⁵²

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LATIN AMERICA



RAFAEL ROSALES | REGIONAL EDITOR

Latin America has recently experienced many landmark events that could make the future of politics in the region very interesting. In the space of one year, Brazil's president Dilma Rousseff was impeached, the Colombian government signed a peace deal with the FARC guerrilla to end a 50-year conflict, and long-time former Cuban leader Fidel Castro passed away. More recently, after a constitutional crisis in Venezuela,

MERCOSUR and OAS leaders have placed pressure on the Venezuelan government to ensure separation of powers and respect the national assembly. These events form part of new patterns of politics in the region, something young Latin Americans will greatly influence.

In this issue's profile article, Abigail Adams outlines how Cuban politics are expected to change in the aftermath of Fidel Castro's death. Castro's younger brother, Raúl, has governed the island country since 2008 and has

slowly implemented policy changes that have altered Cuba's 60 year-old regime. Young Cubans can expect to grow up in a reality very different to that of previous generations, with more access to information from the outside world and greater influence of civil society on politicians.

Young Brazilians can similarly expect new political conversation in their country, which Julio Othon similarly explains as possible because of the increased political polarisation since the 2014 Brazilian presidential elections. Student movements have been able to take advantage of this polarisation and change student politics as a result.

More generally, violence and crime and Latin America have become part of everyday conversation for some, and the methods to overcome the violence have failed. For this, Luis Reyes highlights theories of social prevention that new generations could apply to solve some of the most long-standing issues in the region. Overall, Latin America could face important changes in the coming years.

Cuba under Raúl: Are Young Cubans Growing up Under a Different Revolution?

Fidel Castro's central role in the Cuban Revolution meant that his death in November 2016 seemed to herald a new era for Cuban politics. Nevertheless, Cuba's revolution had already begun to diverge from its origins under his dominating legacy. In 2008, Fidel Castro formally stepped down as President of Cuba and transferred leadership to his brother Raul Castro.¹ Despite fighting alongside Fidel and Che Guevara in the 1950s to secure the overthrow of the authoritarian Colonel Batista, and taking a largely supporting role in the socialist government ever since, Raúl Castro should not be mistaken for a carbon copy of his infamous older brother. As far back as the 1990s, his public recognition of food shortages and an interest in the success of the Chinese political-economic model contrasted Raúl with his ideologically intransigent brother.² This divergence was recognised by Raúl himself in a 'joke' at the seventh Party Congress about Fidel and himself effectively running two separate parties – 'Fidel will certainly say, 'I want to lead the Communist Party,' and I will say, 'O.K., I'll lead the other one, the name does not matter.'³

The pertinent truth behind this 'joke' has been demonstrated by the programme of liberalising economic reforms enacted under Raúl's presidency, prompting comparison with Deng Xiaoping and Mikhail Gorbachev, who famously reformed their respective Communist states in the latter half of the twentieth century.⁴ Relaxation of restrictions on ownership of private goods and a leasing of a substantial proportion of state-owned land to private farmers swiftly followed Raúl's 2008 takeover.⁵ In 2010, the government announced another radical departure from strict Soviet-style controlled economics with plans to reduce the bloated state payroll, employer of approximately 85 percent of Cuba's official workforce. It was hoped that an initial 500,000 redundancies by March 2011, and up to 1.5 million by the end of 2012, would encourage employment in private enterprise and therefore aid the creation of a more productive economy – much needed considering Cuban output in 2010 amounted to barely one-fifth that of bankrupt, but equivalently sized, Greece.⁶

Perhaps the most notable product of Cuba's new beginning is the nascent rapprochement with the United States, secured through the extension of Raúl's pragmatism to foreign policy. For over half a century, official deadlock between Cuba and its larger neighbour had been an enduring symbol of Cold War ideological tensions. The resumption of relations announced in November 2014 marked a significant departure from the status quo, which saw trade and travel restrictions eased, embassies reopened, Cuba dropped from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism, and a state visit by Barack Obama, the first US President to visit in 88 years.⁷ Such progress is testament to the transformative impact of mutual political goodwill and negotiation, efforts regarded as futile during the Fidel era.⁸

Despite the significance of these reforms, though, the scope of change should not be overstated. As per the Sino-Vietnamese model, economic reform has taken place within the political continuity of a one-party socialist state. Changes are framed as, 'updating,' or, 'perfecting,' the current model to achieve, in Raúl's words, a, 'prosperous, sustainable, and irrevocable socialism,' rather than the adoption of any form of capitalism.⁹ Therefore, for analysts like Christian Schmidt-Hauer of German publication Zeit, recent developments are the work of an,

'authoritarian pragmatist,' necessary measures to ease an exponentially growing Cuban debt crisis by a leader who still wields absolute control.¹⁰

Raúl has certainly faced considerable impetus for immediate economic reform, with Cuba's defective agricultural sector, system of effective dual currency, and reliance on unstable external funding becoming increasingly unsustainable. As of 2011, 80 percent of Cuba's essential foods were imported at a cost of \$1.6 billion, a figure afforded only through the build-up of debt to foreign creditors.¹¹ Likewise, efforts to establish rapprochement with the United States were initiated just after the death of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, whose provision of billions of dollars' worth of subsidised oil had made him one of Cuba's biggest supporters.¹² Subsequent administration change and mounting economic crisis in Venezuela resulted in reduced oil shipments to Cuba and put further pressure on Raúl to reverse the downward economic trajectory in any way possible.¹³

Still, the significance of Raúl's economic reforms is not diminished by their apparent necessity. Even an extreme recession following the breakup of the Soviet Union did not render movement towards a market economy inevitable for Fidel Castro, who only strengthened authoritarianism and militant denunciation of liberalising reform.¹⁴ Jaime Suchlicki, Director of the Institute for Cuban studies at the University of Miami, explains that, 'economic decisions are influenced by political and ideological considerations.'¹⁵ Hans de Salas del Valle, also researcher at the Institute, similarly outlines that the current debt crisis is worrying for Raúl because he has a fundamentally different hierarchy of priorities to Fidel, who invariably put, 'ideology over economics.'¹⁶

Nonetheless, there are political limitations to reform. Several former rising stars, including former vice president Carlos Lage, and former foreign minister Felipe Perez Roque, were purged from the party in 2009, demonstrating the authority 85-year-old Castro wields even over government insiders. The remaining heir-apparent, Miguel Diaz-Canal, Vice President since 2013, maintains a deliberately neutral, and consequently unthreatening, public profile.¹⁷ It is suspected that Diaz-Canal, a 55-year-old civilian, will be unable to wield any meaningful power in what is still a militarised regime run by, 'historical generals,' and is simply useful in marketing the illusion of change.¹⁸ In line with this, the position of Second Secretary was retained by octogenarian Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, a revolutionary veteran, rather than given to Diaz-Canal after the 2016 seventh Party Congress. Even Raúl's scheduled retirement may only signal a *de jure* rather than a *de facto* transfer of power – he is expected to remain head of the party for another three years, and his only son, Alejandro, could take on power behind the scenes.¹⁹

Despite the apparent hegemony of Castro and his 'raulista' old guard, there are signs of change afoot in this domain too: Raúl has supported rhetoric on the need to, 'pass over the banners of Revolution and Socialism to new leaders,' with tangible action.²⁰ Since 2011, term limits have been introduced for top government and party positions, as well as an age cap at 60 for entry to the Central Committee.²¹ Similarly, the 2013 removal of several senior figures, including National Assembly President Ricardo Alarcón, was counteracted by the appointment of 55 younger members, bringing the average age of the body down to 54.5 years.²² Finally, considerable rearrangements to the makeup of the Central Committee at the 7th Party Congress complete the picture of transition.²³ The military, long Raúl's power base, was downsized from comprising 13.2 percent to 9.2 percent of its membership, and predictions of dynastic rule were confounded by the exclusion of Alejandro, Raúl's only son, from the new Central Committee.²⁴

Whilst there is debate over their motivation and scope, the impact of new reforms on the Cuban population is enormous – Cubans can now legally own mobile phones, run their own small or medium sized

business, exploit the lucrative new source of income that the influx of American tourists has provided, or indeed travel to the United States themselves.²⁵ Nevertheless, the pace of change is slow, with Raúl himself defending a gradual approach: 'in Cuba, under Socialism, there will never be space for shock therapies.'²⁶ The government programme to, 'connect all Cubans,' for instance, has enabled a steady rise in internet connections. However, access is only available at a formidable price, and demand for Wi-Fi dramatically outstrips supply.²⁷ Similar shortfalls in the economic sector have meant that Raúl's reform programme has struggled to fulfil its goals. For one, the planned reduction of staff in the state sector, intended to maximise the revenue generating potential of Cuba's plentiful workforce, was not met by a proportional supply of private sector jobs and could thus conversely lead to renewed unemployment.²⁸

For the next generation of Cubans, Raúl's reforms do not go far enough: dissatisfaction amongst the population has been clearly expressed by a burgeoning, youth-led, independent media.²⁹ Additionally, the perception of emigration as an opportunity or solution to economic uncertainty portrays a continuing lack of confidence in the Cuban system to provide for its people. According to a March 2017 survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago, over half of Cubans say they would move away from Cuba given the chance, with 70 percent of those stating the United States as their preferred destination.³⁰ According to former White House adviser on Latin America, Brian Latell, it is the younger generation, who have no memory of the original revolutionary struggle, that are most desirous of change. This encompasses the roughly 70 percent of the population born after the landmark 1959 victory, and thus refers to a considerable disaffected majority.³¹

There are hopes that the real break from the past is yet to come. Raúl Castro is due to retire in 2018 and it will be up to a new generation of Cuban leaders to bridge the gap between the Party and the demands of society. The new cohort of politicians, lacking the legitimacy of revolutionary credentials, will have to prove themselves through the achievement of tangible benefits for the Cuban population.³² Diaz-Canal, the current Vice President, seems to symbolise this mission. Part of the younger generation himself, he was the first Cuban born after 1959 to occupy his position, and if he does succeed Castro will become the first civilian president of the revolution. Although careful to remain in Raúl's shadow, his vocal support for a more open Cuban media, dismissing restriction of the internet as an, 'impossible delusion,' could show signs of change to come.³³

Although critics like Luis Ortega argue that, 'references to Communism have become a formality,' this change is unlikely to constitute a straightforward adoption of a capitalist market economy.³⁴ Despite disaffection with the failures of the Communist regime, and desire for faster, expansive reform, the desires of Cuban people are more nuanced than a wholesale rejection of socialism.³⁵ In fact, likened to a, 'civil religion,' by Max Azicri, socialism retains a potent symbolic value in Cuban society, thanks to its historical importance in, 'maintaining Cuban sovereignty and independence from US domination.'³⁶ Moreover, there are several socialist institutions that deliver benefits Cubans are eager to preserve – most notably, free access to world-class education and health-care.³⁷

Cuba now stands at a delicate crossroads. Under Raúl's leadership it has moved away from the revolutionary status quo, although perhaps not as dramatically as some Cubans would have hoped. The trajectory and longevity of change remains to be seen, but at least until a new generation of leaders take the helm it is unlikely to be as dramatic as Gorbachev's glasnost.³⁸ Furthermore, the election of Donald Trump in the United States marks an uncertain future for the tentative thaw

in Cuban-American relations. There are fears that Trump's diplomatic approach, including his reaction to the death of Fidel Castro as an indictment of the, 'brutal dictator,' could prove a liability in unsettling the détente – worries that are not unfounded considering Trump explicitly threatened to roll back Obama's Cuban policy during his campaign.³⁹ For now, Cuba is in transition. The reforms that have been initiated during the Raúl era, although too gradual to constitute a revolution, are notable in creating space within Cuban socialism for new economic systems, new international relations, and the political aspirations of a new generation to thrive.

