

# CORNELL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS REVIEW

VOL. VII

ISSUE II

SPRING 2014

CREATION OF NUREMBERG

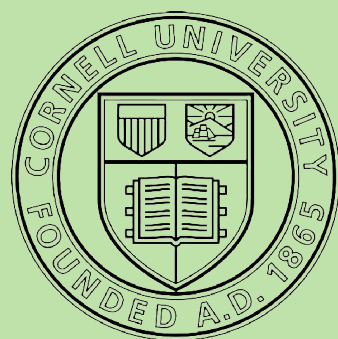
DIPLOMACY AND DEBT

WOMEN OF WAR

BALANCING TERROR

AN UNCERTAIN BELONGING

MUSLIMS IN MOSCOW



Professor Fredrik Logevall, Primary Advisor  
 Director, Einaudi Center for International  
 Studies, Department of History

Professor Robert Andolina  
 Cornell Johnson School of Management

Professor Ross Brann  
 Department of Near Eastern Studies

Professor Matthew Evangelista  
 Department of Government

Professor Peter Katzenstein  
 Department of Government

Professor Isaac Kramnick  
 Department of Government

Professor David Lee  
 Department of Applied Economics  
 and Management

Professor Elizabeth Sanders  
 Department of Government

Professor Nina Tannenwald  
 Brown University

Professor Nicolas van de Walle  
 Department of Government

Sarah Maxey  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Wendy Leutert  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Joe Florence  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Igor Logvinenko  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Whitney Taylor  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Michael Allen  
 PhD Candidate  
 Department of Government

Hajra Hafeez-ur-Rehman  
 Masters Candidate  
 Cornell Institute for Public Affairs

Cornell International Affairs Review, an independent student organization located  
 at Cornell University, produced and is responsible for the content of  
 this publication. This publication was not reviewed or approved by, nor  
 does it necessarily express or reflect the policies or opinions of,  
 Cornell University or its designated representatives.

The Cornell International Affairs Review is indexed in the EBSCO Host

NICHOLAS STIEG  
Cornell University  
Arts and Sciences, 2015  
President, CIAR

With the publication of our most recent journal, the Cornell International Affairs Review has produced its seventh volume over the course of the past four years. While this is truly a feat onto itself, it is also indicative of an organization that has continued to progress forward every year. Having joined as a Freshman, I have had the opportunity to participate in the forum that CIAR provides both students and faculty on campus. The opportunity to explore contemporary issues in an academic setting is one that I have come to appreciate it and that has helped to push my understanding of international issues.

Over the course of the past semester, CIAR has grown both in number and as an organization. Our global reach has significantly expanded, as calls for submissions were sent not only to political science departments across the country, but across the world. We have also continued to use our weekly discussions of current events as a vehicle through which to contribute to the online political science community. Our blog, The Diplomatist, recently received an aesthetic update, revealing a more modern and sophisticated layout. However, it is clear that our job is not done yet, and we have continue with efforts to expand our presence in the social networking sphere while continuing to maintain our strong support base. The development of an application for smartphones is our next goal in mind.

CIAR's extraordinary growth can be principally attributed to the drive of our new members to push existing boundaries and develop relationships both on and off campus. As we move forward, there are a number of ways in which we hope to continue to progress, chief amongst them the fostering of new connections with other University affiliate. By continuing to develop the journal's reputation, and lift it from the veil of a mere undergraduate production, the distribution of a premier academic publication on international affairs becomes our end goal. The placement of our journals in bookstores at other Universities will serve as a key method through which to broaden our readership.

Ultimately, our efforts could only be made possible by the generous support of the Mario Einaudi Center for International Affairs and the guidance of both Fred Logevall and Heike Michelson. I also wanted to take this opportunity to thank our new executive board for all the hard work they put in to make both the journal, and this event, a reality. This semester our organization's leadership was brand new, and the efforts of Ryan, Rolando, Jessie, Lucas, and Coco went along way in making sure that we didn't suffer any setbacks. Additionally, I wanted to give special thanks to Gabby Balbin who worked tirelessly to make this year's speaker, award winner author and foreign correspondent to pro-publica Sebastian Rotella, possible. In closing, as our first semester comes to an end, we hope that the next one will bear witness to the continued growth of our organization as both a forum for international affairs and a participant in the global discussion on international affairs.

COCO XIAO  
Cornell University  
Arts and Sciences, 2016  
Editor In Chief, CIAR

With this issue of the Cornell International Affairs Review, my first as Editor in Chief, we continue to expand upon the tradition of excellence that CIAR has upheld since its establishment seven years ago. From analysis of justiciability to discussions of financial crises, the submissions that we received this semester addressed a diverse spectrum of topics. The following articles stood out in exemplifying the multifaceted nature of global concerns. They not only deal with the political and theoretical perspectives of events but also with the underlying socio-cultural and normative aspects of the actors involved.

Our first two articles draw on the complexity of international relations' theories. Assessing the elements of realism and idealism as they manifested in the creation of the Nuremberg Court, Emma Campbell-Mohn challenges the validity of a one-sided approach. Next, Karinne Smolenyak investigates the relationship between diplomatic recognition and IDA graduation to uncover the potential links in financial development and diplomacy.

With Erin Alexander's article on the role of women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, we enter into the second part of our discussion focused on understanding the positive and negative effects in the threat of force. During the Sri Lankan Civil War, this became a means of empowering women to break out of the traditional gender norms. In the case of North Korea, Ju Jung-Lee explores the need for a multilateral method of engaging the carrot and stick to respond to the country's nuclear threats.

Our final two articles delve into the issue of identity and nationhood. Halie Craig examines the developments in the Israeli policies of identity control. Following Craig, Caitlin Toto looks at the historical, religious, and regional divides behind the prejudice against Muslims in Moscow. She studies the polarizing effects of nationalism as applied identities of the "other."

The diversity of these subjects also reveal the extent of interconnections among them. Today, the field of international affairs is linked more than ever in our globalized world, and occurrences continents away have profound implications for us. We invite you to join our contributors as they further this understanding.

I would like thank our graduate and junior editors for all their help in compiling this issue. I also want to thank the Einaudi center and the SAFC, along with all the writers, without whom none of this would be possible. I also want to thank Samson Cheung, who spent endless hours directing the layout, and who was with me throughout the editing process. Lastly, I would like to thank my mom and dad whose love and encouragement have supported me every step of the way.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM AT NUREMBURG

THE CREATION OF THE COURT

Emma Campbell-Mohn

Duke University

7

## DIPLOMACY AND DEBT

U.S. ATTRIBUTION OF STATUS REMAINING FROM IDA GRADUATION

Karrine Smolenyak

University of Michigan

14

## WOMEN OF WAR

THE FEMALE FIGHTERS OF THE LIBERATION TIGETS OF TAMIL  
EELAM

Erin Alexandar

Yale University

21

## U.S. POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT TOWARD NORTH KOREA

NORMALIZING THE BALANCE OF TERROR

Jung-Ju Lee

Cornell University

31

## AN UNCERTAIN BELONGING

PERMANENT RESIDENCY ID CARDS AND EAST JERUSALEM'S IDEN-  
TITY CRISIS

Halie Craig

University of Pennsylvania

41

## MUSLIMS IN MOSCOW

Caitlin Toto

Boston University

53

# REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM AT NUREMBURG

EMMA CAMPBELL-MOHN

Duke University

## THE CREATION OF THE COURT

### ABSTRACT

The creation of the Nuremberg Court following World War II exemplified international cooperation, particularly between the Great Powers: the United States, France, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. Expounding the benefits of justice and the rule of law, the Nuremberg Trials are often viewed as the pinnacle of Wilsonian idealism. However, further examination reveals the actions of the Roosevelt administration were not derived from a united Cabinet seeking to realize broad principles of humanitarian justice and equality. Instead of being a unified decision based on these values, the reasoning behind the creation of the Nuremberg Court was hotly disputed. The Court was formed for multiple reasons: to ensure that Germany could not claim restitution for wartime losses; to prevent formation of a new court directed by the United Nations; and to punish Germany for its crimes. Therefore, the reasoning behind the creation of the Nuremberg Court contained realist logic.

On November 20, 1945, twenty-two German officers were tried in Nuremberg, Germany, for crimes including “crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.” The trials were held under the London Charter enacted by the Allies on August 8, 1945.<sup>1</sup> These trials, commonly known as the “Nuremberg

Trials,” set a precedent for future international criminal courts, such as the modern International Criminal Court at the Hague. While an initial understanding may assume that these actions were derived from a united Presidential Cabinet seeking principles of humanitarian justice, further examination reveals that Nuremberg Court was a point of contention in the Roosevelt administration. The Court was formed for multiple reasons: to ensure that Germany could not claim restitution for wartime losses; to prevent formation of a new court directed by the United Nations; and to punish Germany for its crimes. In order to achieve these goals, proponents used existing bureaucratic operating procedures during the creation the Court.

Although ensuring American security was a goal shared by both idealists and realists at the time, the Nuremberg Trials adopted an idealist method by relying upon an international body of justice. An international judicial effort of this scale was unprecedented. This paper addresses not only the convergence between realism and idealism in terms of establishing the Nuremberg Trails, but also the importance of individuals within the administration and the influence of standard operating procedures within the military bureaucracy. Although the Nuremberg Trials provides the quintessential case of idealism in foreign policy, it also contains realism.

*THIS CASE STUDY ADDRESSES NOT ONLY THE CONVERGENCE BETWEEN REALISM AND IDEALISM IN TERMS OF GOALS, BUT ALSO THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUALS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES WITHIN THE MILITARY BUREAUCRACY.*

In political theory, idealism relies upon a Lockean perspective, promoting international coalitions and humanitarian concerns, and occasionally evoking abstract morals such as justice.<sup>2</sup> In his book *Special Providence*, Walter Mead further develops the notion of idealism, stating that Wilsonian idealists “believe that the United States has both a moral obligation and an important national interest in spreading American democratic and social values throughout the world, creating a peaceful international community which accepts the rule of law.”<sup>3</sup> Mead’s description of Wilsonianism illustrates the importance idealists place upon “morals” and “social values,” suggesting that international actors should not merely act in their own self-interest but rather for the larger community or purpose.<sup>4</sup> In addition, by seeking a “peaceful international community,” idealists favor international coalitions in order to encourage global cooperation and promote justice. This paper defines idealism as the promotion of morals and multinational organizations in order to achieve a peaceful international community in accordance with Wilsonian idealism.

In contrast to idealism, realism originates from a Hobbesian perspective,<sup>5</sup> viewing international relations as a power struggle and focusing on each state’s interests instead of broad moral principles. Joseph Nye and David Welch write that “for the realist, the central

problem of international politics is war and the use of force, and the central actors are states.”<sup>6</sup> By focusing on “force,” realists emphasize security and military solutions to international problems. Regarding “war” as “central” allows realists to be more inclined to use force than idealists. The realist viewpoint often leads to a distrust of international coalitions because, on a state level, coalitions can be manipulated to achieve individual states’ goals instead of broader principles. This paper defines realism as the view that force is the primary mechanism for ensuring stability. Thereby, realism includes establishing justice by ensuring the predominance of the state.

Although discussion of theories such as realism and idealism may appear abstract, their implementation inevitably involves government bureaucracies. Bureaucratic institutions contain a set of standard operating procedures that in practice can be either favorable or unfavorable for the realization of a given initiative. Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow emphasize the importance of organizational bureaucracy for shaping foreign policy, stressing that governments consist of “loosely allied organizations, each with a substantial life of its own.”<sup>7</sup> Bureaucracies sometimes behave as their own actors within a government. When implementing a plan, political leaders must work with bureaucracies to accomplish any substantial change. The Nuremberg Trials illustrate that idealist policies with

realist aspects can be practically implemented with both new and existing bureaucratic systems. Furthermore, the implementation of the plan for the Nuremberg Trials was successful due to operative procedures of the military, underscoring the importance of bureaucracy within foreign policy regardless of political ideology.

Prior to the end of the war in 1945, the Allies discussed the repercussions for German leaders responsible for the Holocaust and the war. According to the Moscow Conference of 1943, the United States, China, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union agreed upon the necessity for punishing enemy leaders, stating in the Moscow Declaration that Germans who committed atrocities should be “judged and punished.”<sup>8</sup> However, the methods of punishment were not determined. Within the Roosevelt administration, individuals such as Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson presented competing plans to promote justice. In addition to Roosevelt’s direct Cabinet, other government bureaucracies were also influential in formulating a methodology for punishing the German war criminals. Stimson relied heavily upon his military advisor Murray Bernays, who provided the legal foundation for charging the German leaders with conspiracy to wage aggressive war.<sup>9</sup> Instead of a coherent administrative viewpoint shared by all, discussion within the Roosevelt administration was marked by dissension, illustrating the contrasting ideologies associated with a cabinet composed by political rivals.