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Building up security in Latin America: Contradictions and challenges for future millennial leaders

LUIS REYES analyses new techniques for the prevention of violence in Latin America.

The Latin American region accounts for about eight percent of the world population and yet registers 33 percent of all homicides: since the beginning of the 21st century it has experienced a considerable increase in violence, including a rise in the homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants from 15.2 in 2000 to 21.5 in 2012.¹ Most of the crimes – in absolute terms – are concentrated in four countries: Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela.² In proportional crime rate terms, other Central American countries – such as Honduras and El Salvador – also contribute to the statistics.³

National governments have strived to address the problem of insecurity that has emerged in the aftermath of rising crime. The response has been a set of security strategies, among which programmes and projects of Social Prevention of Violence (SPV) stand out. Although it has historical roots in Anglo-Saxon criminological thought, its prominence in the region has only been established in the previous few decades.⁴ This is partly due to the acknowledgement that the efforts carried out by previous generations of officials have failed to cope with the complex forms in which organised crime has evolved.⁵ Therefore, a formal and systematic methodology to address the causes that give rise to crime is required. The millennial-generation takeover of leadership roles in public office must consider the shortcomings and pending assignments that characterise the prevention-led efforts carried out to build up security in the region. In this regard, some examples are discussed in this article, which could be useful to inform future security policies in the region.

SPV is founded in a vision of citizen security which refers to the personal security dimension, specifically related to the protection against threats of crime and violence, accompanied by a multi-sectorial involvement of actors – particularly local communities – in the identification of causes of crime and violence, as well as the generation of proposals aimed at contributing to build up their own security.⁶ In this approach the problem of crime cannot be solved only with police or severe penal actions.⁷ Instead, the state guarantees its citizens to protect

them from physical harms of threats, and ensures their well-being through the delivery of public services. However, some governmental policies contradict the theoretical underpinnings of such preventive approach and the rationale for its adequate policy implementation. These contradictions reflect the scarcity of leaderships in Latin America committed to the construction, implementation and follow-up of a coherent SPV agenda.⁸ A couple of policies are particularly important for the analysis: 1) Police action strategies and 2) efficiency-driven policies.

A first noteworthy element in the analysis of security strategies deployed in the region is the policing style. Here the term policing must be understood as Mawby defines it, 'a process of preventing and detecting crime and maintaining order [...] an activity that might be engaged in by a number of agencies or individuals.'⁹ In addition, it is useful to distinguish between low policing and high policing. These two conceptualisations represent, 'distinct organisational and operational characteristics of policing in liberal democracies.'¹⁰ The former is concerned with protecting the public from daily ordinary crime, maintaining public order, preventing and solving crimes that affect individuals and small population groups. The latter is less concerned with ordinary micro-crime and more focused on intelligence-driven activities to infiltrate groups considered as risky due to their potential involvement in macro-crimes that threaten the entire peace of an entire society. While low policing is what the population usually associates with the regular everyday tasks of police forces, high policing is related to the preservation of the state interests and national security.¹¹

The importance of identifying the characteristics of policing rests on the eminent political activity it represents. In Latin America, the approach of many governments experiencing high levels of violence has been to focus on promoting police organisations encasing high policing traits. More specifically, the argument of preserving national security from threats of organised crime has led to an escalating arms race in the region. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) reveals that the region has experienced a 64 percent increase in the average military expenditure, moving from \$2,569 billion USD (constant until 2014) in 2000 to \$4,210 billion USD in 2015.¹² This is relevant because public officials have opted to propel a hard-line policing style by involving the military in such tasks, instead of adopting citizen security-based strategies to build public confidence in police. Evidence from research shows that trust in the police is associated with the type of interaction it establishes with citizens. For example, in Mexico, the National Victimisation Survey 2016 (Encuesta Nacional de Victimización 2016) reveals that Municipal Police corporations are deemed corrupt by 66.7 percent of citizens.¹³

The police can do much to gain public confidence, although a, 'renewal of the contract between police officer and the citizen,' is necessary for this to happen.¹⁴ In addition to fulfilling certain requirements –such as accountability and professionalisation– police organisations must shift to a different policing style, closer to people in local communities. This philosophical approach is known as community policing, which seeks to move away from a hard-line and discretionary form of policing to a close cooperative form of engagement with local communities, whereby both parties identify common problems and propose alternatives to tackle them.¹⁵ There is evidence that, although community policing may not have a clear incidence in reducing crime, it is useful to gain public confidence and trust in police corporations.¹⁶ Changing the policing strategy must not seek to dismantle the hard-line forces that react against organised crime, but to recognise that policing might require a combination of strategies in controlling crime and transforming public perceptions of security.¹⁷

The second contradiction refers to the way of measuring the success

or failure of a security policy. In Latin America the technocratic approach has gained growing support, particularly in addressing the problem of insecurity by constructing efficiency-driven indicators. This view considers that SPV interventions must be rigorously evaluated to know their level of effectiveness at transforming the realities of the communities where they are implemented.¹⁸ Although evaluations are important to provide evidence of what works, this should not translate into a managerialist approach to the problem of crime and insecurity. The cost-benefit analysis must not be understood uniquely in terms of cost-efficiency, and the cost of insecurity can hardly be evaluated by using methodologies based on economic prices as suggested by some research institutions.¹⁹ Choosing this approach risks a simplification of the underlying responsibilities on nation states as has been criticised by some criminologists.²⁰ Services such as health and education are fundamental inputs for the construction of human security and creation of sustainable social futures. They are part of the welfare state apparatus that was dismantled since the late 1970s and replaced by policies identified as neoliberal, whose technocratic approach is focused on the efficient management of resources.²¹ Ironically, the problem of criminality –particularly organised crime– is recognised by regional governments as the consequence of the gradual historical abandonment of the state in certain geographical areas. These empty spaces were filled by other actors who easily displaced the legal institutions with illegal ones. The provision of public services aimed at improving the quality of life of socially deprived citizens is a salient characteristic of SPV and, therefore, represents an investment in human security, rather than costs.

Certainly, there have been many citizen security and SPV programmes implemented in the region, most of which were not evaluated. Academic research shows that impact evaluations or final results have only been reported in a few cases. In other cases, there is no information available about evidence at the end of the interventions.²² However, evaluation must not translate into an obsessive pursuit of evidence-based policies. Instead, evidence could be gathered out of different sources, to favour a knowledge-based policy approach that could inform future policies.²³

In the midst of this challenging reality, there are some recent experiences that have rendered positive results or proved to offer useful insights for future strategies of crime prevention. These cases are valuable for the opportunities that offer to positively transform many people's lives. They are also consistent with what the United Nations defines as one of the fundamental elements of human security – from which citizen security derives – that is, 'the promotion of political, social, economic, environmental, military and cultural systems that offer, together, to the people the necessary elements to achieve peace, development and human progress.'²⁴ There are ten cases documented by the Laboratory for Violence Analysis.²⁵ Also seven cases were documented by the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) that are noteworthy and based on the principles of human security and citizen security.²⁶ Among their main features it is important to highlight the participative element of local communities and other stakeholders in social and urbanistic interventions. The aims of the initiatives were directed at transforming cultural attitudes, addressing risk and protective factors, as well as prioritising the protection of vulnerable and social deprived groups.²⁷ In all these cases evaluations were important to gather findings that could be useful for future policy. However, some of these interventions are not new, and were based on previous experiences of socio-urban strategies implemented before, such as socio-urban acupuncture interventions carried out in Curitiba, Brazil, by its Mayor Jaime Lerner during the 1970s.²⁸ Similar efforts were made by Sergio Fajardo as Mayor of Medellín, Colombia, from 2004 to 2007.²⁹

More recently, a salient historical episode in Latin American life

contributing to built-up security in the region by creating peaceful conditions has been the historic peace deal signed by the Colombian government led by President Juan Manuel Santos and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). With this event, the country ended a 50-year conflict between the state and the leftist guerrilla.³⁰ From a human security perspective, this historic event revitalises the efforts in the region to continue moving towards the goal of positively transforming people's lives. This experience is of great value to the governments of other countries in the region. First, because the end of the armed conflict with the most important guerrilla in Colombia opens a wide range of possibilities for people who saw their livelihood, dignity and existence – in sum their human security – threatened. This provides a glimpse at the opportunities for development in Colombian communities whose recent past and present has been characterised by its fragility as a result of armed conflict. Second, it sends the message that armed confrontation between the state and groups outside the law is unsustainable, thereby urging the necessity to explore other less costly options – both in monetary resources and human lives – that contribute to the construction of peace in the region.

Latin America is at a crossroads at which regional leaders must decide between two paths. One represents the continuity of arms race escalation, reactive security policies and hard-line policing styles; the other consists in moving towards strategies underpinned based on Social Prevention of Violence and underpinned by human security through its applied version of citizen security. The projects and programmes to build security in the region must be strengthened and require sophisticated and systematic evaluations to know their impact levels. However, this should not lead to an approach that favours efficiency only, to the detriment of investment in public services and development of opportunities to the most socially deprived communities. Such a shift would mean abandoning the state's responsibility in tasks that transcend the economic argument of rationality in the use of resources.

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Doing a Right-turn: Student Politics in Brazil

JULIO CRÊLIER OTHON looks at how right-leaning students left ostracism from student politics in Brazil and started winning elections.

In the last century, the student movement has marked the Latin American political environment.¹ Its start in Argentina in 1918 was a watershed to the country's history, and served as a model for different forms of student organisations to pop up throughout the continent in the forthcoming years, such as the Communist Youth in Brazil.² There is a pattern for these platforms to lean left on the political spectrum across the continent, something that continues today.³ In Brazil, it is no different, as groups fighting the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964 to 1985) widely came from universities.⁴ Since the re-democratisation of the country in 1988, student politics stayed under domination of the Left, a status quo that would not be challenged until 2011. Right-leaning students were eager for political representation after decades of not having their voices heard by student representative bodies.⁵ The growth of a right-wing face of the student movement was

allowed by the context of an extreme political polarisation in Brazil during the 2014 Presidential elections.⁶ This article aims to show how the entry to an initially hostile environment took place, and finally go back to the question: is this going to last?

The Left has dominated the student movement in Latin America since its foundation. In 1918, the University of Cordoba, in Argentina, was the first in the country to be occupied by students protesting for universal admission to higher education, no compulsory attendance of classes, and other progressive policies.⁷ The ethos of the movement was the left-leaning ideals of fighting the elitism and conservatism present in these institutions. This was considered the starting point for student platforms to rise across Latin America, most of which would be ideologically linked to the Left.⁸ Prominent conservative Brazilian figures, like the politician Jair Bolsonaro and the philosopher Olavo de Carvalho, affirm this domination by what they call intentional 'cultural Marxism'.⁹ This refers to Antonio Gramsci's idea of fighting the capitalist, 'cultural hegemony,' from above, using academic institutions, the media, and other factors as tools.¹⁰ The use of the student movement for this purpose would be then just another form of indoctrination of the masses.

Understanding a bit of Brazil's recent political history helps with understanding why the student movement has been deeply linked with the Left until the present day. In the first half of the last century, numerous student political groupings took shape, including the National Union of Students (UNE) in 1938.¹¹ During the Second World War, in 1942, Brazilian leftist students linked with the political movement clashed against pro-Nazi groups who wanted support for Nazism to spread in the country.¹² In their campaign to pressure the government to take a firm stance against the Axis powers, students occupied the Germania Club of Rio, a place known for hosting Nazi-supporting meetings.¹³ As a result of political pressure, then-President Getulio Vargas conceded the club for it to be UNE's headquarters.¹⁴ The Cold War continuously influenced Brazilian politics and gave basis to growing tensions between President Vargas and sectors of the military forces, once a pillar of his government, and ultimately led to his suicide in 1954.¹⁵ Historians such as Antonio Barbosa affirm that this prevented a military coup from taking place in 1954, as the country simply convulsed with the suicide of Brazil's most popular leader at the time.¹⁶

Brazil lived a political roller-coaster for years with left and right-wing movements trying to influence the government.¹⁷ In 1961, President Janio Quadros resigned due to lack of support from a volatile Congress.¹⁸ Joao Goulart, Vice President and a pupil of Getulio Vargas, was meant to assume but conservative sectors considered him too leftist to occupy office. Only after the intervention of legalist politicians could Goulart assume the Presidency, and he had to accept to lose powers as the country became a parliamentary democracy.¹⁹ In 1963, the population decided in a referendum for Brazil to have a presidential system once again, which sparked wrath among the conservatives.²⁰ In the context of the Cold War, Goulart's links with labour unions and his centre-left proposals were seen as communist,²¹ but just as they had done with Vargas and left-leaning politicians, the student movement supported Joao Goulart.²² A coup d'état eventually took place on 31 March 1964, and President Goulart exiled himself from Brazil,²³ while student unions became one of the military's immediate targets.²⁴

During the military regime (1964 to 1985), the student movement was largely repressed.²⁵ For the government, the leftist ideals that the movement represented needed to be suppressed, and this even led to a criminal fire in the headquarters of the National Union of Students in 1964.²⁶ 1968 was a year of great eruption in Brazil, as the military passed its most aggressive piece of legislation to suppress civil rights.²⁷ Simultaneously, students were influenced by the events of May 1968 in

Paris, when a series of violent protests erupted in the French capital in a movement against capitalism and similar values.²⁸ As a result, student demonstrations grew in intensity and radicalism, while simultaneously figures of forced disappearances of students and staff increased.²⁹ Repression reaffirmed the student movement's ideological links to the Left, continuing for years after this totalitarian period in Brazilian history.

In 1985, democracy came. Things did not change in universities, and left-leaning student platforms stayed in power in the student movement. Right-leaning groups would sporadically try to win power, without much or consolidated success.³⁰ Right-leaning liberal philosopher Luiz Felipe Ponde affirms that this is a result of the military regime, which ultimately meant a victory of the Left. In his own words, 'as the (Brazilian) dictatorship was pro-US, it has left the impression that if you are in favour of the free market, you are in favour of torture.'³¹ This generated the impression that the Left was on high moral ground. The extension of this to universities reduced chances of a victorious right-leaning student platform. Furthermore, he believes this status quo tends to be perpetuated as the left, 'uses tactics of the oldest fascism: to eliminate the unbeliever by reducing it to silence, exploring its fear.'³² According to him, those who try to face this fail university or do not get funding for their research.³³

Although more distant to political parties than the previous ones, the latest generations are active in their search for political representation.³⁴ The historically voiceless right-leaning students in Brazilian universities are not any different. Access to the internet and social media helped make political representation for this group a reality. In 2010, two study groups of right-leaning students from different regions of the country decided to found a blog called Studies for Liberty in order to disseminate their ideals.³⁵ In 2011, a right-leaning student platform won student elections for the first time in the country since re-democratisation, at the National University of Brasilia (UnB).³⁶ A year after, another was victorious at the Law Department of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio).³⁷ Both victories were largely publicised by right-leaning media outlets, such as Studies for Liberty and the Liberal Institute. This allowed right-leaning students from all around Brazil to connect to each other, and already in 2012 there were the foundations for what would become the Students for Liberty movement, a right-wing student movement for the study and dissemination of its ideology.³⁸

After the big win in Brasilia and a smaller – but still considerable – win in Rio, right-leaning student platforms started to pop up throughout Brazil.³⁹ The 2014 Presidential elections generated a context that contributed to greater achievements. In that year, the country entered in political convulsion as the traditional Workers Party (PT) and the Social-Democracy Party (PSDB) faced each other in the most competitive election of Brazil in 25 years.⁴⁰ The first, supported by lower and lower-middle classes due to generous social policies, tried to get re-elected after enjoying eleven years in power and a few corruption scandals,⁴¹ while the latter was supported mostly by upper and upper-middle classes, and was famous for its right-wing economic policies during its time in power.⁴²

These elections were marked by a great political polarisation. PSDB's supporters claimed that social policies in place were an indirect way to buy votes, while PT explored the division between rich and poor in the country.⁴³ The party started using other forms of social cleavage in its campaigns, including a badge stating, 'A conscious black votes for Dilma,' (the government's candidate). Attacks on each side could be seen on- and offline. The almost civil-war climate resulted in the headquarters of the right-wing publication VEJA Magazine being attacked by a leftist party student platform.⁴⁴ In the end, Dilma got re-elected with 51.64 percent of the vote.⁴⁵

Universities did not escape the climate of division present in Brazil. Polarisation was best seen at PUC-Rio, where Active Voice was in power of the law department for two years. Students who composed this group scheduled a demonstration in favour of the right-leaning candidate, Aécio Neves. Surprisingly, it reunited more than a thousand out of the institution's seventeen thousand students.⁴⁶ An initial protest in favour of a presidential candidate became the starting point of a movement which would then win the university's student elections that year.⁴⁷ What must be questioned here is whether this was just a natural outcome of facts or a well measured political manoeuvre. Although no official statements can prove this, the understanding is that the latter is the right answer.

This victorious platform followed the same characteristic of other right-leaning groups around Brazil: They affirmed themselves non-partisan.⁴⁸ In fact, there is no proof of official links between these platforms and the Right, but some questions are left unanswered. First, those victories reverberated widely among news outlets as victories of the Right, including a piece of news from Revista ÉPOCA affirming that 'PSDB has won PUC-Rio in the third round [of the presidential elections].'⁴⁹ Second, numerous leaders of those so-called non-partisan platforms then appeared in politics supported by right-leaning parties such as the PSDB.⁵⁰ This raised concern over the possibility that the student movement was just used as a trampoline for future candidacies, instead of the real well-being of students. Furthermore, once the leaders of these groups left to run in real politics, some of the achieved positions – including the successful case at PUC-Rio – came back to the territory of the Left.⁵¹

The future of a strong right-leaning student movement is still uncertain. As it could be seen, the history of the student movement in Brazil is extremely linked with the left. The military regime which ruled the country between 1964 and 1985 developed an even greater repulsion for the political Right and it took 23 years for a right-leaning platform to achieve a representative victory at a Brazilian campus. Access to the internet gave great power to this new right-leaning student movement. The creation of a platform such as Students for Liberty was an important step as it established a visible long-term goal of disseminating their ideals and achieving positions of political representation within the student movement. By 2014, it had representatives in all 27 federal entities which form Brazil.⁵² However, the level of success of the Right at universities can also be questioned. On the one hand, it was successful because the right-leaning platforms managed not just to win, but also to stay in power for at least another year, or more in the case of UnB. On the other hand, the movement seems to be extremely dependent on some leaders, something unsustainable to any long-term political project. If the Right really wants to face the Left at Brazilian universities, it needs to start developing new leaders and adopt a continuous project instead of being a trampoline for some individuals.

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More than 28 percent of the population of the Middle East is aged between 15 and 29. Representing over 108 million young people, this is the largest number of young people to transition to adulthood in the region's history.¹ Young people 15 to 24 constitute approximately 20 percent of the populations in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen, Jordan, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia.

In these Arab countries' populations, young people are the fastest growing segment, some 60 percent of the population is under 25 years old, making this one of the most youthful regions in the world, with a median age of 22 years compared to a global average of 28.² However, these emerging generations find themselves alienated from their countries' economy and

politics creating a dire socioeconomic situation leading many to look at organisations outside the ambit of the state.

These themes are explored in this issue. In his article, Linus Younger examines how Iran's youth is beginning to challenge the regime much like the youth of the 1979 Revolution. Additionally, Dor Barak in his profile piece looks at the diverging interpretations within Israeli society of an IDF soldier's actions.³

The Arab Spring encapsulated the zeal and desire of this new generation. It demonstrated that the Arab youth had come of age and was ready to play a bigger role in the region. However, decades of cronyism and authoritarianism prove to be far too difficult to overturn and many find themselves further adrift on the margins of society.

'A Society Militarised?'

DOR BARAK explores how the actions of one soldier reverberated throughout Israeli society.

How to become a hero in Israel:

1. Approach an injured Palestinian
2. Raise your gun
3. Shoot him dead

The above tweet by author Steven Salaita¹ refers to the events that took place in the West Bank city of Hebron on 24 March 2016. The shot, 'heard around the world,'² exited the rifle of nineteen-year-old IDF soldier Elor Azaria, killing the already heavily wounded Abd al-Fatah al-Sharif and, 'tearing the country apart,'³ in tandem. Following a high-profile trial, an Israeli military tribunal convicted the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) soldier of manslaughter with the legal reasoning for this judgment maintaining that the severity of the event was mitigated by the fact it took place in an active combat situation. On 21 February 2017 Azaria was handed an eighteen-month prison sentence, a demotion in rank and a year's probation. The sore environment in which this case developed warrants a closer analysis and is microcosmic of the intriguing societal issues currently at large in Israel.