The Morgenthau plan exemplified a hawkish and realist perspective. Morgenthau called for the deindustrialization of Germany and executing Nazi leaders without trial.<sup>10</sup> By relying upon the necessity of summary execution, Morgenthau’s view centered on a power paradigm where the German leaders must be exterminated to provide for the security of Europe and avoid another German threat. He exemplified an extreme realist, hawkish perspective through his perception of the necessity of force. The Morgenthau plan included using Ger-

man prisoners of war (POWs) to rebuild Europe and destroying German industries.<sup>11</sup> By relying on examples of U.S. military might and stringent penalties for its enemies, the Morgenthau Plan focused on absolute victory and absolute punishment.

Contrasted with the Morgenthau plan, Stimson’s plan appears idealistic and Wilsonian, lacking a foundation in realism due to his reliance on international coalitions. Stimson and Bernays formulated a plan to ensure justice and due process of law as opposed to the summary execution of German officials suggested by Morgenthau. Stimson’s plan emphasized the necessity of an international body to judge the leaders of the Third Reich.<sup>12</sup> By relying heavily upon international cooperation and principles of justice, Stimson’s plan proves idealistic. Stimson sought to prosecute the Nazi leaders for their “purposeful and systematic pattern” to achieve “world domination”<sup>13</sup> in addition to their heinous crimes. In an article for *Foreign Affairs*, Stimson later reflected upon the “moral position” of the Allies who “gave the Nazis what they had denied their own opponent – the protection of the Law.”<sup>14</sup> By suggesting that moral reasoning led to the formation of the Nuremberg Court, Stimson’s viewpoint rests upon the desire for ideals and moral principles, instead of pragmatism and realism. He hopes for a “world of law and peace,”<sup>15</sup> in contrast with the realist notion of the balance of power and states acting in their own interests. By discussing collective action, Stimson made his own motives appear idealistic.

Stimson’s policy specifically sought to inhibit Germany from claiming duress<sup>16</sup> as stated in a memo from Secretary Hull and Secretary Stimson to President Roosevelt. Unlike the Morgenthau plan, which sought systemically to destroy Germany and thereby obviate any future German threat, Stimson wanted to dissuade the Germans from their post-WWI claims of unfair treatment in the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>17</sup> This is important because previously Germany used the coercion of the Treaty of Versailles to invigorate



THE CREATION OF THE NUREMBERG COURT EXEMPLIFIED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS: THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, THE SOVIET UNION, AND GREAT BRITAIN

domestic nationalism, as illustrated in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.<sup>18</sup> By proposing a fair trial, Stimson presented an idealist position and illustrated the disagreement within the administration as to the methods of stopping Germany from instigating future wars. In addition to the Morgenthau plan, the Department of State issued a memorandum promoting a method where "Nazi criminals could be perfunctorily 'tried and executed.'" Stimson wrote in his diary that the Cabinet was "irreconcilably divided."<sup>19</sup> Morgenthau attempted to elicit support from Hull, but, according to his diary, felt Hull was "holding back on him,"<sup>20</sup> illustrating complex lines of dissension. Both Morgenthau and Hull wanted harsh repercussions for Germany; however, Hull wanted a trial according to the law. When compared with the more realist approach of punishing the powerful, Stimson's plan represents an idealist approach mixed with a desire to avoid forcing Germany into desperation.

Besides its aim to prevent claims of duress, the Nuremberg model also originated from the desire to ensure punishment for crimes. Similarly to both Morgenthau and Hull, Stimson stressed the importance of holding Nazi leaders culpable for the war and the atrocities committed. In a memo co-authored with Hull, Stimson writes, "separate prosecution of large numbers of individuals will only make good the Nazi assumption that their crimes would go

unpunished."<sup>21</sup> In order to hold the Nazi leaders accountable, Stimson's plan involved a small trial, which targeted the top Nazi leaders individually.<sup>22</sup> By believing that an international trial of the Nazi leaders would create justice and security, Stimson represented an idealist perspective.



SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR. WHOSE POST-WAR PLAN OF DEINDUSTRIALIZING GERMANY WAS CHARACTERIZED BY REALISM

FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION AND PUNISHMENT, THE NUREMBERG COURT PRESENTED BOTH REALIST AND IDEALIST VALUES



Relying upon law, not force, to provide satisfactory retributions for German leaders illustrates how Stimson differed from Morgenthau. Yet, his rationale for trying the culprits in one large group instead of a series of individuals did not originate from an idealist belief that these individuals represented the entire Nazi Party, but rather from a practical belief that a small trial of individuals would provide the maximum amount of culpability for those responsible.

While representing idealist principles in its goals and methods, Stimson's plan also contained realism in its desire to retain control over the courts. Before the President chose Stimson's plan, the United Nations (which at the time was essentially the collection of states fighting Germany) sought to create its own body for trying war criminals. A memo sought to create a permanent court in the United Nations, called the "United Nations War Crimes Commission," and it is designated for the persecution of war crimes.<sup>23</sup> The Great Powers were appalled. When responding to the UN War Crimes Commission, the British Embassy wrote, "His Majesty's Government is strongly opposed to this suggestion."<sup>24</sup> The British embassy stated that it desired to try those who committed offense against Great Britain in its own courts, but could find multinational tribunals "useful," suggesting their creation after the occupation of Germany. The British Embassy's proposal parallels

Stimson's own plan, illustrating the necessity for international cooperation in the formation of these courts. Yet, this perspective also exhibits realism in its desire not to use umbrella international organizations such as the United Nations. Instead, both Stimson and Great Britain's plans relied upon agreement between the Great Powers. When given the choice of more expansive multilateral cooperation, the Allies preferred to control the trial, illustrating a realist approach to ensuring their dominance of the trial.

In addition to providing a realist perspective on the United States' choice not to support the UN War Crimes Commission, Stimson's plans also originated out of a complex bureaucratic process. Although Stimson formulated the plan, the inner workings of the War Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff lead to its implementation. Throughout the conception of Stimson's plan, he emphasized the military procedures already in place for criminal prosecutions. Stimson, Hull, and Forrestal wrote to President Roosevelt: "Atrocities committed against our nationals by identifiable Axis individuals will remain subject to trial by the United States military and naval commissions."<sup>25</sup> Stimson's plan did not seek to replace existing military procedures, but instead sought to augment existing bureaucratic systems.

In part, Stimson's plan resulted from the precedents of past failures. After World War I,

*THE NUREMBERG TRIALS  
ILLUSTRATE THAT IDEALIST  
POLICIES WITH REALIST ASPECTS  
CAN BE PRACTICALLY IMPLEMENTED  
WITH NEW AND EXISTING  
BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS*

the Allies initiated the Leipzig Trials, where a German court tried German military personnel at the behest of the international community. The trials were faulted for Germany's inability to locate key perpetrators, the number of acquittals and inconsequential sentences, and the rapid speed with which each trial was performed. The Belgian and French cases at Leipzig only resulted in one conviction and five acquittals, provoking international outrage.<sup>26</sup> Considering past precedent, Stimson's plan required an international court for the war criminals whose crimes involved multiple states.<sup>27</sup> However, unlike the Leipzig trials, Stimson's plan did not involve a German court. Instead, the Nuremberg Trials' Chief Justice was Geoffrey Lawrence from Great Britain. The United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union each sent a judge.<sup>28</sup> By creating a multinational tribunal, the Allies ensured that the court would not be biased in favor of Germany, resolving previous issues with holding charged criminals culpable.

Stimson's plan for the Nuremberg Trials therefore avoided past mistakes and implemented already existing military standard operating procedures. In addition, Stimson also implemented the preliminary aspects of his plan prior to President Roosevelt officially accepting it. On October 1, 1944, the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved a directive defining "war crimes" and declared the apprehending of war criminals and

finding evidence a "military interest of prime importance."<sup>29</sup> Stimson's idea of trying the war criminals as a conspiracy to wage aggressive war was not approved by the President until November 1944.<sup>30</sup> By revising and focusing on the military's standard operating procedures prior to the approval of his plan, Stimson demonstrates the influence of the bureaucratic system on U.S. policy.

While instituting his plan, Stimson relied upon bureaucratic institutions in order to provide evidence for the Nuremberg Trials. Although President Roosevelt appointed the American representatives, such as Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, the military was in charge of gathering the evidence and preparing crucial aspects of the cases. Bureaucratically, the military authorized the Office of Strategic Services and the Army Counter Intelligence Corps with the responsibility for gathering information. Although the Office of Strategic Services' fundamental purpose was not to discover evidence for the Nuremberg Trials, it was given this responsibility and began activities along the front line in November 1943,<sup>31</sup> shortly after the Joint Chiefs' directive calls for the collection of war crimes evidence. However, the call for evidence did not dramatically change military procedures. Individuals from Axis nations who committed crimes against the United States were still tried in U.S. military courts; however,

*THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL  
AT NUREMBERG, INVOLVING  
AN INTERNATIONAL BODY  
OF JUSTICE, SOUGHT TO  
PERSECUTE THE CRIMES OF  
WAR COMMITTED DURING WWII*



due to the international nature of the crimes, the U.S. military was forced to gather evidence not only for its own criminal investigations but also for the Nuremberg investigations more broadly.

By augmenting the current investigation proceedings, Stimson's approach again illustrates the power of the government bureaucracy. It also shows that the bureaucracy is susceptible to change. Stimson proves that although changing bureaucratic standard procedures is uncommon, it is possible for the realization of a larger goal. For example, directive J.C.S. 1023/10, issued on July 8, 1945, detailed the military's responsibilities for the Nuremberg Trials. This directive outlined the procedures for capturing war criminals and collecting evidence.<sup>32</sup> This directive illustrates the importance of the internal military bureaucracy as a tool for achieving international justice. The internal directive indicates that the military has significant influence in its own bureaucratic proceedings and that it is crucial for any implementation of policy, realist or idealist.

Although the Nuremberg Court is often viewed as purely idealistic, it contains aspects of realism when considering the alternative of a permanent UN war crimes court and failure of past precedents. Stimson's plan did not originate purely from unifying themes of justice and fairness, but rather from desire for culpability, ensuring that Germany could not claim duress,

and avoiding the UN war crimes court. In addition, his movement away from the precedent set by the Leipzig courts illustrates that standard military procedure is malleable when faced with a directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. By implementing a successful fact finding operation using the military, Stimson proved the relevance of bureaucratic procedures and the benefits acquired by using them. Using the Nuremberg Trials for a case study in the interactions between realism and idealism combined with standard operating procedures yields important insights. It shows that standard operating procedures are not merely tools of realists but rather can be used in pursuit of idealist claims when a higher authority gives clear directives. In addition, it demonstrates that the interaction between realism and idealism is more complex than lofty rhetoric suggested. Both Morgenthau and Stimson wanted to hold the German officers accountable. However, Stimson represented a mostly idealist perspective and successfully manipulated military standard operating procedures to create the Nuremberg Courts: the foundation of modern war crimes justice.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IS CRITICAL TO  
THE FUTURE DESPITE THE LACK OF A  
'GRAND STRATEGY'

## INTRODUCTION

Freeman writes that global governance in this period has been characterized by the United States' inability to form a 'grand strategy' as it did in the post-WWII period to cope with the multitude of issues in the world today (2011). He ascribes this failing in part to the militarized approach to foreign policy that developed during the Cold War and stifled other means of American diplomacy (Freeman, 2011). With one fifth of the world's economy and the world's only global military force, American diplomacy is critical to the future despite the lack of a 'grand strategy.' For example, Henrikson proposes 'Americanism' (2006) as one potential future. He does not mean America exerts hegemonic control over the world, but future world diplomacy may become a response to American action and American domestic politics (2006). If the United States' diplomatic strategy (i.e. attribution of status to states) plays a critical in the world's future, is it possible to identify trends in status changes? Does financial development play an influential role too?

The idea of status that this study propagates throughout its argument derives from the work of Singer and Small (1966), and this study takes its data from the COW Project initiated by the scholars. Singer and Small sought to identify state membership in the international

system and to explore the status each state holds in order to better understand the actor and its relationships with others (1966). This definition of status will be used throughout the study:

Status...is a rank or reputation attributed to an individual or a group by others in the same social system...The major element in the classification is usually a perceptual one; moreover, it is perceptual in the collective sense. That is members of the community are constantly engaged in a vague and ill-defined process of reputation-making for themselves and for others; the shifting consensus regarding any one member's strengths and weaknesses, or virtues and vices, at any particular point in time describes that member's status in the community (Singer and Small, 1966, 238).

For the purposes of this study, higher status is theorized to be attributed to a state due to its perceived access to credit. In this case, access to credit would be a perceived strength vice-versa. The scholars argue that a status resulting from such characteristics might be related to a state's "propensity to become involved in political, economic, or military conflict, ... to join in alliances, to interact with nations of higher or lower status, to manifest a conservative or aggressive diplomatic style, and so on" (1966, 238-239).

Singer and Small state, "there is that

[status] attributed to a given member by most of the community, or more likely, by those members whose own status is high enough to permit them to largely determine the status of others" (1966, 238), and this is the status that the US gives to other states. As Singer and Small suggest, the status that less influential states are able to give on an individual level "may well depend largely upon the peculiarities of the attributer and its relationships to the attributee" and furthermore this status "is also heavily influenced by the multilaterally assigned status" (1966, 238). Singer and Small seem to agree that the status, given by less powerful states, is likely to be dictated by predispositions unique to it or simple replications of the status attributed by more powerful ones. The US has the largest economy in the world. Its investors are very interested in emerging markets, and its banks are highly motivated to seek profit. If a country becomes a good credit risk, then American policymakers have the incentive to recognize its growing power and allow investors to take advantage of the opportunities.

It is expected that a sovereign borrower's increased access to international lending markets is related to other states' perceptions its government's status. A lack of access to international lending markets potentially reflects the low status of the borrowing government. The opposite may hold true: increased access

may reflect the low status other nations attribute to the borrowing country's government. In summary, increased access may increase the status of the borrowing state.

This study proposes that diplomatic representation is an important outcome of status attribution, or, in Singer and Small's words, the 'ill-defined process of reputation-making.' In the following pages, this paper will explore in more detail how perceived creditworthiness characterizes a state and how it influences the United States' attribution of status by means of diplomatic relations.

## THEORY

This study proposes the theory that foreign investors see a country's increasing ability to utilize international lending markets as a confirmation of its increase in status. As a country gains credit in international markets, corresponding increase in other countries signaling their recognition of the borrower's sovereignty and international clout would be expected. Dreher et al. explored a similar theory regarding how temporary UN Security Council membership affects the favorable behavior of the IMF (2006). The scholars found that IMF acted more favorably toward a country when they had the influential position of temporary UNSC member, demonstrating that increased power





*THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE ORGANIZATION MAY BE SHAPED BY THE STATUS OF THE COUNTRY IN TERMS OF ACCESS TO CREDIT.*

was rewarded by international recognition of that power. Although temporary UNSC membership is not fully equivalent to increased access to lending, each position contributes to an increase in state power. As North and Weingast (1989) and later Shultz and Weingast (2003) make apparent in their analysis of England and other states' ability to win wars through raising debt, access to credit is a powerful tool. Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis: When a country graduates from the IDA program, the United States will increase diplomatic representation to that country.

Before the fall of the Soviet Union, the recognition of states was viewed as a political, rather than legal matter (Downer, 2013). Recently there has been a shift toward the legal right to recognition, but political considerations including the desire to resolve conflict, the desire to influence the policy of new states, the desire to control territorial claims, and the consideration of alliances have remained pertinent (Warbrick, 1992). Political considerations in US diplomacy in particular have reflected those of American domestic politics. Wiseman asserts that the "US Congress is relatively more influential and actively involved in US foreign policy and diplomacy than are comparable legislatures in the Western world" (2011, 242). In acknowledgment of the

previously mentioned political considerations that may influence the decision to attribute status to states in addition to financial development, the following null hypothesis is proposed:

Null Hypothesis: As a country gains increased access to credit in international lending markets, the status attributed to that country by United States will remain unaffected.

By means of these two proxy variables IDA graduation and diplomatic representation, therefore, this study will analyze the relationship between access to credit and the United States' attribution of status.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

To demonstrate whether a country's increased access to credit in international lending markets influences the US's perception of that country's status, a series of graphs illustrating the relationship between proxy variables are presented. If the hypothesis is correct, these graphs should show that diplomatic representation increases after IDA graduation. The year that states graduated from the International Development Association (IDA) serves as the independent variable, access to international lending markets.<sup>2</sup> Diplomatic representation serves as the dependent variable, American recognition of status.<sup>3</sup>

It is necessary to explain the reason for

*THE DESIRE...TO INFLUENCE THE POLICY OF NEW STATES...TO CONTROL TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, AND THE CONSIDERATION OF ALLIANCES HAVE REMAINED PERTINENT*

using IDA graduation years to represent access to international lending. The International Development Association (IDA) is a World Bank program that lends money and provides grants to the world's poorest countries on concessional terms. With the intention of fostering economic growth and improving basic living conditions within these countries, the IDA lends with little or no interest rates and repayment is a decade-long process with a considerable grace period. When the IDA's borrowers reach a particular point of economic growth, they graduate from the IDA program and become eligible for loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Graduation from the IDA signals to the world that a country is a reasonable credit risk. Because the IBRD is a self-sufficient business, its demonstration of trust in a poor country encourages other investors to also lend to the country ("International Development Association: The World Bank's Fund for the Poorest" 2012). Moving up the ladder from the IDA to the IBRD signals to the international community that the state is gaining status in the world.

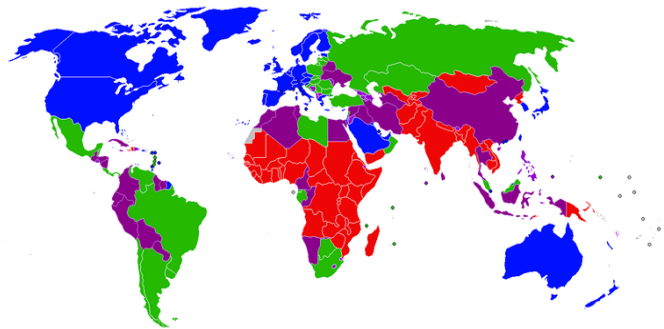
The sample includes all countries that have graduated from the program since its formation in 1960.<sup>4</sup> States that graduated from the IDA and then reverted to IDA status as their economic conditions retrogressed are also included in order to determine if the attribution

of status might be taken away as easily as it is attributed. Adding these particular IDA graduates provide an interesting opportunity to observe the influence of the differentiating characteristics on the dependent variable.

In the graphs, the dependent variable IDA graduation is represented by the values of 0 and 1. The value 0 signifies that the country was not graduated in that year. The value 1 signifies that the country was graduated in that year.

Diplomatic representation was chosen to quantify the American government's perception of status due to its symbolic value. Diplomats have long been used to represent the interests of the state abroad. When a state initiates a diplomatic exchange with another or increases the rank of the diplomat in residence, it signifies that the two states have a mutual interest in cultivating their relationship.

This study considers the attribution of status given by United States through diplomatic representation rather than the attribution of status by the international community as a whole in order to increase our understanding of America's diplomatic objectives. An analysis of the relationship between IDA graduation and the international community's diplomatic recognition would be valuable; however, this study takes a more narrow approach. The United States possesses a distinct position in international affairs, and therefore merits a



DATA PROVIDED BY WORLD BANK ON INCOME GROUPS, AMONG WHICH 82 COUNTRIES ARE ELIGIBLE FOR BORROWING UNDER THE IDA PROGRAM DUE TO THEIR RELATIVE POVERTY.

distinct analysis of its diplomatic behavior, especially now in this period of globalization and diffusion of power in the world system.<sup>5</sup>

Although the COW database was instrumental in the research of this study, its data availability was also limiting. The most recent diplomatic representation data was from 2005. Several countries that had received IDA loans or grants graduated in 2006, so this data restriction prohibits a full analysis of these cases.<sup>6</sup>

Within the database, note that the diplomatic variable is represented by five different codes. A coding of 0 signifies that there was no evidence of diplomatic exchange. A coding of 1 signifies a chargé d'affaires was in residence, or that the diplomatic delegation was expelled, recalled, or withdrawn. A coding of 2 represents a minister. A coding of 3 represents an ambassador. A coding of 9 was used when there was evidence of diplomatic exchange, but not enough evidence to tell what that exchange consisted of.

In the graphic representations of this data, the IDA graduate country's GDP has also been included. Any trends in the graduate's GDP would illustrate whether a diplomatic change was the result of a sudden economic event, i.e. the IDA graduation, or if it was the result of steady economic growth over a period of time.

#### ANALYSIS

The list of IDA graduates contained thirty six cases. Of these thirty six cases, eight reentered the program and have not graduated again as of yet. The analysis was performed on all thirty six cases because all the countries had graduated once, which was a sufficient manifestation of the independent variable.

Graphs are chosen for this analysis because they are capable of demonstrating trends and suggesting what is and is not occurring in the sample. With a convincing consistency across the sample the graphs suggest that higher status attribution in the eyes of the United States is not strongly related to increased access to international lending. It is more likely that the attribution of higher status is positively correlated to general economic growth.

For some cases, diplomatic relations were stable throughout the observation period. These countries had several predictable attributes. Some, like China and Turkey, were states so important to US interests, mainly in trade, that diplomatic ties had been established long ago (1832 was the earliest recorded diplomatic exchange for Turkey, and 1864 was the earliest exchange for China) and had been faithfully maintained. Some, like Costa Rica, Colombia, Chile, Honduras, etc., were geographically close to the US and had been

RESEARCH SEEMS TO SUGGEST THAT US NO LONGER CONSIDER POOR STATES GAINING INCREASED CREDIT ACCESS THROUGH IDA GRADUATION TO BE A NOTEWORTHY EVENT

subject to US imperialism for decades. Therefore it is expected for diplomatic relations to have already been established in these countries.

There were some cases where diplomatic relations were dynamic during the period under observation. The diplomatic exchange between the US and states such as Botswana, Serbia, and Macedonia, has improved over the period of observation. This increase in status given to these countries appeared to be correlated to the IDA graduation, but could also have been a result of general economic growth.

Although some cases appeared to support the theory, others seemed to refute it. In some cases, like Equatorial Guinea, diplomatic relations decreased although the country graduated from the IDA and economic conditions appeared to be improving. The cases of Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador similarly confounded the theory. In these situations, it appeared that other, unrelated factors were playing an important role in the changing diplomatic relationships. It was very surprising that the countries with the most unstable relationships with the IDA—graduating and reverting multiple times—had some of the most stable diplomatic ties with the US. Indonesia, Egypt, and Honduras were such countries where this phenomenon occurred, and their experiences seem to thoroughly oppose the theory. In each of the three countries, GDP

was relatively steadily increasing, which seems to suggest that GDP, not IDA graduation rates, was driving the diplomatic exchanges.

Other cases seemed to both support and refute the theory. For example, the graduation of the Republic of the Congo from the IDA seemed to have a strong positive correlation to increasing diplomatic ties with the US. However, when the Congo relapsed and returned to the IDA several years later, diplomatic ties remained constant. Perhaps this is a demonstration of Newton's Law—a state with diplomatic ties to another state tends to maintain diplomatic ties with that state unless some force is applied. The Congo's return to the IDA was obviously not a strong enough force to dissolve diplomatic ties with the US.

Although the cases show substantial variation in the relationship between IDA graduation and diplomatic exchanges, there is not sufficient evidence to reject the null in favor of the main hypothesis. The US may reward a state that has acquired a perceived increase in power with an increased status in the community, but it appears that the US does not view IDA graduation and the associated access to credit as a significant increase in power. It seems more likely that other characteristics of the states are perceived as increased-status-worthy. The characteristics that the graphs highlight as correlated to increased status include economic

growth, geographic proximity (on an individual state level), importance to trade, and resource wealth.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This research has obvious limitations and weaknesses. Graphs are not as reliable as regressions and other more advanced statistical analysis when identifying trends in the data, but the data limited the types of analyses possible. The relationships this study was able to propose were tenuous and need additional confirmation. The availability of data was another significant issue. The sample size was not large enough, and it was limited further by the five year gaps between diplomatic data, lack of current diplomatic data, and lack of older GDP data, the number of conclusions a researcher would be able to draw were limited.

Despite limitations it should not be assumed that the research was unsuccessful. To the contrary, research seems to suggest US no longer consider poor states gaining increased credit access through IDA graduation to be a noteworthy event. This research demonstrates that the United States instead takes into account a variety of different factors when attributing higher status to states. It is significant that many of the relevant factors are related to economics; this shows that while the United States may not be responding directly to IDA graduation, financial development does play a role in increased status in the American perspective.