The Israeli public is clearly divided in their opinions on the relevancy of the Azaria case. Some view the case as an extremely unique set of circumstances that do not accurately portray the realities in the occupied territories or of Israeli society. Whereas others see the Azaria case as unique only in the fact that its evidence is unequivocal and view it as more in line with Israeli norms of conduct. This debate, whilst of unnerving importance is not what warrants the closer examination of Elor's case. Rather, it is the zealous and divisive public backlash that has latched onto the incident that is significantly more telling.

The shopping bag pictured right, issued at major Israeli supermarket chain Rami Levy reads: "the bags are free of charge, Elor is paying for all of us". H, "happy birthday, with love, the people of Israel."⁴ It is but one expression of Israel's involvement in the Azaria case; the nation's desire to sink its' teeth into the meat of this dispute is precisely what has escalated the incident. Consequentially, Azaria and Sharif have been minimized into mere, 'bit-players,'⁵ in a much larger, societal dispute. The triviality in applying the burden of proof to this debate echoes the post-truth environment in which the Azaria case has been conducted and reaffirms this incident as a mere mouthpiece for an ongoing, divisive discussion in Israel. Practically put, IDF Chief of Staff Gadi Eisenkot's attempts to remove the label attached to Azaria as the, 'child

of all of us,' and display him as a legally responsible adult flouting the law was largely in vain. As Allison Sommer explains, 'While [Eisenkot] is factually correct, facts are no match for emotions running high.'⁶ To those who support Azaria it is clear that the application of justice is an essentiality that can be side-stepped. The question therefore lies not in how Azaria came to being indicted; his path of misconduct sits in plain sight for all to see, rather, it is what Azaria's indictment represents to Israelis and to Israeli society that is more potent.



Photo by Dor Barak

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Following the ruling, Education Minister Naftali Bennet commented on precisely that stating that, 'Israel's security demands [Elor] be pardoned. Elor was sent to protect Israelis at the height of a wave of Palestinian terror attacks. He cannot go to jail or we will all pay the price.'²⁷ The potency of such remarks, lies in their desire to incite the public against Israel's legal system and rule of law. They are symptomatic of a concern for the sacrosanctity of Israelis in the line of duty and allude to the unique role carved out for the IDF and the codes of conduct that it espouses in Israeli society. As reviewed by Jack Khoury, '[i]n a country with universal conscription, every Israeli who has served in the IDF, who has a son or daughter in uniform - or anticipates having one in uniform one day imagines themselves or their loved-ones in [Azaria's] position.'²⁸ He is right. In Israel, Azaria and his legal team enjoy, 'a nation full of citizens who identify with his plight.'²⁹ The timid ruling of the court also reflects this in an attempt to manoeuvre around contention and provide a verdict which prosecutor Nadav Weissman claimed, 'speaks for itself.'³⁰ This verdict also speaks for the nation. It presents a societal issue that goes beyond the military and seeps into the crevices of everyday-life: Elor's indictment is the first time in eleven years that the military courts have found an incumbent soldier guilty of manslaughter. The penalty for such an offence, as pointed out by the family of Sharif, 'is less than a Palestinian child gets for throwing stones.'³¹

*'Every Israeli government of the last 49 years and the Israeli citizens who voted them into power conspired to place Elor Azaria in a bizarre situation that March morning in Hebron.'*³²

The outcry for the, 'citizenry of Israel',³³ to also stand at the dock with Azaria reflects a recognition that Israel and its populace are equally responsible to the crimes committed. Accusing the citizens of Israel for creating the conditions that made the actions of Azaria possible is interesting and provides a commentary on the unique yet ineffective environment in which Israel's democracy operates.³⁴ If, as Harrel points out, in a corrected democracy, someone who kills goes to prison, irrespective of who they killed.³⁵ What does that make Israel? Is Azaria the 'rotten apple' which the IDF sought to portray him as, or should his actions provoke a questioning of what in his upbringing and education contributed to his fatal actions?³⁶ The weight of evidence suggests so. A recent poll from the Israeli Democracy Institute (IDI) indicates that 47 percent of respondents agreed to the claim that, 'a Palestinian who has carried out a terror attack should be automatically killed.'³⁷ A further report from the Human Rights Watch has stated that senior Israeli officials are echoing similar sentiments by endorsing a 'shoot-to-kill' policy in Israeli security enforcement. Following an incident in West Jerusalem in October 2015, Moshe Edri, Jerusalem Police District Commander, stated that: '[e]veryone who stabs Jews or harms innocent people-should be killed.'³⁸ Israeli Police Minister Gilad Erdan's statements on the incident resonate with Edri, asserting that, 'every attacker who sets out to inflict harm should know that he will likely not survive the attack.'³⁹ The aforementioned IDI report also indicates that amongst people aged 18 to 24 – the ages that Israeli citizens are conscripted into the military – 69 percent of respondents supported the statement.

All of the above points to the conclusion that Israeli society is militarised. Statistically, Azaria's case represents one of over 150

instances since October 2015 of Israeli security forces fatally shooting Palestinians suspected of trying to shoot, stab, or run over Israeli citizens (HRW Report). Elor is no, 'rotten apple',²⁰ as the IDF attempted to portray him. He is in fact the nation's child, however, none of his parents will claim responsibility for his actions. With the Jewish festival of Purim approaching, where it is custom for children to dress up as their favourite superhero or comic book character a new outfit is lining the shelves of Israel's costume shops: the combat uniform of Elor Azaria. His inclusion amongst those 'heroes' is characteristic of the presence of an army's ethos tightly lacing the Israeli societal 'boot'.²¹ Only through such an awareness of the expansive and all-encompassing militarization at-hand in Israeli society can the unique and peculiar case of Elor Azaria be understood. It is the byproduct of a society that was built on a foundationally militant bedrock and has since gone about weaving militarised norms of conduct into Israel's fabric of life.

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Youth in Revolt: Iran's Rebellious New Generation

LINUS YOUNGER explains how and why young Iranians are challenging and changing the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In 1979, Iranians led a revolution within their country that overthrew the Shah's autocratic regime and established a new Iran in the form of an Islamic republic, a ground-breaking and historical moment for the world, both within and outside Persia. Perhaps no group appreciated the revolution greater than young Iranians, who were vital to the revolution's success. After all, it was Iran's university students who first organised and planned demonstrations intent on challenging Shah Reza Pahlavi's authority.¹ Yet, Iran's youth did not only distinguish themselves as the most fervent critics of Pahlavi's Western-backed regime: they also became some of the most loyal defenders of the new Islamic Republic led by Ayatollah Khomeini. At the time, for instance, two of the three largest student-run political organisations promoted a, 'radical Islamic nationalist,' ideology, and publicly supported the leadership of Khomeini, the Islamic republic's first supreme leader.² Furthermore, the most famous evidence of the youth's loyalty to Khomeini and his Islamist ideology was the storming of the American embassy in Tehran by 200 university students, who were responsible for detaining embassy officials and kick-starting the historic Iran hostage crisis, an action considered extreme even by some leading figures of the Islamic Republic.³ Clearly, the 1979 revolution revealed to Iran and the rest of the world much about the young population: it showed that young Iranians were ardent defenders of the new regime, but more importantly it demonstrated that Iran's youth had become one of the most active and powerful political forces in the nation. While the latter fact proves to be true to this day, the former assumption – that young Iranians tend to support the Islamist regime – is no longer true. In the present day, Iran's youth, through a campaign of resistance and political action, now challenges the authority of the Ayatollah and the Islamic Republic, just as it had challenged the authority of the Shah less than 40 years ago.

In order to understand why Iran's youth has become a threat to the Islamic Republic, one must take into account the seismic shifts that

have transformed the demographic in the decades since the revolution. One notable factor has been the passage of time. In today's Iran, two-thirds of the population were born after the 1979 revolution took place,⁴ while only 12.19 percent of living Iranians were over the age of seventeen when the revolution began.⁵ Consequently, the once-young generation of Iranians that supported the revolution and the founding of the Islamic Republic is gradually dying out and being replaced by a population that never experienced the revolution, and thus has less of an attachment to it and the republic it created. Because the new generation of Iranians did not experience the revolution, or the subsequent war with Iraq, they question the necessity of the Islamist regime in a way that Iranians rarely did in the 1970s and 1980s. As a result, the new generation of Iranians tend to be dissatisfied with what The Economist dubs, 'Iran's strange blend of theocracy and democracy.'⁶ Further, young Iranians, like their predecessors, demonstrate constant support for societal and cultural change,⁷ an attitude that arguably alienates them from the socially conservative regime. While having a young population that feels alienated and dissatisfied is bad for the Islamic Republic's future, it is made much worse by another factor: The rapid growth of Iran's young population. Since 1979, Iran has gone through a period of extremely high birth rates which has resulted in roughly 60 percent of Iran's population being under the age of 30.⁸ Further, the World Population Review reported that the median age of Iran was only 29 years.⁹ Subsequently, Iran does not only have a new generation of young Iranians dissatisfied with the regime: it has an immensely large generation of young Iranians dissatisfied with the regime.

Unfortunately for the regime, Iran's youth have acted on their dissatisfaction in methods ranging from passive resistance to the regime's laws, to direct action meant to undermine the regime's authority, or even bring it down. Concerning passive resistance, young Iranians have adopted this approach in response to their dissatisfaction with Iran's harsh laws enforcing strict societal norms and values. For instance, young Iranians are frustrated with the regime's draconian laws restricting their personal lives. Those caught publicly drinking and dancing, for example are subject to arrest and a punishment of up to 70 lashes, and social interaction between unmarried men and women has been officially criminalised.¹⁰ As a result of these laws, young Iranians have responded by forming and partaking in a popular, 'underground social culture,' where they can embrace activities that are officially frowned upon by the regime's moral police.¹¹ This phenomenon, while seemingly trivial, is actually a major symbol of the youth's resistance to the regime, inspiring an Iranian sexual revolution, if not a political one. Journalist Pardis Mahdavi explains, 'In the absence of any option for overt political dissent, young people have become part of a self-proclaimed revolution in which they are using their bodies to make social and political statements. Sex has become both a source of freedom and an act of political rebellion.'¹² Another way that young Iranians are more subtly resisting the regime is through martyring its victims. One example of this was the response to the death of Neda Agha-Soltan, a young Iranian woman who was shot and killed by regime forces during anti-government protests, despite the fact that she was not participating in the protests.¹³ Her highly publicised death (through shared video footage capturing her attack), resonated greatly with young Iranians for a number of reasons, from the fact that she had taken 'underground singing lessons', to her status as a university student.¹⁴ The result of her death was large scale public adulation of Agha-Soltan in which small memorials were constructed and poetry dedicated to her was published.¹⁵ The reason that the martyring of victims such as Agha-Soltan is such a powerful form of resistance can only be understood by knowing the role that mourning plays as a catalyst for political change and upheaval in Iran. In 1979, for example, the public funerals of regime

victims often inspired grieving Iranians to riot against the Shah's regime, and when they were killed in the ensuing crackdowns, the funerals of those victims would serve as the catalyst for more uprisings.¹⁶ Understandably, the current Iranian government was terrified that this practice would be revived following the fatalities that ensued during crackdowns. In the case of Agha-Soltan, the regime officially barred her family from holding any kind of public funeral or ceremony mourning her death, due to their fear that such an event would inspire greater resistance against the regime.¹⁷ However, as mentioned earlier, young Iranians continued to challenge the regime by finding more informal or secretive ways to mourn Neda Agha-Soltan's death.