Opportunities for further research are numerous. It would be very interesting and useful to perform the same study using a more advanced statistical analysis unlimited by data concerns. This would demonstrate with more certainty the correlations between access to credit and increased international status. Another opportunity for study concerns further relationships between diplomatic exchanges and financial growth. Of all the factors motivating diplomatic relationships and the changes within, how large of a factor

is financial development? This research would not need to be limited to a study of IDA graduates. It would be extremely interesting to perform case studies of the most enduring diplomatic relationships in the international community, and to attempt to determine in which ways financial factors have strengthened or weakened those relationships over time. Although IDA graduation does not appear to have a large impact, it is very possible that other financial factors do.

## WOMEN OF WAR

### THE FEMALE FIGHTERS OF THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM

ERIN ALEXANDER  
Yale University

#### INTRODUCTION

Since the start of the Sri Lankan Civil War in 1983, Tamil women have occupied a key role in the conflict. In the struggle for the anticipated state of Tamil Eelam, the socio-cultural role of women underwent, and continues to undergo, a radical transformation.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this “gendered reconstruction of womanhood,” women are no longer constrained to the household during times of war, but instead, frequently venture out into the battlefields, side-by-side with their male combatant counterparts.<sup>2</sup> Looking back at the 26-year-long battle between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan state, one can see that women do indeed play a vital role in times of violent conflict. The question remains, however, whether the female LTTE combatants have been manipulated into becoming victims of war by the male-dominated insurgency, or whether they have become agents of their own empowerment through their participation in the conflict.

This paper explores the gendered dimensions of ethnic conflict, with a focus on the role that women have played in the LTTE. I analyze the gendered reconstruction of Tamil women in war to determine whether their participation in violence has altered their self-perception and, to a lesser extent, society’s view of female combatants. My analysis is based on

many sources that offer first-hand knowledge of, and interviews with, female LTTE fighters. In order to better understand the roots of the conflict between the Tamil and Sinhalese peoples of Sri Lanka, Section II first provides a brief history of the Sri Lankan Civil War, leading up to the rise of the LTTE during the 1983 to 2009 time period. Part III outlines the LTTE’s role in the war, and how it transformed socio-cultural norms in Sri Lanka by mobilizing Tamil women to fight. Next, Part IV focuses on the subsequent effects that mobilization of female combatants had on society and, more importantly, on the women involved in the conflict. I will examine how female sentiments were manifested in either a positive, self-empowering light, or a negative, victimized manner. Finally, the conclusion of the paper looks at ex-LTTE female fighters in today’s Tamil society. While the recruitment of female combatants by the LTTE has been perceived by many to be an act of victimization by the male leaders of the conflict, I believe that this new role for women serves as a potential means of self-empowerment through defying societal, socio-cultural norms.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE RISE OF THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM

As a consequence of European

*THE VERY TENETS OF THE WOMEN'S FRONT, THE FEMALE DIVISION INSIDE THE LTTE, WERE CONSTRUCTED AROUND GENDER EQUALITY AND TRANSFORMING THE GENDER STATUS QUO*

imperialism and internal ethnic fragmentation, Sri Lanka has experienced a relentless string of conflicts over the reclamation of its land. Since the sixteenth century, Sri Lanka has been an object of European desire and possession. In 1505, the Portuguese colonized the island and divided it into seven warring factions. Nearly a century later, the Dutch arrived and began ruling the Sinhalese and Tamil kingdoms, falling short of capturing the prized Kandyan kingdom (see Appendix A). Upon the British arrival in 1815, the Kingdom of Kandy was finally seized and the island was eventually politically “unified.” However, a truly unified nation was never achieved.<sup>3</sup>

Britain’s preferential treatment of the minority Tamil ethnic group over the larger ethnic Sinhalese population only served to exacerbate existing tensions. Since the beginning of British rule over Sri Lanka in 1815, the Tamils, who made up 22 percent of the Sri Lankan population, had disproportionate access to English education and civil services.<sup>4</sup> Despite the post-colonial attempts to address and rectify the disparities among ethnic groups, the psychological legacy of colonial oppression led Tamils to continue viewing themselves as rightful but oppressed occupants of their homeland.

Following Sri Lanka’s independence in 1948, the Tamil people started to push for

greater autonomy, and the idea of establishing a Tamil Eelam became more and more appealing to them. The newly founded Sinhalese government quickly began disenfranchising the previously politically privileged Tamil people, creating a mode of political representation based on the majority ethnic political parties.<sup>5</sup> Sinhalese candidates began running on platforms of “Sinhalese-only,” promising to “restore Buddhism to its proper place in society.”<sup>6</sup> These political tactics appealed to the masses, and Sinhalese electoral victories affirmed Tamil perceptions that they were the true minority in the hands of the Sinhala majority. It quickly became apparent that bureaucratic methods of secession, such as the system of District Development Councils, would not prove acceptable to the Tamils. Resentment intensified, and in 1975 a young, radical Tamil named Veupillai Prabhakaran shot and killed the moderate Tamil mayor of Jaffna. This one action ultimately set in motion what was to follow: the Tamils’ relentless and bloody fight for autonomy – bypassing all means of diplomacy or negotiated settlements.<sup>7</sup>

Prabhakaran’s assassination of the mayor of Jaffna was only the beginning in his ultimate ambition to achieve a separatist Tamil state. Just one year later, in 1976, Prabhakaran pioneered the use of suicide bombers, disguised in black uniforms with their heads masked and known to

*TAMILINI, A FORMER LTTE FRONT-RANKING SOLDIER, RECOUNTS, “TAMIL WOMEN ARE TRADITIONALLY SHY AND TIMID, LACKING SELF-CONFIDENCE. BUT ALL THAT CHANGED AFTER [LTTE] WOMEN WERE INDUCTED INTO THE BATTLEFIELD.”*

many as the “Black Tigers.”<sup>8</sup> On July 24, 1983, the Tigers killed thirteen soldiers in a landmine ambush; in turn, the Sinhalese made the Tamil population at large pay for the mistake. A murderous rampage ensued across the southern part of the island as the Sinhalese killed, tortured, and raped thousands of Tamil people.<sup>9</sup>

The killings were perhaps the worst ever anti-Tamil riots to date. Evidence shows that government ministers disclosed private voter registration to their “thug groups” in order to intimidate and, in some cases, assault Tamil residents; such instances pointed to the government’s involvement with and support of these events.<sup>10</sup> When the government finally addressed the media regarding the mass killings, they blamed the fighting on the “cumulative indignation of the Sinhalese people.”<sup>11</sup> This gross lack of concern and subsequent absence of remedying action convinced even the previously moderate Tamil people that, perhaps, the LTTE were right to be fighting for a separate homeland—independent from what they increasingly perceived as an unresponsive and corrupt Sri Lankan government. It was in this state of civil war that women had the choice to either be actively involved in the conflict, or risk becoming passive subjects of the war’s violence.

#### FEMALE MOBILIZATION

From the outset of the formation of the LTTE, women contributed greatly to the military struggle against the Sri Lankan state and became involved in the “very instrument of militancy used to attain the political cause of liberation.”<sup>12</sup> Social dynamics rooted in the state’s repression of the Tamils attracted a significant number of Tamil women to the LTTE movement. The very tenets of the Women’s Front, the all-female division inside the LTTE, were constructed around the concept of gender equality and the transformation of the gender status quo. The aims of the Women’s Front were to “(i) secure the right of self-determination of ‘Tamililam’ and establish an independent democratic state of Tamililam; (ii.) abolish oppressive caste discrimination and division and feudal customs such as the dowry system; (iii.) eliminate all discrimination, secure social, political, and economic equality.”<sup>13</sup> The LTTE’s proposal of these doctrines spoke to Tamil women and their desire for a more equal society, in which they could achieve everything that their male counterparts could attain.

Similarly, the LTTE’s propaganda appealed to the women who wished to simultaneously better their Tamil nation and to empower themselves. Posters depicting dynamic, militarized female bodies proclaimed,





THE LTTE'S FEMALE WING MARCHING IN A PARADE, SHOWING THE ACTIVE FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR AS COMBATANTS

“Woman you light the flames of liberation! We are calling upon you. Pick up the torch of liberation and struggle for with each heartbeat, our nation is taking form—Tamil Eelam!”<sup>14</sup> The LTTE propagated equal rights for women from the very start of their campaign, declaring that it was the only way to ensure female emancipation, while simultaneously working towards an autonomous homeland.<sup>15</sup> The LTTE propaganda of “Tamil Liberation,” for example, enabled the construction of female militants who could fight for their nation and for themselves.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the LTTE’s various recruitment tactics all sought to mobilize the female Tamil population in hopes of reaching their ultimate goal of autonomy.

#### WOMEN IN TAMIL SOCIETY AND THE LTTE

Militarization subsequently shaped the identity of these “female fighters” in their own eyes as well as in those of the society. The LTTE’s recruitment of women impelled the subsequent reconstruction of the Tamil woman from the “traditional ideal of the auspicious, fecund wife to the androgynous Armed Virgin.”<sup>17</sup> Prior to the LTTE’s recruitment of female soldiers, women were often confined to the domestic sphere; they were “generally respected, but simultaneously ambivalent, and [given a] somewhat restricted status.”<sup>18</sup> The

traditional Tamil woman is circumscribed by the “social expectations and cultural conventions of addaccam (modesty and silence) and odduccam (poise and restraint).” Her mobility is monitored and controlled in public spaces and she is constantly under the scrutiny of the male population.<sup>19</sup> In fact, when Tamil men were interviewed regarding the gender norms of Sri Lanka, they all acknowledged a woman’s “lack of freedom and power.”<sup>20</sup> Traditional constructions of gender identity were incredibly entrenched in Tamil society and in the “general socialization processes.” It appears as though the war has been the only means of transforming these fundamental traditions.

Numerous first-hand accounts from female LTTE soldiers emphasize the socio-cultural transformation that has stemmed from the war. Tamilini, a former LTTE front-ranking soldier, recounts: “Tamil women are traditionally shy and timid, lacking self-confidence. But all that changed after [LTTE] women were inducted into the battlefield.”<sup>21</sup> The previously omnipresent notion that femininity is directly connected with passivity, indecision, softness, and emotionality, while masculinity is associated with aggression, independence, rationality, and activity, is no longer accepted by the majority of Tamil society.<sup>22</sup> The civil war has changed these norms for many Tamils, and women have started to embrace their new

FROM THE MOVEMENT’S INCEPTION IN 1983, THE LTTE HAS DRAWN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WOMEN INTO ITS RANKS, TRANSFORMING THE CONCEPT OF THE IDEAL TAMIL WOMAN INTO ONE WHO IS MILITARIZED, INDEPENDENT, AND EMPOWERED.

identity. For many of the female soldiers, their experiences of femininity were forever forever transformed.

The following section explains how the changes came about. I classify these transformative experiences in two overarching categories: empowerment and victimization. However, it is important to recognize the spectrum within the classification that inherently exists for female combatants. While it is difficult to characterize an individual as being either a victim or an active agent, I speak to the degree of victimization and empowerment as perceived by the combatants themselves.

#### WHAT IS THE NORM AND HOW ARE WOMEN DEFYING IT? WOMEN AS AGENTS OF SELF-EMPOWERMENT

From the movement’s inception in 1983, the LTTE drew tens of thousands of women into its ranks, transforming traditional concepts of the ideal Tamil woman into one who is militarized, independent, and empowered. Drawing parallels between these ideas, I argue that Tamil women who empowered themselves through “gaining control or authority over some aspects of their lives in society” often did so by means of militarization.<sup>23</sup> The LTTE’s creation of the word Ah-lu-mai (empowerment) speaks to this very connection. Prior to this,

there was no definition of empowerment in the Tamil language that related specifically to the recognition of the power that women have over their own lives. Ah-lu-mai, is thus, a reflection of the Tamil women’s newly recognized “governance, authority, and leadership” roles.<sup>24</sup>

For some female fighters, violence was a means of survival, a means of “communicating resistance and the integrity of a struggle for self-determination to the Sri Lankan army.”<sup>25</sup> When Yamuna Sangarasivam asked Kala, a 23-year-old women cadre, why she joined the LTTE movement, she said:

When we see our sisters, and mothers raped by the [Sri Lankan] army, when we see our brothers taken away, beaten, and killed, when we watch our homes burn up in flames in the aftermath of aerial bombardments, what are we to do? Where do we go to hide, to live? I decided that I was not going to let that happen to me. I was not going to be raped and killed in the hands of the [Sri Lankan] army. I saw the courage of other girls who were joining the movement and decided that this was really the only way to survive.<sup>26</sup>

Many women like Kala joined to preempt rape by Sinhalese or Indian soldiers at the start of the war in the 1980’s. Others joined because they had been personally victimized by the Sri Lankan army.<sup>27</sup> After just a few years, it became clear that women could indeed achieve emancipation by mobilizing themselves in

REFUGEES WHO WERE DISPLACED BY THE BOMBINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE SUFFERING OF THESE WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN LED SOME TO JOIN THE RANKS TO THE TAMIL TIGERS.