On the other hand, not all young Iranians challenge the regime so quietly, with many leading demonstrations, protests, and riots going so far as to call for the downfall of the Islamic Republic. For decades, Iran's student population has continued to loudly resist the regime's decisions to censor and monitor universities. Take, for example, the 1999 student demonstrations, which began as a response to the regime's decision to ban a popular, pro-reform newspaper. When government forces raided student dorms in an effort to quell the peaceful demonstrations, this only inspired more serious student-led riots that lasted six days before being put down.¹⁸ The position of Iranian students on the regime is explained by the Office for the Consolidation of Unity, Iran's largest anti-regime student organisation. In a statement, they argued, 'Revenge is being taken on the university because of its vibrant, consciousness-raising element.'¹⁹ Clearly, many students see the regime as a threat to their beloved institutions, and have no problems publicly criticising the regime as a result. The largest example of direct action taken against the regime occurred in 2009, when large-scale protests dominated Iranian cities in response to frustrations that the president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, had rigged the country's general election to gain power.²⁰ Because young Iranians had overwhelmingly supported the reformist opposition forces, the Iranian youth played a major role in the resulting riots, protests, and demonstrations. Indeed, they were often the main organisers and participants in the protests.²¹ Further, it was during these protests that many Iranians called for the downfall of the regime, chanting slogans such as 'Death to Khamenei,' (the current supreme leader of Iran), or, 'this is the month of blood, Yazid will fall.'²² The latter chant compares Khamenei to Yazid, a serious antagonist in the narrative of Shi'a Islam, which only demonstrates how greatly the young Iranians involved questioned Khamenei's legitimacy.

While it is clear that young Iranians have continued to challenge the regime in a variety of ways, this phenomenon begs one question: how does the youth challenging Iran's regime impact the future of the nation and the regime? To an extent, young Iranians have already made a tremendous impact on the Islamic Republic. Due to their numbers, young Iranians make up a major voting bloc in the country. The electoral victory of current President Hassan Rohani in 2013 was attributed to the overwhelming support he had gained from the youth in the elections, due to his status as the most moderate, pro-reform candidate.²³ Meanwhile, the regime has already changed its own image in an effort to appeal more to young people, by supporting underground musicians and other icons popular with the youth. Indeed, there is one case of the regime supporting Iranian rapper Amir Tataloo's music career in exchange for his endorsement of the regime, despite the commonly held view in the regime's establishment that rappers were nothing but, 'westernised thugs.'²⁴ Returning to the question of how the youth may change Iran in the future, some possible answers are suggested by the attitudes of young Iranians. When The Financial Times interviewed young Iranians, almost all respondents prioritised ideals such as individualism, female empowerment, and cosmopolitanism as key to the future of Iranian society.²⁵ Concerning its place in the world, young Iranians would want

to bring Iran out of what they perceive as isolationism, and have the state become more open to the Western world, including the United States. Blair argues that young Iranians overwhelmingly supported the Iranian nuclear deal with the Western world, for instance, because of their resentment of Iran's isolationist position, as well as their hope to be free of the burden of Western sanctions.²⁶ This attitude contrasts greatly with the previous, more conservative leaders of the Islamic Republic, who believe that anti-American sentiment is inseparable from the regime.²⁷ However, it would be imprudent to start counting down the days until the end of the Islamic Republic, and the creation of a westernised, totally secular Iran is unlikely, even in the future. Despite the young's support of reform, religion and nationalism are still powerful forces in Iran that even the youngest Iranians continue to subscribe to.²⁸ Meanwhile, Iran's troubled history with imperial powers has left its mark on even the most

recent generations of Iranians, who are ultimately more likely to resist, 'western meddling,' than they are the Islamic Republic.²⁹

In summary, while the political attitudes of young Iranians have changed, their willingness to challenge the status quo has not, as they now, through means both great and small, defy the regime their predecessors once supported. Once again, the Iranian youth should be optimistic that their challenges to the regime will ultimately prove successful. After all, time and numbers are on their side, for while the aging, conservative elements of Iran continue to wane, the new generation continues to grow.

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NORTH AMERICA

JOHNATHAN RIDDICK | REGIONAL EDITOR



At a time when many North American millennials are despondent about the state of politics and government, defining the 'New Generation' is can be challenging. The political revolution of last November was a result of wanting to 'Make America Great Again', harking back to an era beyond memory for young Americans, and the campaign itself won little support from globally minded millennial voters. In Canada, a more obvious embodiment takes the form of current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau but criticisms of his recent conduct raise questions about the viability of his rebranding of the Canadian executive branch.

There are signs that change is afoot as a result of political machinations

ignoring the wishes of the younger citizen. The American Civil Liberties Union now operates as the harbinger of the anti-Trump resistance, whilst the Democratic Party appears poised for a renaissance of activism and voter mobilization, fired up by a vocal base eager to take the country in a different direction to the one their elders opted for. Whether or this will translate into political change in 2018 and beyond remains unclear.

So what is it that the new generation of voters want from their politics? Nina Pusic investigates the new forms of feminism that flourish among young Americans, and how the results of last November can be understood in part in these terms. And in an examination of the volatile conservative party leadership race in Canada, Sean Leonard analyses whether the nations static party system is primed for populism like their neighbours to the south.

Conflicting Generations: The Rise of American Intersectional Feminism

NINA PUSIC evaluates the evolution of feminism in the United States and its connection to Hillary Clinton's loss.

While contrasting ideas of feminism have had various implications in the United States, the political indications of changing feminist ideologies in the modern political discourse have become increasingly relevant. A new generation of modern millennial feminists is rising, vocal, and intersectional, with vastly conflicting ideologies and expectations compared to their second wave liberal feminist parents. This conflict of expectations within the pursuit of gender equality can be best seen in the Hillary Clinton 2016 presidential campaign. While there were many contributing factors to Clinton's electoral loss, her inability to bring liberal millennial voters out to the polls remains a significant factor. To understand what the next generation of feminists expect from their political leaders, it must be examined how there has been a shift in expectation to a political feminism that does more than give white women space in political institutions. The next generation of millennial feminists is building a diverse cohort of young voters who seem unlikely to settle for monolithic gender discourse, critically challenging and transforming feminist politics to incorporate the lived experience of intersecting oppressions.

If the American left is going to win the vote of young radicalised liberals, their vision must answer emerging expectations of intersectionality in politics.

In the 1960s, second-wave feminism emerged as a new voice for gender equality, with feminists advocating legal equality, representation, and reproductive rights.¹ This era of feminist ideology epitomises some of Clinton's strongest supporters: white women looking to find representation in the White House. In 2008, Gloria Steinem urged voters to support Clinton in the primaries against Obama; however, this effort looked to overcome an, 'endemic, singular, and monolithic,'² gender barrier with little focus on acknowledging the multiple institutional barriers historically marginalised Americans faced. In the past decades, feminist theorists have capitalised on second-wave feminism as 'weak' equality that under-theorised what equality meant in practice and who exactly this gender equality was for.³ This second-wave feminism was criticised as bourgeois individualism,⁴ a theory with implications of practice that allowed bourgeois, primarily white, American women to individually rise to space of power within political institutions. Bourgeois individualism fulfilled the needs of middle-class white women: representation with reproductive and legal rights, but held massive blind spots in its approach to political liberation. Bourgeois individualism allowed for the passage of a few middle class white women in to the public sphere,⁵ but left non-white, non-elite women feeling alienated as their voices were never strong forces in this version of gender 'equality'. This resulted in limited participation of racially and ethnically distinct women, as bourgeois individualism did not bolster the needs of women confined by multiple forms of structural inequality. Second-wave feminism left feminist academics and activists wanting

more, and so mainstream theories behind gender equality evolved by a paradigm shift of intersectionality in political discourse.

Intersectional feminism, emerging in the 1990s from Kimberle Crenshaw's *Demarginalising the Intersect of Race and Sex*,⁶ represents an important theoretic shift in feminist discourse which changed the expectations regarding debate in the movement for gender equality. Intersectionality is a method of studying the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships, capitalising on the intersection of oppressive forces traditionally in race, class, sexuality, and gender.⁷ Since the debut of Crenshaw's theory, scholars and activists have taken theories of intersectionality to a range of social issues extending far beyond race and gender binaries. Intersectionality could be interpreted as limitless, as some scholars argue the theory is, 'never done nor exhausted'.⁸ Its pluralist perception allows for a permanent analysis-in-progress of hierarchy and marginalisations, while second-wave feminism seems to be confined to a gender binary and patriarchal structuralism that is interpreted as outdated and under-theorised to millennial feminist voters. Aside from gender applications, the theory fosters a shift towards universal liberation from political and institutional to all kinds of marginalisation; therefore, it holds radical political potential. Compared to its second-wave counterpart, intersectional feminism of the 1990 was more radical; female representation in politics was no longer sufficient.⁹ This 'sisterhood' that once bound women together in the 1960s lacked the space to be critical of an individual's position in the social world order. The definitive 'sisterhood' of the Clinton era never asked for emancipation from oppressive structures of race, class and gender in American politics; it was far less radical, and far less inclusive. In some ways, Clinton-esque white women in power are not the figures millennials wanted; elevated wealthy, white females do not represent an advance in intersectional feminist theory, but a reaffirmation of the status quo of elitist white supremacy in a country plagued by a fractious race relations history. Thus, intersectional feminist theory recognises that social forms of domination produce both oppression and opportunity,¹⁰ and for many intersectional millennial feminists, the electoral success of a white centre-left woman in power would not have marked progress. As intersectional feminist ideology becomes more mainstream among the American left, parties and platforms must adapt to these expectations of intersectional liberation, voicing a more radical emancipatory project of freedom for all kinds of women, not only the white middle-class women who once held the forefront of feminist movements.

The presence of this paradigm shift to intersectional feminist theory among millennials can best be seen in the failure of Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign to mobilise young voters to the polls. Clinton only took 54 percent of the millennial compared to Obama's 60 percent in 2012. Similarly, winning the black vote by 88 percent, Clinton still came out poorly compared to Obama's 93 percent.¹¹ Although these shortcomings may seem marginal, the fact that the US 2016 presidential election had the lowest voter turnout for twenty years demonstrates that Clinton failed to mobilise many voters as her campaigners and advocates, despite facing an opponent who lacked basic political qualifications and had little campaign infrastructure. CNN reports that Clinton failed to, 'hold up the Obama coalition',¹² and part of her campaign's blindspot was failing to acknowledge the type of political discourse millennials expected. While it must be understood that Clinton's electoral failure can be attributed to many factors, ranging from rising populism, reactions to globalisation, Sanders' opposition, her controversial voting history, and institutionalised sexism, it must be acknowledged that in terms of winning the millennial vote, Clinton's campaign failed to bringing out the same numbers as the Obama coalition.

This generational conflict in expectation is reflected in Clinton's

portrayal in the media. While USA Today deemed Clinton, 'a symbol of feminism in the millennial age',¹³ largely-millennial read, left-leaning news sources stated otherwise. Vox, catering to millennial readers, described Clinton as a, 'second-wave feminist, hopelessly moderate,' to many young voters who believed simple representation was not good enough.¹⁴ Similarly, as early as 2015, The Huffington Post published an article entitled, 'Hillary Clinton and The Problem of White Feminism',¹⁵ while The Spectator continued this discourse in 'Why Hillary Clinton's Nomination is no Triumph for Womanhood'.¹⁶ The conflict in Clinton's media portrayal highlights the generational disconnect, as the Clinton campaign failed to address left-wing millennials' desire for intersectionality that exceeded simple representation of white womanhood in office. Moving away from the bourgeois individualist approach to feminist discourse, millennial feminists seem to expect left-wing leadership to acknowledge the intersection of oppressive hierarchies, which Clinton failed to embody through her mixed voting record and support of the Crime Bill in 1994, which left millions of African Americans incarcerated.

However, considering the strong differences between second-wave liberal feminist ideology and intersectional feminism, it may not be possible to run a political campaign that pleases both generations of American women. While second-wave liberal feminists perceive their status in gender binaries – fighting for women's representation – intersectional feminists look far beyond binaries to a much more radically liberating political approach that tackles systemic marginalisation. Perhaps it is impossible to cater to both types of feminists, while one is so radically different than the other in expectation and ideology. Nevertheless, if American politicians are to market themselves to feminist demographics, they must acknowledge that the next generation of millennial feminists has an entirely divergent political expectation. Therefore, this paradigm shift is entirely relevant to American policy making and campaign strategy. To mobilise leftist millennial voting power, one must speak their language of intersectionality, meet their expectations and visions of justice that seeks to liberate traditionally oppressed peoples, and not only represent white womanhood in the political sphere.

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Ivanka Trump, The Face of The New American Elite in the Age of Inequality

BENJAMIN GAZDA analyses a case in how underlying social trends are currently shaping American politics.

Family played a large role in the campaigns for both major candidates of the U.S. presidential election. Family members figured prominently in both of Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump's campaign. Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump both benefitted from the dedication and hard work of their families. One of the most intriguing of these family members was Ivanka Trump. One of the main reasons is that she was so unlike her father in just about every single way imaginable. Indeed, Ivanka and her brothers are described as reserved and not prone to public outburst that their father, President Donald

Trump, is of course famous for.¹ The image of her during the campaign was that of a dedicated daughter who worked hard for what she had earned, and what a modern professional woman should aspire to be. The privilege that is accorded her due to her family name is only ever brought up in passing. Instead of the advantages that her privilege gave her, she points to how hard she has worked and truly earned all that she has.² While Ivanka may lack a sense, of entitlement, the election of her Donald Trump has rocketed another family into the stratus of American nobility.

Ivanka Trump was born to Donald Trump and his first wife, Ivana Trump. In interviews, Ivanka has dispelled the notion that she was a spoiled child that was born of privilege. Ivanka points to the very nasty and public divorce of her parents that dominated the front pages of the New York tabloids.³ Her father's divorce is perhaps the time when Ivanka's loyalty for her father began to coalesce. She states that the divorce, 'brought me closer to my father. Not because I was taking his side, but because I could no longer take him for granted.'⁴ It would be this loyalty that would make her invaluable to Donald Trump's campaign. Her determination and drive was also seen at a young age. She knew right away that she wanted to follow her father in the business world.⁵ Her ambition also led her to the modeling world when she was a teenager. Ivanka was attending the prestigious Choate Rosemary Hall, and made a deal with her parents where she promised to keep her grades up while she modeled.⁶ There is no doubt that Ivanka was driven and ambitious in her youth, and worked to at the best of her abilities to accomplish the goals that she set out for herself.

Despite how hard she worked, Ivanka still benefitted from the privilege that being a Trump afforded her. She spent her primary and secondary school years in prestigious private schools that only the country's elite could possibly hope to send their children to. Choate Rosemary Hall features Aldlai Stevenson, John F. Kennedy and John Dos Passos among their alumni, as well as whole cohort of CEOs.⁷ She attended college at Wharton Business School at the University of Pennsylvania. Instead of working for her father's company immediately after college, she took on a position with Forest City, which is a real estate development firm in New York City. Here, she talks about how she did 'grunt work' that other young graduates and interns were doing.⁸ However, she did join the family business and has a meteoric rise through the ranks of the company becoming an executive vice president, along with her brothers. Along with the family's real estate empire, she also became a judge on Donald Trump's reality show, 'The Apprentice'. She fully embraced the Trump brand

Ivanka Trump's story is dramatically different from most Americans. One of the biggest issues of the election was the growing inequality between the middle and lower classes and the very rich. Income inequality in the United States has become out of control. Scientific American, reports that the ratio of CEO to worker pay is 354 to 1, and that the Walton family (owners of Wal-Mart), make more than a year's worth of 42 percent of Americans.⁹ New studies are coming out that link economic inequality with higher opioid use, and a general sense of despair among working class Americans.¹⁰ Anne Case and Angus Deaton, economists at Princeton University, have found a link between increasing opioid use amongst the white working class. The article highlights working class whites whose highest education level is high school.¹¹ While that may have been the path to a good life 30 or 40 years ago, that is no longer the case. The authors of the study link the increasing opioid use and death rate among working class white to be about a lack of hope.¹² Getting a good paying job is harder to come across and despair begins to set in.

Consequently, these are the Americans that Donald Trump targeted as potential voters for his campaign. He clearly won this demographic during the election and promised to 'Make America Great Again'. While

her father tries to win over the average working American, Ivanka has been busy selling a message to working professional women. She operated a fashion line that hoped to empower professional women.¹³ The clothes and fashion accessories are for women very much like Ivanka Trump herself. The lifestyle of a powerful, fearless professional woman who is also the primary caretaker of the household is attainable by only a select few women.¹⁴ Those who are left behind due to economic inequality will have a hard time to live such a lifestyle.

Ivanka not only doesn't have much in common with working class, but she differs most of her generational peers. Ivanka belongs to the 'Millennial' generation, which is the name given to people that were born between 1982 and 1998. Much has been made of the struggles that millennials are facing in the age of increasing inequality. For example, Millennials are not going to out earn their parents. It will be the first instance since the industrialization of the West that children will not earn more than their parents.¹⁵ Decreasing wages, and the problems that come with student debt (like having to move to a foreign country to escape it),¹⁶ show that Ivanka comes from a totally different world than that of most Americans. Despite her efforts to downplay the advantages of growing up a Trump, she still doesn't have to deal with the struggles that many people her age must face.

Instead of bringing about a revolution in American politics, Trump and his family represent the status quo. The message was sold on making the U.S. the powerhouse it once was decades ago and giving a voice to the forgotten and left behind. Ivanka, as hard as she has worked, has had advantages that aren't there for many Americans. While she wants to represent American working women, very few working women could afford her lifestyle. As Ivanka and her husband, Jared Kushner, take roles within the Trump White House, they are cementing their legacy one of many powerful American families that wielded the power of government. The prospect of Chelsea Clinton running for office,¹⁷ people clamoring for Michelle Obama to run for president¹⁸ add to the families wishing to cement their families among the great political dynasties. However, with more Americans feeling left behind and falling into despair, are they the ones that we should be looking to for answers?

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The Race for Canada's Conservative Leadership

SEAN LEONARD dives into the implications of the ongoing race for the leadership of the Conservative Party of Canada.

On the 27 May, the Conservative Party of Canada will hold an election to appoint a new leader following the resignation of Steven Harper in 2015.¹ Harper resigned after a historic victory saw the Liberals gain the largest numerical increase in seats between federal elections in Canadian history.² However, since this time the world has seen a historic movement of another kind. A wave in anti-establishment populism has seen the likes of Brexit and the election of Trump, as well as a garnering in support for a new generation of anti-establishment politicians across Europe. The Conservative leadership election then could serve as a litmus test to see if this political mood has extended to Canada, and whether a generational shift is occurring in a

country with a remarkably stable political party system.

Currently the Liberals form a majority government in the House of Commons in Ottawa with 180 seats, almost twice as many as the Conservative's 97.³ The New Democratic Party, the official opposition of the previous government, trail with a moderate 44 seats.⁴ The mantle of Conservative leadership is currently being held by interim leader Rona Ambrose, appointed after Harper's departure.⁵ Conservative party rules prevent Ambrose from seeking election to become permanent leader, despite efforts from a small group of Tory MP's to remove this barrier in an attempt to get her to run.⁶ However, Ambrose has repeatedly denied interest in running for party leadership, for the time being at least.⁷

The leadership race is crowded, with fourteen candidates currently in the running.⁸ Of these, polls indicate a few individuals stand ahead of the pack with a real chance of victory in May. One such person is entrepreneur and reality television star Kevin O'Leary.⁹ With his background in reality television and business, as well as lack of political experience, comparisons between O'Leary and Trump come naturally. However, whether O'Leary can be seen as part of a reformation of the party is another matter. To address such a question, it may be more pertinent to look at the differences between O'Leary and Trump. For one, O'Leary is notably socially progressive for a Conservative politician, expressing support for legalisation of assisted dying and marijuana, as well as a carbon tax.¹⁰ This latter point may be a result of his degree in environmental studies,¹¹ again unusual for a conservative politician and a far cry from the climate change denying rhetoric of many members of the new anti-establishment political generation. In addition, while O'Leary may be a political outsider, his status as an elite is less debatable. With a net worth in the range of \$400 million,¹² and a penchant for fine wines, his personal brand contains little of the appeal to the 'common man' that formed the unusual dichotomy of the Trump campaign.