IT IS PARTICULARLY CLEAR, IF WE LOOK AT FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF FEMALE SOLDIERS, THAT THESE WOMEN HAD ENVISIONED A TAMIL EMANCIPATION – IN ADDITION TO THEIR OWN LIBERATION – WHEN FIRST JOINING THE LTTE.

support of the liberation organization. “They gained confidence, courage, determination, and in turn, are transformed from vulnerable targets into true revolutionaries”.<sup>28</sup> These women’s livelihoods and very survival might have been in jeopardy without the self-confidence and skills that the LTTE provided them with.

Other women joined the movement in hopes of enacting societal change and eliminating the traditional gendered division in society. Rajini Thiranagama, a deceased Tamil feminist and human rights activist, wrote:

Women have come out strong during the war ... they have stood out as individuals or as small groups exposing atrocities and violations of dignity. ... Women who in the midst of war pleaded and argued with the militants for their families and the whole nations ... women’s history does have a triumph. There is powerlessness, disappointment, and disillusion, but also hope.<sup>29</sup>

Groups such as the Women’s Military Wing and Birds of Paradise accounted for 30% of the militants in the LTTE in the beginning of 1990, and aimed to break free of conservative gender roles and resist state oppression.<sup>30</sup> Just as Thiranagama had anticipated, periods of conflict such as the Sri Lankan Civil War “open up spaces of agency for women to cross private/public barriers and to assume new roles

thereby shifting cultural norms to allow for the mobilization of female fighters”.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the war provided some women – who previously may not have had the opportunity to escape the private sphere – with the chance to not only change their own lives, but also to alter societal gender norms.

The following vivid account of LTTE female cadres effectively describes how the LTTE’s mobilization of female soldiers inspired the empowerment of countless women. Thiranagama observes:

One cannot but be inspired when one sees the women of the LTTE in the night with their AKs slung over the shoulder ... One cannot but admire the dedication and toughness of their training ... One could see the nationalist fervor and the romantic vision of women in arms defending the nation (De Mel, 206).<sup>32</sup>

These women become agents of their own destinies through the militarization of their bodies and corresponding transformation of their identities.

Finally, some women cited the realization of an autonomous state of Tamil Eelam and the liberation of the Tamil people as their primary motivation for joining the LTTE movement. At the same time, many still also attained personal liberation through their active participation in the conflict. In Margaret Trawick’s interview

with Sita, a “Tamil Tigress,” the anthropologist learns that for Sita – and many other female LTTE combatants – “it is enough to fight for liberation (vidutalai) and happiness of the people for the people”.<sup>33</sup> As a result of Sita’s “absolute” attainment of personal liberation, she says that her mind and heart have also changed. She declares: “I have become even more ready to die. I see the suffering of the people and I have no fear about fighting and dying for them.”<sup>34</sup> Women like Sita yearn for the life of a fighter, and the honor earned by fighting for the people and her homeland (eelam). In addition to the privileged degree of physical power and mobility that she gained from training with the LTTE, she was “liberated from the helpless rage expressed in the laments of so many traditional Tamil women.”<sup>35</sup> Sita proved to the LTTE that she loves Tamil Eelam and is willing to die for her homeland; it is through this self-sacrifice that Sita, along with many others, achieved her own self-empowerment.

#### WHO ARE FEMALE LTTE COMBATANTS? WOMEN AS VICTIMS

The emergence of female combatants in the LTTE, however, has also prompted great debate about the victimization of women soldiers. Conservative Tamils who argue against the role of women militants often believe that females

who join the fight have been manipulated and are defying Sri Lanka’s socio-cultural norms. Some human rights activists perceive their involvement as a “support service, an instrument in the leadership’s armour”.<sup>36</sup> Although many of these opponents provide compelling reasons to sympathize with the female fighters as victims of the LTTE, I believe that many women’s roles as combatants against the oppressive state provided them with the means to actively empower themselves.

During the early stages of the war, it was quite common for the LTTE to target schools and villages in hopes of luring women into joining their cause. A young female soldier at the Methsevana Government Rehabilitation Center for Girls in Nugegoda recalls the LTTE’s manipulative recruitment methods and how she became trapped in a life of fighting. She says:

When I was sixteen the LTTE came to school and showed us war movies. Before that, they showed us karate videos. That’s why I wanted to join for the karate. At first I liked it the training, the uniform, the weapons. I didn’t learn karate but I learned how to shoot, and I enjoyed firing a weapon ... After a while, I realized how much I missed my family, and I felt such loneliness, I cried every night. But we couldn’t go home ... It was a one-way door; you could go in, but you couldn’t go out.<sup>37</sup>





WOMEN PARTICIPATED IN VARIOUS DIVISIONS OF THE LTTE INCLUDING THEIR POLICE FORCE

As the young combatant's account exemplifies, the LTTE employed a variety of methods to bring young soldiers into their ranks. A Tamil Catholic priest, Father Sebastian, explains how the LTTE "don't drag children out of their homes, they don't coerce them, but they do entice them. They [mostly] join voluntarily."<sup>38</sup> Newspaper and television accounts of young female members of the LTTE depict individuals who are "fanatically devoted to Prabhakaran" and who will "die for their homeland."<sup>39</sup> These young, impressionable girls did not initially see past the initial allure of fighting for their nation. The notion that they might be able to escape their constrained lives and enter an exciting and "cool" adventure appealed to many Tamil women.<sup>40</sup> Others were drawn to the fighting because of the more practical reason of the LTTE's pledge to provide security against the Sri Lankan army.<sup>41</sup> Regardless of their reasons for joining, the majority of women did not realize how they would subsequently be bound by their choice to enlist. If they did join, they could not leave; it was a "one-way door," as those trapped behind it described their situation. These individuals, both women and men alike, renounced their childhood through the very act of joining the LTTE. The LTTE sought to lure young soldiers in, through any means necessary, in order to secure more fighters for the movement.

One might also argue that the LTTE victimized its female soldiers by using them merely as a means to achieve the ultimate goal of an independent homeland. Adamant opponents of the LTTE, such as Radhika Coomaraswamy, have even gone so far as to describe the female soldiers as "cogs in the wheel" of male leadership of the LTTE.<sup>42</sup> Critics of LTTE female mobilization see these women as victims of the Prabhakaran's patriarchal nationalist project as well as the Sri Lankan military's oppression. Christine Sixta argues that female fighters are caught within the "triple bind of oppression": simultaneously battling Western oppression, societal [the state's] oppression, and internal oppression within their own insurgent groups.<sup>43</sup> Most notably, as a result of this "patriarchal containment" within their chosen militant groups, women enjoy only "agentive moments in an interregnum where normalcy is suspended and there is license to transform taboo and social convention."<sup>44</sup> These moments exemplify the LTTE's initial reasons for recruiting female soldiers. Female combatants such as members of the Black Tigers – a largely suicide bombing division of the LTTE – were used as exploitable resources.<sup>45</sup> The LTTE profited from the fact that many women such as the infamous Dhanu – the Black Tiger responsible for the death of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 – were willing to sacrifice themselves for the

liberation of the Tamil people.<sup>46</sup>

Despite these arguments critiquing the militarization of females in the LTTE, I believe it is difficult to deny the first-hand accounts of self-empowerment and liberation by female soldiers. Although the LTTE did, at times, utilize deceitful methods of recruitment, those who enlisted were nevertheless motivated by a desire to either help their homeland or better themselves. Some research shows that even in cases of forcible recruitment, levels of participation were better explained by the impact of the Sri Lankan state's repression on women's political ideals than by how they were recruited.<sup>47</sup> It is true that the LTTE recruited its soldiers with the pragmatic and instrumental aim of strengthening its army and fighting for an autonomous homeland. However, it is also important to note that many of the women who voluntarily or coercively joined the army, were ultimately driven by dual aspirations: to emancipate themselves as women as well as by their hopefulness and determination to secure greater power for the Tamil population as a whole.

If one looks at first-hand accounts by female soldiers, it is clear that these women envisioned a Tamil emancipation – in addition to their own liberation – when first joining the LTTE. For example, in her personal diary, Dhanu conveys her duty as a Tamil individual to liberate her people. She writes: "the most important liberation struggle was the struggle for Eelam and the liberation of the Tamil people."<sup>48</sup> Thus, the LTTE's fight against the state symbolizes more than just self-empowerment for those women engaging in combat: it is a chance to emancipate all Sri Lankan Tamils.

Those who argue that women such as Dhanu were merely a means to an end for the LTTE fail to acknowledge the personal benefits that the LTTE enabled many of its militants to gain. Most importantly, females fighting in the public sphere were able to attain a sense

of liberation that might have otherwise been impossible to achieve in the domestic sphere. For many women, this liberation came in the form of emancipation, and extended freedom and mobility in their everyday lives. The LTTE's construction of new gender roles for the women provided them with the opportunity to envision identities beyond their domestic duties, and to actively contribute to the fight for a homeland. The "conservative feminised ideal is now a public figure engaged in masculine activities and repudiating patriarchal norms of womanhood."<sup>49</sup> These women yearned for the life of a fighter, in order to break through the deeply-rooted hierarchical gendered structure of society. Tamilini, head of the women's political wing in the Sri Lankan post-conflict processes, proclaimed: "Now there is acceptance of the LTTE women as equal within the movement."<sup>50</sup> It is clear that many women also greatly benefited from the LTTE's services, such as military and leadership training. Such training and fighting in the battlefield provided numerous women with the strength and self-empowerment to defend their equality and fight for their homeland.

Additionally, joining the LTTE provided women with the practical skills and means needed to protect themselves. Balasingham writes: "Young women demanded their right to self-defense and their right to exercise their patriotic sentiments."<sup>51</sup> The LTTE leadership expressed its commitment to the emancipation and equality of women and welcomed such demands by expanding its military program for female combatants. Margaret Trawick's research on why girls joined the LTTE revealed the shared belief that they were safest in the company of their LTTE brethren. One female combatant, Nalini, stated: "there is no fear in the jungle."<sup>52</sup> The LTTE protected her from the Sri Lankan army while in the jungle and provided women like her with the necessary means to defend themselves – namely, AK-47s and T56s. Without the LTTE, these

women might be living in constant fear, and their lives would likely be severely limited by the conflict. Instead, they became active agents of their own survival, strength, and empowerment.

#### CONCLUSION

Although the Sri Lankan Civil War has left thousands of Tamil women in a position of helplessness and vulnerability at the hands of the state, there are many others who grew stronger and more empowered as a result of their participation in the violent and decades-long conflict. Today, in post-war Sri Lanka, this newfound sense of inner strength and empowerment has radically shifted the way that many Tamil women approach everyday life and societal issues. As militarization post-2009 reaches extreme levels, many Tamil women face a “desperate lack of security” and continue to “live in fear of violence” from the state (International Crisis Group, i).<sup>53</sup> Although many ex-female combatants continue to face economic constraints, limited mobility, and imminent displacement by the state, their experience in the war led to the reconstruction of gender identities and subsequent empowerment. These women were, in turn, able to cultivate high levels of commitment to a violent resistance movement and a nationalist cause.<sup>54</sup> The issue remains, however, that enduring militarization under the Sri Lankan government continues to dictate what avenues are available to them and whether or not they will ever feel secure again.

Considering how recent this phenomenon of post-war militarization policy is, there is still a considerable amount of research needed to fully grasp the social and psychological impact of state militarization. On the one hand, Tamil activists have used this militarization in instrumental ways to further delegitimize the Sri Lankan state. Political

analysts, on the other hand, continue to monitor the state’s activity in the northern and eastern Tamil provinces, in hopes of preventing the recurrence of violent conflict.<sup>55</sup> Until the state acknowledges the oppressed situation of these ex-combatant Tamil women and takes action to address it, there will always be a “latent potential for a resurgence in violent forms of resistance – particularly amongst Tamil women.”<sup>56</sup> These female fighters’ experiences fighting in the Civil War enabled may to attain personal liberation and continues to fuel their desire to liberate the Tamil people.