There are still significant barriers that may prevent O'Leary from being successful in May. For one, he is not fluent in French, conspicuously announcing his candidacy the day after the French language debate.¹³ Knowledge of French is an important asset in a country where it is spoken as a first language by roughly 7.5 million people,¹⁴ and ten seats in the parliament are held by the Bloc Québécois, a Québécois separatist party.¹⁵ Other obstacles include his socially progressive stances, which may alienate Canadian voters who have no other viable voting option if they seek a socially conservative prime minister. Recordings taken from an Ottawa radio interview in which O'Leary claims, 'there is nothing proud about being a warrior,' have offended members of the Canadian military.¹⁶ Another candidate, MP Lisa Raitt, has made a website specifically opposing O'Leary's candidacy, presenting these scandals under a banner emphatically reading, 'Kevin O'Leary Must be Stopped.'¹⁷

If the similarities between Trump and O'Leary are only skin deep, there may be another candidate who more adequately embodies the message of the anti-establishment generation of politicians. Kellie Leitch, member of parliament for the Simcoe-Grey area of Ontario and former surgeon, has intentionally made efforts to associate herself with the wave of populism responsible for Trump's election. In November, she described Trump's victory as an, 'exciting message,' that needs to be, 'delivered in Canada as well.'¹⁸ Since then, she has repeatedly blasted elites and infamously described her campaign as the, 'revenge of the comments section,'¹⁹ a metaphor for disaffected and underrepresented voters. In a January email to supporters, she alluded to Trump's famous call to, 'drain the swamp,' promising to 'drain the canal,'²⁰ in reference to the Rideau Canal that runs through Ottawa. This prompted amusing responses on Twitter which pointed out that the Rideau Canal is already drained twice a year.²¹ Of Leitch's policies, probably the most divisive is her call to 'value test' immigrants,²² reflecting Trump's calls for extreme

vetting of refugees. Other candidates have refused to adopt similar policies, generally criticising them as ineffective and unnecessary.²³

It is important to note however that while co-opting his message, Leitch denies endorsing Trump.²⁴ Rather, it is likely her adoption of his message and attempting to tie herself into the anti-establishment movement is more of a political strategy than anything else. As neither the most experienced nor the most popular candidate in the running, it is feasible that controversy is simply a smart tactic to stand out from the rather large crowd of contestants. Just as Trump's controversial statements gained him significant (not to mention free) media attention, Leitch is now a recognisable name from a group of candidates who are otherwise forgettable to Canadians without a significant interest in politics.²⁵

However, the polls still indicate that as of now, Leitch does not have a realistic chance of winning. Most indicate that the candidate most likely to seriously contest O'Leary is Maxime Bernier.²⁶ Bernier is very much a party insider. Having served as a member of parliament since 2006, he has held position as the minister for small business and tourism, as well as minister of foreign affairs.²⁷ The latter position he resigned from after admitting to leaving confidential documents in an unsecure location.²⁸ His support from within the party is evidenced by the endorsement of seven MPs and six senators. O'Leary, for comparison, only has the support of one of each. A self-professed libertarian, Bernier has been critical of the Trudeau administration's decision to run deficits on infrastructure spending.²⁹ Whether or not Bernier's position as an MP is an advantage is unclear. O'Leary has claimed that even if elected, he will not seek election into the House of Commons, presumably at least until the 2019 elections.³⁰ While this prevents him from acting as the leader of the official opposition, O'Leary has stated his focus will be on regaining the support of the 18 to 35 age bracket, a task his celebrity status will surely aid.³¹

As polls indicate a Bernier or O'Leary victory,³² it seems that supporters of this new wave of anti-elite politicians remain a minority, at least in the conservative camp. However, the real test of the Canadian political temperature will come with the 2019 federal elections. While the Liberal victory in the 2015 round of elections saw a huge increase of support for the party, for some the honeymoon period seems to be ending. March saw the Liberals approval ratings drop to their lowest points since the election due to a number of controversies in recent months.³³ In January, Justin Trudeau was put under investigation for a potential conflict of interest after holidaying with the Aga Khan on Khan's private island.³⁴ Combined with a number of cash-for-access fundraisers, some are viewing Trudeau as increasingly out of touch and open to the influence of the wealthy.³⁵ In November, the government's decision to approve the Kinder Morgan pipeline led the popular satirical Canadian website, The Beaverton, to post an article exclaiming that Trudeau was now ahead in the Conservative leadership race,³⁶ reflecting the lack of support for the move among Liberal voters opposed to further fossil fuel infrastructure development. More recently, the Liberals abandoned their promise of electoral reform, citing lack of consensus and a clear preference for an alternative.³⁷ As electoral reform was a major promise of the 2015 campaign and remains a hotly debated issue in Canadian politics, this move was seen by many as an act of self-serving political manipulation.³⁸

If this controversy continues for the Liberals, it is possible that the Conservatives will have an opportunity to regain power in 2019. Alternatively, while the New Democratic Party (NDP) remain behind the two leading parties in the polls, they may try to capitalise on the falling support for the Liberals. The direction of the NDP will largely be decided by their own leadership race, due to happen in October, after current leader Tom Mulcair lost a vote of no confidence in April of last

year.³⁹

With the significant shifts in leadership, numerous controversies and an increasingly unnavigable geopolitical atmosphere, the next year will be a crucial time for Canadian politics. However, it seems that support for the new generation of elite bashing, anti-establishment politicians has so far failed to take root in the country. While an O'Leary victory would certainly be historic, his support has not originated from a desire to uproot the political system in the manner characteristic of the Trump Campaign. Rather, all indicators suggest that for the near future, federal

politics will continue to be dominated by 'elites', whether that be the current (and son a former) prime minister, a self-made millionaire, or an experienced cabinet veteran. Nevertheless, it is the nature of elections to be unpredictable. With just over a month to go, this will certainly be one to keep an eye on.

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INTERNATIONAL



BERNADAS JEREVICIUS | REGIONAL

Following on from the changing status quo and from the increasingly important role of media and perception, the shifting power dynamics leave political agency at the hands of the new generation. Across the world, burgeoning movements rise and fall daily, mobilising the fervour of the youth through radical and innovative ideas. At the hand of new technologies, increasing socio-political consciousness and re-discovery of obscure ideologies, this demographic has immense means and unlimited resources with

which to exert political action. Syria finds itself in the middle of an ideological hurricane: disenfranchised youths flock to the side of rebels of varying ideologies, and the Rojava question throws the certainty of ideology into pandemonium. The foundation of democracies is frequently met by sceptical upstarts, particularly in the West with Labour's newfound socialist appeal to the young and Bernie Sander's massive media drive to establish a true revolution.

South Korea's conservatism has recently met its death knell at the hands of student activists who have successfully ousted deep corruption within the ruling government. France and Front National also exhibit the diversity of political opinions amongst millennial, in demonstrating significant conservative support from this upstart generation. George Bernard Shaw would have been wise to have reconsidered his famous utterance: that 'Youth is wasted on the young.'

In this issue, Abraham Assaily takes a look at the new generation of leftist movements surfacing around the world, in particular, the resurgence of Anarchist thought. Snighda Anand Prakash gives an outline of Malala Yousafzai's life and trials that led to her becoming a shining beacon for equal rights in education worldwide. Harry Fletcher investigates the recruitment tactics employed by terrorist organisations, analysing the specific sociological mechanics they exploit in order to garner support, and Camilla Hallman evaluates if there is anything surprising or radical in the way the international millennial demographic employs political action.

The Phoenix in the Proletariat: the rebirth of Leftism

ABRAHIM ASSAILY examines How the Left Can Exist in the New Generation.

The 21st Century can currently be seen as a triumph for global capitalism. Nearly every nation in the world has adopted some form of neoliberal economic policy, with a focus on growth and free trade. This can be seen in the acceptance of the Fukuyamist interpretation that liberal capitalist states are the end of human development.¹ Consequently, political elites have taken to accepting this as the superior system. Despite the overall rise in standard of living and industrial efficiency in the last twenty years, many feel as though the system is hostile, and that the great leaps forward in economic and social innovation have not been directed in the interests of the masses. The austerity crisis in Greece and the subsequent crippling protests and strikes across the nation since 2010 can be seen as testament to disillusionment with the system.² This issue has led to a rise in popular support of radical groups and in particular of the political right-wing, due in part to the lack of an active or approachable left wing movement around the world. This has coincided with the virtual death of the Left internationally with major left-wing parties around the world losing their strength, like Labour in the United Kingdom and the Social Democratic Party in Germany.³ Since the end of the Cold War nearly 30 years ago, radical left-wing groups, both revolutionary and reformist, have had a large crisis of identity as the failure of the Soviet Union destroyed what was seen by many as the bastion of left wing thought. In the new millennium the Left is at a precipice. The solution points itself to reform and rejection of divisions and archaic thought. Considering the international Left's past mistakes and near misses, a new generation

of thought beckons in the death of the old and through the rebirth of revolutionaries.

In order to understand the current divide in the modern Left, it bears to examine the catalytic events behind them. Throughout the latter half of the 20th Century, the Soviet Union and the United States (US) both attempted to paint the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) as a true example of socialism, each doing this for very different reasons. The USSR used its influence around the world to paint itself as the only true bastion of socialism. This, in tandem with wide spread censorship, discredited and silenced the wide array of non-Leninist socialist thought such as Anarchism and Libertarian Socialism, causing left-wing movements internationally to be seen as, and often time to actually be, propaganda tools of the Soviet Union. This includes the historic 'Red Scare', where the US government persecuted any famous actor or artist who was even considered to be a leftist.⁴ When the Soviet bloc fell in 1991, numerous Marxist-Leninist parties across the world were quick to follow it; key among the remaining orthodox groups that still have support are the Cuban Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party.⁵ This crisis has led to mass divergence in approaches between groups to stay relevant in the new millennium, with many in the new generation still continuing to differentiate themselves.

The vast majority of hard left groups internationally rejected their revolutionary Marxist roots choosing instead to adopt social democratic policies and act as parliamentary parties.⁶ This can be seen in most of the political organisations which take this line in Eastern Europe. Indeed, a majority are made up of post-communist party members.⁷ Others, such as the many Maoist parties across the world, have taken up hard anti-revisionism, blaming the failure of international socialism on attempts at reform and a softening of the Marxist-Leninist line. Throughout the impoverished parts of the developing world, there are revolutionary movements with mass support identifying with this particular approach, most notably in both the Philippines and in India.⁸ These Maoist groups have proven their popularity the most in the Third

World, where the ideology is seen as empowering, owing to its freedom from the occidental model that the other strands of Marxism revolve around,⁹ reflected in their strong anti-imperialism.

Regarding the Western world, the radical Left is ideologically dominated by small and divided Trotskyite parties which play on the idea of being the, 'rightful successor to the Russian Revolution.'¹⁰ Each party claims to hold the true Trotskyist line: many declare themselves internationalists by espousing titles such as 'The International Marxist Tendency' and 'The Fourth International' (itself an attempt to unify them with Lenin's Third International).¹¹ These movements mainly focus on growing their numbers - many do not reach membership greater than 1,000 - and continuing what they see as a proud tradition of, writing and distributing newspapers which are meant to act as an ideological backbone for the working class.¹² However, there are examples of a new generation of active organisations holding a Trotskyite line, such as in Argentina where Trotskyite socialist parties have led a strike of over three million workers in the capital.¹³

On the other side of the socialist spectrum, the new generation is championed by the anarchist movement, which had been unilaterally marginalised since the establishment of the USSR now seeing resurgence in the past 20 years. They offered a more democratic and independent leftist line, attracting many who believe in social and economic justice whilst opposing the authoritarian model of the Soviet Union and China.