## U.S. POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT TOWARD NORTH KOREA

### NORMALIZING THE BALANCE OF TERROR

JUNG-JU LEE  
Cornell University

#### INTRODUCTION

The balance of terror created by the presence of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) on the Korean peninsula has escalated the sense of uncertainty in East Asia, jeopardizing both the region’s security and progress towards political and economic cooperation. The persistent efforts of North Korea in the development of nuclear weapons present a blatant challenge to the United States’ strategic leverage in East Asia, international hegemonic influence, and global disarmament and non-proliferation initiatives. In this paper, I outline and evaluate three approaches to addressing the international threat posed by North Korea: 1) Hostile isolation through economic sanctions, intimidation, and aggressive military posturing to instigate denuclearization 2) Containment by impeding vertical and horizontal proliferation of North Korean missiles that emphasizes the maintenance of status quo over a policy of denuclearization 3) Engagement through multilateral efforts to offer political and economic incentives in exchange for gradual dismantlement of nuclear weapons production, backed by guarantees of international retaliation for failure to reciprocate. I essentially argue that isolation and containment measures have already been tried by the previous administrations and ultimately failed to secure cooperation or denuclearization because they refused to recognize nuclear weapons as the

silver bullet to ensuring the regime’s survival. Thus, resolving regional instabilities entails the pursuit of a strategy of engagement and gradual normalization over an extended timetable that precedes a policy of denuclearization through economic incentives in exchange for gradual denuclearization. Consequently, dismantlement becomes a process of weaning North Korea from its military dependence on nuclear weapons for survival to economic dependence on the international community, the sustained contact leading to greater transparency and interaction with international norms.

#### UNDERSTANDING THE SECURITY DILEMMA

The nature of the North Korean threat fundamentally stems from transformative changes in the international system over the last half century that has resulted in a regional imbalance of power unfavorable to North Korea. In an international system of anarchy, the capabilities and intentions of surrounding states remain unclear. While this uncertainty of the capability of states and the certainty of the outcome of nuclear war in the form of mutually assured destruction sustains the logic of nuclear deterrence, it simultaneously obfuscates the ability to distinguish “offensive from defensive capability, which lie[s] at the core of [...] the ‘security dilemma’” on the Korean peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Conventionally viewed as an irrational aggressor,



*INTENDED TO COERCE NORTH KOREA TOWARDS  
OPENNESS ABANDONMENT OF ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM  
UNDER UNILATERAL MILITARY PRESSURES OF  
THE UNITED STATES, THE ISOLATION APPROACH  
PURSUED BY THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION MERELY  
EXACERBATED NORTH KOREA'S SENSE OF  
VULNERABILITY*

North Korea, in its political isolation following the fall of the Soviet bloc, “failing economy, lagging conventional military capabilities, and a keen desire for international acceptance and recognition” rationally turned to “asymmetric power advantages” derived from long-range missiles and weapons of mass destruction” as a means of defense to ensure regime survival in the face of South Korea’s economic and conventional military superiority, which is further enhanced by American military support.<sup>2</sup> Intended as a defensive strategy to counter the South’s conventional advantage, the WMDs have increasingly taken on the appearance of offensive weapons as North Korea responded to escalating economic sanctions and diplomatic ostracism during the Bush administration with “coercive bargaining strategy” as the only course of action in deterring external threat.<sup>3</sup>

**Hostile Isolation Approach**

Yet, this “‘irrationality’ of the DPRK [...] and the perceived recklessness and unpredictability of its leadership” in reaction to growing pressures served as a rallying cry for Washington to take a hawkish stance of coercive denuclearization over cooperative engagement during the Bush era that continues to sour United States-North Korean relations today.<sup>4</sup> Proponents of isolation policy towards North Korea argue that Pyongyang’s “contacts with the outside world reflects a change in diplomatic tactics for the purpose of obtaining the food and economic aid [...] needed[ed]

to stay afloat” and has not reciprocated with subsequent denuclearization nor indicated a move toward “fundamental change” in foreign policy, committing the United States to an irrational, no-exit strategy of unending concessions.<sup>5</sup> The rationale behind engagement, they argue, thus rewards North Korea for nuclear belligerence that weakens the “credibility of U.S. security commitments in the region” and stands as a “model for other potential nuclear aspirants.”<sup>6</sup> In response to “North Korea’s imperviousness to international pressures and sanctions,” opponents of engagement propose a “hostile isolation” approach that combines intimidating military presence with diplomatic ostracism in the form of economic sanctions, threats, and intimidation to achieve denuclearization.<sup>7</sup> Intended to coerce North Korea towards openness and abandonment of its nuclear program under unilateral military pressures of the United States, the isolation approach pursued by the Bush administration merely exacerbated North Korea’s sense of vulnerability and ironically encouraged North Korea to turn inward to frame survival in terms of further development and enhancement of its existing nuclear capabilities.<sup>8</sup>

My main criticism of the isolation approach lies in its failure to address North Korea’s legitimate security concern as a lone state defying what it perceives to be internationally-concerted hostility through aggressive measures by the United States that leaves no room for

*LOCATION OF NUCLEAR TEST. NORTH KOREA'S POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS CREATED A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF INSTABILITY IN THE REGION*



North Korea to maneuver without losing credibility. Subsequent antagonistic reaction by North Korea reinforces its image as a bellicose, rogue regime that creates a “vicious cycle” of misunderstanding and escalating tension.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, isolation provides no guarantee of preventing further horizontal (dissemination of WMD to rogue and nonstate actors) and vertical (enhancement of existing nuclear capabilities); rather, the “continuation of a comprehensive sanctions regime against North Korea may ironically strengthen the regime’s capacity to maintain political control” by trading the window of opportunity for a two-way transparency for opacity.<sup>10</sup> Increasingly bereft of allies to mitigate economic and strategic constraints placed by international sanctions and diplomatic alienation, the regime will turn to what Cha terms, “coercive bargaining” as the only strategy for survival after careful calculation of expected costs of inaction and belligerency. Evidence of Pyongyang’s willingness to make “plain the volatility of confrontation” became evident following South Korean president Lee Myung Bak’s policy of disengagement to which North Korea retaliated by allegedly sinking South Korean warship, Cheonan, and shelling Yeonpyeong Island in the contested maritime zone near the West Sea Islands.<sup>11</sup>

**CONTAINMENT APPROACH**

The Obama administration inherited

the foreign policy dilemma of a belligerent North Korea shaped by a decade-long strategy of isolation and subsequently adopted an outdated policy of Cold War-era containment as the simplest strategy to deal with North Korea, sacrificing denuclearization for a weak policy of counter-proliferation. The Obama administration’s policy of containment involves impeding further proliferation and “sophistication of [North Korean] nuclear arsenal and missile delivery capacity [...] through implementation of UN resolutions [...] by negotiating a missile moratorium or [...] ensuring that the scope of international sanctions expanded in retaliation.”<sup>12</sup> This “‘manage and contain’ approach [that] focuses on risk reduction first” guarantees the maintenance of status quo in the region, but fails to resolve the asymmetric terror balance, which is “inherently volatile.”<sup>13</sup>

Pursued by the Obama administration, the containment approach proved to be an anachronistic strategy to deter nuclear proliferation, already determined to be ineffective in the strategic arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War. The policy of containment based on the strategy of mutual deterrence during the Cold War contradictorily led to a massive arms buildup despite both the United States and the Soviet Union attaining the minimum requirement for effective deterrence. Sharing a mutual distrust towards the other’s intentions and

*THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, IN ITS  
DISREGARD FOR THE NATURE OF NORTH  
KOREAN AGGRESSION, SACRIFICED  
REGIONAL STABILITY AND COOPERATION  
FOR AN UNVIABLE POLICY OF  
DENUCLEARIZATION*

capabilities, each sought to overcome the security dilemma through the unchecked sophistication and production of existing arsenals weapons that ultimately escalated the costs of war but did little to change the status quo. While North Korea presents a minor threat compared to the former Soviet Union in terms of nuclear stock, it has similarly attained the minimum requirement for deterrence to effectively maintain the status quo without further proliferation - a stumbling block to ending the stagnant balance of terror on the Korean peninsula.

*INTEGRATIVE ENGAGEMENT APPROACH*

The failures of the isolation and containment approaches stem from their inability to recognize North Korea's legitimate security concerns: what it perceived as aggressive, American military posturing, coupled with economic and political disengagement from North Korea that holds the key to international integration and mechanisms of transparency crucial to regional stability. The isolation policy outlines ambitious goals toward rapid denuclearization of the Korean peninsula through military threats and intimidation with no indication of reciprocal concessions by the United States. With no initial guarantees of security from the United States, North Korea responded to military aggression with reciprocal threats and subsequent policy disengagement, rescinding its former commitments toward peace

and resorting to radicalization of its foreign policy. The Bush administration, in its disregard for the nature of North Korean aggression, sacrificed regional stability and cooperation for an unviable policy of denuclearization. The containment approach, on the other hand, stagnates the progress towards de-escalation of tension by purposely engaging in a patient game of checkmate with North Korea in hopes that the regime would eventually collapse on its own. Examining the containment policy pursued during the Cold War, the waiting game may indeed prove to be successful when weighing in the triumph of capitalism over socialism attained through sheer endurance; however, the timetable for self-collapse is measured in decades. Is an asymmetric balance of terror sustainable on the Korean peninsula for another 20 years? The persistence of the North Korean regime for over half a century indicates that we may be faced with a vastly different situation. The objective of containment is to prevent further proliferation in North Korea, yet there is no guarantee that this immense task can be achieved, especially as growing hostility drives North Korea towards greater opacity. The containment approach is thus, a no-end-game strategy, in which prospects can only improve for North Korea. Both approaches have merely emphasized North Korea's capacity to effectively defy international sanctions, thereby undermining international standards of behavior and driving neighboring states to



*THE DMZ AT PANMUMJEOM WITH SOLDIERS STANDING GUARD.  
SINCE THE CEASEFIRE WAS SIGNED IN 1953, THE 38TH  
PARALLEL MARKS THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS*

consider nuclear capabilities to balance North Korea's asymmetric advantage, which shows no indication of weakening in the foreseeable future.

The integrative engagement approach, however, provides an alternative to regression and stagnation of relations with North Korea by encompassing international coordination and consensus in offering "conditional diplomatic and economic inducements" that normalize relations and reduce the mutual threat through increased contact. To be successful, three points must converge on this policy approach: Normalization

The United States must recognize that the "threat is not unilaterally posed but mutually produced" and that it must first provide reciprocal concessions in security guarantees by reconfirming political and economic commitments made in past agreements "in exchange for Pyongyang's termination of its WMD programs" before pursuing an agenda of denuclearization.<sup>14</sup> Addressing security concerns entails "fundamental decisions to respect [North Korea's] sovereignty" that acknowledge the legitimacy of the regime and a mutual peace treaty outlining a maritime border and a framework of agreement.<sup>15</sup>

Examining the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Soviet bloc resulted from internal decay as gradual introduction of capitalism eroded the fundamental basis of socialist politics and economy. As increasingly

liberal leaders captured state politics and opened the Soviet bloc to Western influence through policies, such as perestroika, the socialist system faltered as it grew steadily dependent on Western norms and economy. North Korea, the last defiant reminder of the Cold War, poses the same challenges the United States faced in confronting the Soviet Union. The solution, as history shows, relies not on a combination of military posturing and nuclear arms escalation, but the pervasion of Western soft power that gnaws away at the very basis of socialism through increased contact and dialogue. The solution to North Korea then relies solely on instilling the roots of soft power - economic assistance, free trade, and economic cooperation - in the region through a policy of engagement that resets a short timetable of rapid and risky policy of denuclearization to a long horizon of gradual, peaceful economic collaboration that would slowly open North Korea to international influence.

Economic assistance would plant the seeds of progress and revitalization of the North Korean economy and provide a future strategic leverage as cooperation and mutual concession increasingly outweigh the benefits of coercive bargaining. Once this option becomes available and progress initiated, North Korea, recognizing the possibilities brought by cooperation, would feel increased pressure to cooperate as engagement prevents the "crystallization of conditions under which

THE OBJECTIVE OF CONTAINMENT IS TO PREVENT FURTHER PROLIFERATION IN NORTH KOREA, YET THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THIS IMMENSE TASK CAN BE ACHIEVED

Pyongyang would calculate aggression as a 'rational' course of action.<sup>16</sup> Engagement not only improves transparency by providing insight on the degree of change in DPRK intentions, but would also "lay the groundwork for punishment if the regime fails to fulfill its obligations."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, increased contact would provide North Koreans with exposure to "international norms and standards" that could facilitate "grassroots-led marketization and the spread of capitalism" to undermine North Korean leadership and political control over the populace.<sup>18</sup> Engagement thus gradually adjusts the asymmetric advantage North Korea currently exercises and tilts the balance of power in the direction of the United States.