Chief among these is the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista Army of National Liberation), often simply called the Zapatistas. They are a Libertarian Socialist guerrilla movement in the southern Mexican province of Chiapas, which has been fighting for worker's, women's and indigenous peoples' rights since 1994.¹⁴ Today, the Zapatistas are in control of the interior mountains of Chiapas with a total population in the tens, if not hundreds, of thousands.¹⁵ They were founded in response to the rampant corruption and inequality which plagued, and continues to plague, Mexico. This was exacerbated at the time when the Mexican government failed to bring any major drug lords to justice due to their wealth.¹⁶ Eventually, after years of maintaining their integrity in the face of opposition, the Zapatistas were able to secure the aforementioned territory as their own, establishing an example for what an alternative society can look like based on their commitment to egalitarian values.¹⁷ Their original goal was simply to oppose the newly signed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), but as their strength grew, so did their ambition and demands.¹⁸ These included allowing them to build a society for their people independent of the Mexican government, free from elitism.¹⁹ Rather than govern in the way that past socialist regimes had, the Zapatistas place stronger emphasis on democratic institutions, from the smallest local level all the way to the Councils of Good Government, their highest legislative body, ensuring direct democracy across all areas.²⁰ The Zapatista spokesperson, Sub-Commandante Marcos, declared in a speech that, 'I do not know what the immediate result will be, but I do know what the final one will be; the triumph of Democracy,' solidifying the movement's commitment to true democracy.²¹ Although the region is still incredibly impoverished and remote, it is under the control of its people, allowing a small region of the world forgotten by the international community to function in a truly independent manner.²²

Another beacon of hope for leftism has found itself in Rojava, the Kurdish autonomous regions of Syria. Born out of the bloodshed of the Syrian Civil War, supporting neither the government nor the rebels, the Kurds rose up to secure their liberation and reject both Assad and the Syrian opposition.²³ The main goal of the movement is national liberation, but what makes it unique is the ideological base that it works off of: Democratic Confederalism. The figurehead of this ideology, Abdullah Ocalan, a former Marxist Leninist,²⁴ adapted Libertarian Socialism to

the Kurdish question with a decisive commitment to democracy, stating that, 'Democratic confederalism is based on Grass roots participation. Its decision-making processes lie with in the communities. Higher levels only serve the coordination and implementation of the will of the community.'

²⁵ What makes it unique in comparison to most radical leftist movements is the modernism with which it approaches leftist thought - not rejecting Marxist canon or embracing it, but making theories and practice work for the needs of the people directly. One of the most radical points of their movement is their dedication to women's rights, punctuated in one of the defining documents of the movement: 'Liberating Life: Women's Revolution'.²⁶

Rojava is still highly experimental as it has only been around for the last seven years whilst engulfed in a massive civil war, but this has not stopped it from gaining renown from leftists around the world.²⁷ Thousands of communists, anarchists and socialists have flocked to the region to pick up arms for what they see as the new Spanish Civil War. In an attempt to fight the injustice they see growing in the world, they echo back to George Orwell and Ernest Hemingway, who famously got involved in the Civil War, claiming that it was their duty to fight fascism.²⁸ The diversity has allowed for a dispersion of left-wing thought, bringing people together and allowing much of the leftist old-guard to become more innovative. This however, does not mean that Rojava is perfect; much of the leadership in the area is still highly tribal with leaders vying for their own control over the region. In addition, many of the Kurds, who have been oppressed for decades, now want their new nation to be for them alone, expressing skepticism towards Ocalan's view of internationalist ideology.²⁹

In the United States, the new generation of leftism has mainly grown around Bernie Sanders, focusing on building a grassroots movement to, 'retake government for the people.'³⁰ Many participants are young and from working class backgrounds who feel that they no longer can achieve the American Dream. They are worried about their future in society as they see current policies diametrically opposed to their aspirations. In 2015, according to a poll done by the Harvard Institute for Politics, around 48 percent of Americans between eighteen and 29 deemed this American dream to be dead.³¹ This, alongside the electoral failure of Sanders, despite droves of popular support, has seen the growth of a more cynical Left worried about the future, in the US at least. Owing to the failures of this movement and their contemporaries in the West, like Jeremy Corbyn's Momentum in the United Kingdom,³² many have now moved towards more radical groups calling for immediate and extreme change wanting to build a new society, not based around the ideas of the past socialist states but rather based on new ideas, once again stressing the relevance of experiments like Rojava and the Zapatistas.

In effect, there exist many prominent groups across the world, managing to successfully innovate on classical leftist ideas, succeeding in places that would have been once thought impossible. Although there are still hardline Marxist-Leninists across continents fighting in guerilla wars, these wars have been fought for years, seemingly failing to enact the desired changes sought after by these groups. In the West, many social democratic movements are being slowly crushed by neoliberal and right wing populist groups. Thus the Left in the modern day must accept that many of their political stances in the past have ended in failure. In order to bring the change they want to see in the world today they themselves need to change. Not by capitulating to or accepting current norms, but rather by continuing to challenge authority and by fostering new and exciting ideas. Society is pushing in opposition to this sentiment, and the Left stands at a tipping point. It has two choices: reform, or fade into obscurity.

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The Patterns of Millennial Movements are Problematic

Our 'new' generation does nothing new.

The 'new generation' of our time is the generation of millennials: those born between the 1980s and the early 2000s, who are widely regarded as lazy, narcissistic, job-hoppers who expect everything to be handed to them on a plate.¹ However, they are also a population of young voters who are disenchanted by the political process and apt to demonstrate. Activism has been a key part of political liberalism, and protests are not new; but the 'new generation' performing these protests are facing the challenge of obsolescence. Protests are no longer enough to garner action from governments, and a common thread behind these movements is a lack of thought regarding tactics after being impassioned by their motivation to cause change.² What millennial movements have been lacking are leadership, tactical planning, and civic engagement. In addition, the dependency on technology for campaigns of social activism allow for the novelty of movements to wear off, presenting another challenge unto itself.

A challenge facing millennial activism is leadership - essential to achieve goals with any conglomerate of people. As can be seen through the example of the 2011 'Occupy' movements, while the motivations behind the demonstrations were valid, the fact that they were leaderless and non-specific made it difficult for them to achieve real change. Micah White, one of the co-creators of the movement who is still a prominent activist, recently wrote an article on his website entitled 'Without a path from protest to power, the Women's March will end up like Occupy'. In his writing, he explores a variety of issues plaguing millennial social movements, including leadership and tactical failures.

*The number one challenge standing in the way of an effective protests in America today is the inability of our social movements to actually govern. There might be a slight chance our protests could oust Trump, but there is no chance that our present-day movements could govern at all, let alone effectively. That is because leaderless protesters don't know how to make complex decisions together as a movement. Occupy couldn't even come up with its one demand.*³

While the Occupy movement brought international discussion regarding obscene wealth inequality, it evidently did not lead to change, making Micah's comments all the more relevant.

Micah's discussion of tactics is important to observe one that seems to hold true beyond just Occupy. On 15 February 2003, demonstrators in London and around the world protested the Iraq War.⁴ Although there were two million protesters in London, three million in Rome, and between ten and twenty million in other cities around the globe, the anti-war demonstration failed to keep Britain from involving themselves in the war. 'The British march, and public opinion (a poll that weekend put opposition to a war at 52 percent with only 29 percent in favour) was dismissed by most MPs and Blair's government: 29 days later, the invasion of Iraq began.'⁵ This encapsulates the inefficacy of protests to enact lasting social change, contrary to established notions affirmed across history. Back in the 1960s peaceful protest may have been seen as an important democratic tool leading to real change - as

in the case of the March on Washington led by civil rights leaders - but in recent times, this alone has not been enough.⁶ Protests against the apartheid in South Africa also succeeded by demonstrating repeatedly - allowing protests around the globe and international media to apply pressure on states to sanction South Africa, forcing the government to give in.⁷ However, looking at recent examples, it is evident that activists are unable to effectively employ this mechanism anymore.

Another important aspect to examine is millennial political campaigns beyond simple protests. Bernie Sanders and the 'political revolution' (also known as the 'Our Revolution' movement) behind him are attempting to focus more on tactics, and the 'everyday' behind their movement.⁸ In an interview, Sanders stated:

*We have got to mobilise people and rethink our commitment in terms of what our role is in the political process. And the message I just want to make here [...] it is not good enough to say, 'Well, hey, I vote every two years. I vote every four years.' That's fine, but that is not good enough. What we need to do is to be thinking every day the kinds of roles we can play in educating and organising and mobilising people to defeat this horrific agenda.*⁹

Although Senator Sanders is not himself a millennial, the movement carries importance for the generation behind its sentiment: more than two million voters under 30 voted for him in the 21 states that cast ballots by 1 June; while Clinton and Trump had less than 1.6 million millennial votes combined, Sanders had 29 percent more votes than them by the end of the primaries.¹⁰ While able to mobilise a large amount of people, Sanders did not win the primaries because his message was too narrow.¹¹ If 'Our Revolution' and other millennial movements want to succeed, their progressive candidate needs to have, '[...] a campaign that starts early, with a clear commitment to winning and focus on building a broad and inclusive coalition.'¹² Those seeking change should not put all their effort into demonstrating - tactics must extend to voting, keeping people informed, and stoking passion for change over time; something millennial-led movements have not been able to do yet.

However, this inefficacy is not universal - one millennial protest movement that witnessed success through its radical tactics was the recent movement against President Park Geun-hye in South Korea. After being discovered to confide in Choi Soon-sil, the daughter of a religious cult leader who was highly influential on Park's military dictator father, prosecutors accused her of increasing the power of the chaebol: large groups which influence the economy and politics in South Korea, whom the President swore to control in her 2012 election.¹³ Protesters demonstrated every weekend for six weeks, mobilising 500,000 to 1.5 million people each time, culminating in Park's impeachment this past December.¹⁴ During the weeks of protesting, President Park's face was presented on urinals, and her face was depicted with dripping blood in protest artwork. Her approval ratings went down to less than four percent.¹⁵ By being persistent in their efforts, and spreading passion among the population, protestors were able to set the course for President Park's impeachment. However, what they have still failed to do is set up the government they want in place - the prime minister, who is now acting as head of government, is considered as involved in Park's corruption with Choi Soon-sil and is widely unpopular.¹⁶

A similar approach also succeeded, although not without collateral damage, at the 'Euromaidan' protests in Ukraine in 2013.

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