#### Denuclearization

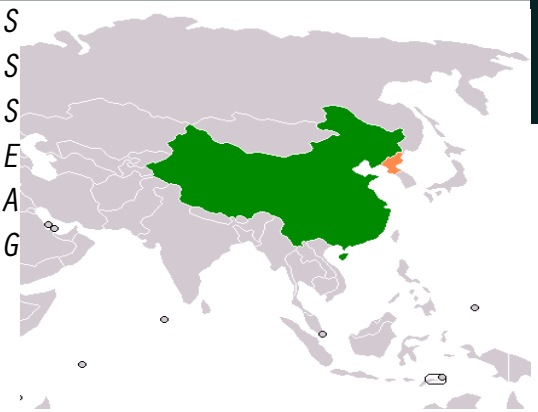
The move towards denuclearization can only be made upon the initial guarantee of economic and political security by the United States, as the North Koreans increasingly recognize the incentives for cooperation that outweigh the benefits of isolation brought by aggressive foreign policy measures. Denuclearization, more importantly, must occur at a steady but gradual pace with the premise that as North Korea grows more dependent on international aid, the "forward momentum will make it more and more difficult for the North to turn back."<sup>19</sup> Because complete denuclearization entails a long process of incremental dismantlement, I suggest a process of converting nuclear arms production to energy

resources that North Korea can export to the international community, which would provide economic benefits and a much-needed energy source to the North Korean population. Thus, the success of denuclearization is thus tightly coupled to the success of economic inducements that convince Pyongyang the advantages of integration over nuclear proliferation.

#### Multilateral Coordination

Learning from the Bush administration, the Obama administration adopted a multilateral approach to North Korea over bilateral negotiations but failed to secure regional cooperation with North Korean neighbors who preferred regional stability over possible costs of "violence, flows of refugees, spillover," and absorption.<sup>20</sup> China, a traditional ally of North Korea, exercises heavy influence over the direction of international foreign policy towards North Korea and has been effectively impeding an international push for aggressive measures towards addressing nuclear proliferation on the Korean peninsula. Previously, foreign policy experts, who recognized the immense Chinese influence over enforcing international sanctions and punishment, prioritized convincing China that "denuclearization is necessary for long-term regional stability."<sup>21</sup> However, China's recent pivot towards a more aggressive and critical view of North Korea is a window of opportunity for regional cooperation towards denuclearization that must immediately be seized. The failures of isolation and containment to deter further

CHINA, NORTH KOREA'S NEIGHBOR AND ALLY, HAS RECENTLY SHIFTED ITS STANCE TOWARDS THE COUNTRY, CREATING A POSSIBLE OPENING



experimentation on and proliferation of North Korean weapons of mass destruction relay the lack of clout in reinforcing the consequences of defying international standards and agreement. Thus, it is crucial to utilize the common current of distrust and discontent towards North Korea's belligerent stance following the rise of its new leader, Kim Jong Un, to coordinate and secure an international decision framing a multilateral agreement for retaliation. The engagement approach, in which the United States first addresses the North Korean security concerns by making the initial motion for compromise, relays American willingness towards cooperation and places the burden of proof on North Korea in mutual reciprocation. With international normative frameworks and constructed identities defining international behavior, North Korea's failures to uphold its end of the bargain would indicate that "non-confrontational manner has been exhausted" and signal the need for a concerted, international response that effectively retaliates and disincentivizes uncooperative measures made by North Korea.<sup>22</sup>

Normalization and eventual dissolution of tension ultimately rests on translating North Korea dependence on nuclear weapons for economic survival to dependence on international integration and mutual transparency, achieved by multilateral coordination that enforces an agreed set of framework in addressing the threat of North

Korea.

#### STRATEGY FOR DENUCLEARIZATION

The critical questions to ask are: Would engagement be enough to build trust? Would North Korea trust US declarations towards normalization and transparency? What makes engagement credible in regards to both the benefits of cooperation and the consequences of belligerence?

The success and credibility of the engagement approach hinges critically on regional integration and cooperation at the security and economic level that remains largely absent in Asia. Up until the recent decade, the United States has pursued a post-World War II "hub-and-spokes" model in East Asia that consists of individual bilateral ties with Asian nations over regional network of multilateral ties and institutions. This "hub-and-spokes" model dampens the drive to build a regional network of multilateral ties by (1) creating bilateral security and economic ties with South Korea and Japan that intentionally serve as a balancing strategy against China's rise and regional hegemonic aspirations and (2) creating few institutional means or political necessity to resolve the historical memory of Japanese colonialism that remains raw in the national psyche of Asian nations - particularly those of South Korea and China - and continues to deepen hostilities and mistrust in the region.



*DENUCLEARIZATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA  
RESTS ON COHESIVE ACTION UNDER REGIONAL  
MULTILATERALISM THAT HINGES UPON EAST  
ASIAN COOPERATION*

The consequent lack of regional cohesion in security, political, and economic multilateral ties significantly undermines the US leverage in a hypothetical engagement approach as North Korea can reliably turn to its regional neighbors, particularly China, in the event of failed unilateral negotiations and agreements with the United States. Denuclearizing North Korea ultimately rests on resolving the historical tensions between various nations in East Asia, establishing cooperation at the regional level that lays the foundation for a cohesive multilateral action, and securing a regional multilateral policy towards North Korea that aligns with a US policy of engagement. This would not only strengthen the US strategic and diplomatic leverage in North Korea but also heighten the sense of guarantee that the US would follow through on its actions as a result of deep multilateral networks in the region. Essentially, US leverage in North Korea can only be made real by creating regional leverage over North Korea. The 1994 agreed framework largely failed as a result of failures of both the United States and North Korea to follow through on the steps of the agreements in lieu of growing mistrust of each other's intentions. The United States largely acted on the assumption that North Korea will collapse upon the death of its leader Kim Jong Il. North Korea in turn doubted the intentions behind the United States' sudden turn in foreign policy as well as the lack of guarantees that it would meet its end

of the bilateral agreement in the absence of international action or backing.

Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula rests on cohesive action under regional multilateralism that hinges upon East Asian cooperation. The linchpin to this cooperation is China, which has exercised extensive political, economic, and diplomatic influence on North Korea and remains its last regional "ally." Deepening security and economic links between China, South Korea, and Japan will either further isolate North Korea as China establishes ties with its other neighbors or in the more unlikely scenario, bridge South Korea and Japan to North Korea through ties with China. In either possibilities, deepening regional ties between North Korea's neighbors narrows North Korea's foreign policy options towards cooperation as the traditional hostilities that it had once manipulated and utilized as leverage in regional and international affairs become rendered effectively useless. Moreover, as a new Asian political and economic region emerges, North Korea faces the option of either hopping on the wagon of an increasingly powerful region – perhaps in the future, another European Union or North Atlantic Trade Organization – or incurring the wrath of a regionally cohesive Asia.

Already, the South Korean government has initiated what the current Park administration calls "trustpolitik strategy" for improving and stabilizing relations with its closest neighbors -

*OBAMA, AT THE 2011 STATE  
OF UNION ADDRESS, AFFIRMED  
THE COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT  
TO STAND BY ITS ALLY OF  
SOUTH KOREA AND URGE THE  
ROK TO ABANDON ITS NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS*



North Korea, China, and Japan. Such strategy involves "laying the groundwork for the reduction of tension and peaceful coexistence on the Korean peninsula" through 1) strong US-Korea alliance 2) trilateral cooperation between Korea, US, and Japan 3) development of close ties of cooperation and partnership with China and Russia and 4) enhancing cooperation with Europe and ASEAN nations and 5) "continuing efforts to persuade North Korea to comply with its nuclear non-proliferation obligations through inter-Korean dialogue channels."<sup>23</sup> The Park administration has realistically "proposed greater cooperation on 'softer issues'" of the environment, nuclear safety, and disaster relief as the first step to establishing trust, which would enable greater trilateral cooperation in addressing the more complex political, economic, and social issues. Since this proposal was first announced, the talks on the China-ROK-Japan Free Trade Agreement has been initiated and trilateral "dialogue and cooperation on issues such as the environment, culture, nuclear safety and cyber security" have made significant headway even as political relations deteriorate.<sup>24</sup>

The foreign policy approach of the United States in addressing a nuclear North Korea then, should involve laying the foundations for a regionally cohesive Asia. The United States must recognize China's rise and its place as the regional power as both inevitable and acceptable, and cut back

on bilateral agreements with South Korea and Japan, allowing the region's major powers to forge cooperative security and economic ties that were largely discouraged by bilateral ties with the United States. Paradoxically, the United States must take a step back from its roles as a hegemonic power in Asia and a balancing force against China in the region in order to foster regional cooperation necessary for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. While some may argue that this policy recommendation fundamentally suggests that the United States sacrifice its leverage in Asia for leverage in North Korea, the reality is that increasing challenges to US hegemony and reductions in its leverage in Asia is inevitable as China and the region as a whole "rises." From several paradigmatic viewpoints, we ask: Is the United States willing to voluntarily reduce its influence and power in the region? Will it allow for regional alignment economically and politically? Does it value international peace and cooperation over regional power and interests? But realistically, the United States cannot stop the inevitable rise of regional multilateralism and cooperation in Asia. While achieving regional cohesion inevitably reduces the US leverage in Asia in the short-term, it would secure the continued existence of that very leverage in the future if the United States spearheads the movement for multilateral cooperation and peace today. The essential question to ask then is: "Will



the United States lead the charge for regional cohesion and thereby secure and sustain its leverage? Or will it resist the inevitable and continue to proliferate means for continued North Korean nuclear weapons development while also risking its place at the Asian table in the future?

#### CONCLUSION

North Korea remains the last vestige of the Cold War era of nuclear power balancing, which has shown itself to be unsustainable and detrimental to international peace and cooperation. The policies of isolation and containment have been tried by past administrations but have ultimately failed to deter further proliferation of weapons in North Korea due to their failure to ensure multilateral action and recognize North Korea's security dilemma. A foreign policy approach of integrative engagement, however, extends conditional diplomatic and economic benefits over immediate denuclearization. Engagement serves as a method of gradually integrating North Korea into the international economy and institutional norms that advances transparency, creates leverage to shape North Korean behavior, and eventually end the balance of terror on the Korean peninsula. But this denuclearization hinges upon the United States' willingness to lead the creation of a cohesive regional force in Asia, which would inevitably challenge its influence and power in the region in the short-run.

## AN UNCERTAIN BELONGING

PERMANENT RESIDENCY ID CARDS AND EAST  
JERUSALEM'S IDENTITY CRISIS

HALIE CRAIG  
University of Pennsylvania

#### INTRODUCTION

**R**imaz Kasabreh is Palestinian. Because of her Israeli-issued green identification card, she is considered a legal resident of the West Bank but an illegal immigration within nearby East Jerusalem – the historically Palestinian-controlled half of Jerusalem until its annexation from Jordan following the Six Day War in 1967. During the war, Israel preemptively attacked its Arab neighbors and captured the Golan Heights from Syria, the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and the West Bank (which encompassed East Jerusalem at the time) from Jordan. Although Israel withdrew from the occupied territories following United Nations Resolution 242, it explicitly annexed East Jerusalem into a united capital city. It is in this half of Jerusalem – which had been under Palestinian leadership – where Kasabreh has lived with her family since 1996.

Kasabreh currently lives in East Jerusalem with her three children and husband, all of whom are considered permanent residents and hold special blue identification cards that entitle them to most benefits offered by the Israeli government. Years ago, Kasabreh applied for the same card under Israel's family unification program, but, permanent residency has become almost impossible to obtain through unification claims, especially since the enactment of a restrictive 2003 law, and she has yet to hear back from the authorities. According to a family

lawyer, the Ministry of Interior has stopped processing applications altogether. For now, she remains with her family in East Jerusalem by applying for yearly temporary residency permits – which take months to obtain – and living a highly immobile lifestyle. Because of her liminal and uncertain status, she does not have access to the same Israeli government benefits as East Jerusalem ID holders, including adequate health care, and she cannot apply for a job to help support her family. As a result, she spends most of her time in her family's home, unable to fully integrate into Palestinian society in East Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Kasabreh's story is not unique – in fact, she claims that many of her friends are in similar situations, victims of a bureaucratic approach to Palestinian residency rights in East Jerusalem. Even obtaining a permanent residency card does not guarantee the right to live indefinitely in the city. The Israeli government has retracted over 14,000 residencies since 2011 – most from Palestinians who travelled abroad for some period of time.<sup>2</sup> These restrictions on mobility, however, do not apply to the city's Jewish population.

Prior to the Six Day War, Jerusalem was divided into halves: West Jerusalem, under Israeli control, and East Jerusalem, which was brought under de facto Jordanian control following the 1948 war establishing the state of Israel.<sup>3</sup> This divide was formalized in 1949 with the drawing of the 'Green Line' – an armistice line – through

PALESTINIANS IN EAST  
JERUSALEM REMAIN  
DISENFRANCHISED AT A LEGAL  
LEVEL BY GOVERNMENT POLICIES  
AND BUDGET DISCRIMINATION



A FAMILY IN WEST BANK  
ONE OF THE MANY THOUSAND  
AFFECTED BY THE QUESTION OF  
IDENTITY CARD

Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Despite the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the other occupied territories of the Six Day War, Israel moved to informally annex East Jerusalem into a united city. Although the international community has still not recognized the move, East Jerusalem today exists under Israeli municipal jurisdiction and control. A 1980 law passed by the Israeli Parliament declared Jerusalem “the complete and united capital of Israel.”<sup>5</sup> Currently, an estimated 270,000 Palestinians call East Jerusalem home, although the numbers fluctuate slightly from source to source.<sup>6</sup> A 2011 report from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) included the following from a 1997 publication by the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, B’Tselem:

Permanent residency is the same status granted to foreign citizens who have freely chosen to come to Israel and want to live in the country. Because Israel treats Palestinians like immigrants, they, too, live in their homes at the beneficence of the authorities, and not by right. The authorities maintain this policy although these Palestinians were born in Jerusalem, lived in the city, and have no other home...Viewing East Jerusalem residents as foreigners who entered Israel is perplexing since it was Israel that entered East Jerusalem in 1967.<sup>7</sup>

As the B’Tselem report indicates,

Palestinians in East Jerusalem remain disenfranchised at a legal level by government policies and budget discrimination, despite the permanent residency status most of them hold. Many choose not to accept permanent citizenship to another country such as Jordan, because attaining such citizenship would result in the automatic revocation of their identification cards.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the official policy of identity control in East Jerusalem has serious impacts on the Palestinian psyche, resulting in internal community divisions and psychological hardship. The “nationality” section of the East Jerusalem permanent residency card is left blank – a constant reminder that the cardholder does not belong to a single state, nation, or collective identity.<sup>9</sup> It is important to note the terminology here: as the United States Institute of Peace defines “nation” and “state,” it is possible to belong to a nation – “a group of people who feel bound by a common language, culture, religion, history, or ethnicity” – without existing in the physical space of a state. The Israeli-issued permanent residency cards, however, do not make this distinction.<sup>10</sup>

To understand how the identification cards play such a large role in regulating Palestinian mobility and access to services in East Jerusalem – despite the fact that these Palestinians pay taxes, can technically own property (although the Israeli policies towards housing in East Jerusalem are highly contentious), and supposedly receive full Israeli

taxpayer benefits – it is necessary to understand the role of the barrier wall constructed in 2002.<sup>11</sup> The barrier was purportedly erected under security premises by the Israeli Defense Forces in response to the Second Intifada. Effectively physically isolating East Jerusalem, the barrier went far beyond the borders of the 1949 “Green Line” partition between East and West Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> According to UNOCHA, 142 kilometers of the barrier run through East Jerusalem, with only four kilometers along the Green Line. At its widest point, the barrier extends 14 kilometers into the West Bank.<sup>13</sup> The barrier allows the Israeli government to regulate Palestinian mobility and spatial relations in ways that had never before been possible, and the ID cards play a large part in determining who can and cannot pass through the barrier wall at its various checkpoints. As Wendy Pullan pointed out an editorial for *Jerusalem Quarterly*, “Far from being neutral, space itself has become [sic] part of the process of political identification and control, and this is now characterizing the city in particular ways to become not just a setting but a perpetrator of further forms of conflict.”<sup>14</sup>

This paper aims to explore the history and consequences of East Jerusalem’s identity crisis, as well as discuss its potential ramifications looking forward. Combined with recent security measures, namely the construction of the barrier wall, as well as the introduction of more restrictive legislation

including the Nationality and Entry into Israel Law (2003), the status of Palestinians in East Jerusalem has been in decline since the 1967 annexation of the city.<sup>15</sup> In light of this, it is necessary to not only consider the status of East Jerusalem’s Palestinian population and how their ID cards (or lack thereof) impact their own perceptions of Palestinian identity, but also how their plight fits into the realm of international law and humanitarian concerns. This paper seeks to examine the development of Israeli policies of identity control over time, the formal and informal impact of the identification cards, and the moral implications of these policies.

The body of this paper has been divided into four major sections: the first examines the development of collective Palestinian identity prior to 1948, the second expands on the historical context of the identification card policy, the third addresses the logistics of the policy and its effect on spatial relationships in East Jerusalem, and the fourth is concerned with the more theoretical implications of identity versus identification in the shaping of Palestinian identity today. It should also be noted that because the barrier wall in East Jerusalem and ID card policies are so inter-related, this paper will discuss both in detail. Finally, the paper concludes that the Israeli policies of identity control used in East Jerusalem constitute unfair treatment of the region’s Palestinian permanent residents, with negative impacts on both Palestinian agency and Israeli objectives in the

TODAY, PALESTINIAN IDENTITY IS NOT A SINGULAR, STRAIGHTFORWARD NATIONALISM: IT HAS BEEN SHAPED BY ARAB, ISRAELI, AND INTERNATIONAL FORCES THROUGH THE YEARS FOLLOWING 1948

city.

#### ROOTS OF PALESTINIAN IDENTITY

According to Rashid Khalidi, author of *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of a Modern National Consciousness*, it is often incorrectly argued that “one of the most common tropes in treatments of issues related to Palestine is the idea that Palestinian identity, and with it Palestinian nationalism, are ephemeral and of recent origin.”<sup>16</sup> This idea is supported by scholars like Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, who, in their book *Palestinians: The Making of a People*, slip into the error of attributing the birth of a cohesive Palestinian identity to the Zionist movement.<sup>17</sup> Khalidi posits that it is incorrect to say that Palestinians can only conceive of their own identity in response to Zionism.<sup>18</sup> In late Ottoman Palestine, at the turn of the twentieth century, Jerusalem became a “touchstone of identity” for many Palestinians – a place that all Palestinians identified with, especially on a religious level.<sup>19</sup> During the last few decades of Ottoman rule, the use of the word “Palestine” increased greatly in the press, indicating a shift towards a more nationalistic culture within geographic Palestine.<sup>20</sup> In 1921, *Filastin*, one of the most popular papers of the time, explicitly referred to Palestine as a nation state.<sup>21</sup> A geography textbook commonly used in Palestinian schools, *Jughrafiyyat Suriyya wa Filastin al-Tabi’iyya*, singled out Palestine

as “a separate entity, a unit whose geography required separate treatment.”<sup>22</sup> As Khalidi writes, “Clearly, no one who disputes the widespread existence of a Palestinian national consciousness during the Mandate period, can have examined the press or the country’s educational system during this early phase in even a cursory manner.”<sup>23</sup>

It is important to recognize the beginnings of a national Palestinian identity prior to the 1948 war, during which Zionist forces gained control of present-day Israel, because of the subsequent impact on how Palestinians view their own sense of belonging to both Jerusalem and the physical space of former Palestine. Today, Palestinian identity is not a singular, straightforward nationalism: it has been shaped by Arab, Israeli, and international forces through the years following 1948, and especially after 1967. It has been created by overlapping issues and different conceptions of identity, all of which will be a common thread throughout this paper. Political and ideological divisions have also been common threads in the Palestinian narrative, making it difficult for a single organized Palestinian movement to take root. Furthermore, to an extent, Palestinian identity has been influenced by more recent spatial fracturing and isolation within the Palestinian community – a situation that has been, largely created by the barrier wall and the East Jerusalem ID card policy.

First, however, it is necessary to

A HUMAN RIGHTS WORKER AT A CLINIC IN BRUQIN, A VILLAGE IN THE WEST BANK, HUMANITARIAN CONCERN IS A FREQUENT CRITICISM OF IDENTITY CONTROL



understand the historical framework in which Israeli identification card policies were born, as well as the logistical impact they have had on Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. To accomplish this, the next section of the paper will explore the background behind the East Jerusalem identification cards, with special attention to how they led to discrimination and unrest within Palestinian communities after 1967.

#### ANNEXATION AND ISOLATION: EAST JERUSALEM AFTER 1967

Under the UN Partition Plan of 1947, Jerusalem was slated to become an internationally governed area of Palestine.<sup>24</sup> However, the Palestinians rejected this proposal, and after the 1948 Israeli War for Independence (known as the Catastrophe, or al-Nakba, throughout the Arab world), the division of Jerusalem was formalized under a 1949 UN Armistice Agreement: a “Green Line” would divide the city into two halves, one Israeli and the other Jordanian-controlled (which is now present-day East Jerusalem).<sup>25</sup> Although the Israeli government explicitly did not annex East Jerusalem during this time.<sup>26</sup> After the 1967 war, the Jordanian half of the city was declared part of an Israeli-controlled, unified Jerusalem.<sup>27</sup>

Immediately after occupying East Jerusalem, the Israeli government conducted a census of the area’s population, finding

68,000 Palestinians living there at the time.<sup>28</sup> The census was done quickly and without due diligence, but identification cards, indicating permanent residency status for East Jerusalem’s Arab population, were issued on June 26, 1967, two weeks after the conclusion of the war.<sup>29</sup> Very few of these Arabs, who had previously held Jordanian citizenship, chose to undergo a universal naturalization process to pursue Israeli citizenship (and, through this, recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel).<sup>30</sup> Instead, they chose permanent residency in their own city – a place where many of them had lived for generations, and a city to which many had both personal and familial ties.

Ten days after the 1967 war, East Jerusalem was brought under Israeli municipal control. Israelis, eager to visit Jerusalem’s Old City (which had previously fallen under Jordanian jurisdiction), moved into East Jerusalem by the thousands, and the walls and barbed wire separating the two halves of Jerusalem were deconstructed.<sup>31</sup> During this time, Israel’s Jewish population was overjoyed to have access to some of their most important religious sites again, and tourism rates in the area skyrocketed.<sup>32</sup> For a brief while, it seemed that coexistence and integration between the two halves of Jerusalem was very possible. The Israeli government, however, had different plans for unifying the city. In *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*, the authors – two former



*SINCE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE  
BARRIER, IDENTIFICATION CARDS HAVE  
BECOME AN EVEN MORE CRITICAL COMPONENT  
OF PALESTINIAN DAILY LIFE, IMPACTING  
ECONOMIC STATUS, ABILITY TO OBTAIN JOBS,  
AND FAMILY UNIFICATION*

Israeli government advisers on Arab affairs and one senior reporter for The Jerusalem Post – posited that there were two major goals for East Jerusalem during this time: increase the Jewish population, and hinder the growth of the Arab population by forcing them to move elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> As the rest of this section will show, the pursuit of these goals led to budget discrimination, neglect of taxpaying Palestinian communities, and, ultimately, a divisive unrest among the Palestinian population that could have easily been avoided by the Israeli government had municipal policies in East Jerusalem been more egalitarian.

At the time, however, Israeli intentions in East Jerusalem appeared positive, especially under the direction of Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek. Kollek said in 1977, “We can only look at the situation realistically: If, at worst, Muslim and Jewish differences prove irreconcilable, we will have to live in tension for a long time. All the more reason to care for the city as much as we can to ensure its welfare and well-being in spite of strains and stress.”<sup>34</sup> For Kollek and many others within the Israeli government, fair treatment of both Jewish and Arab communities in the years following 1967 was key to achieving the dream of a unified – and peaceful – Jerusalem. According to a document from the Jerusalem Committee of 1982, “the overriding, undisputed principle underlying Jerusalem’s planning is the realization of her unity ... [by] building up the city in such a

way as to preclude the bi-polar emergence of two national communities and forestall any possibility of re-dividing it along such lines.”<sup>35</sup> However, despite the intentions of some members of the government, Israel has always been notorious for its bureaucratic system, and many of Kollek’s major goals for the city were never realized on the budget or municipal level. The Arabs quickly became clear victims of budget discrimination: although legally residing Palestinians constituted 28 percent of Jerusalem’s taxpaying population, they only received between two and twelve percent of the budget through various departments.<sup>36</sup>

An internal municipality memo from 1986 reiterates the consequences of this budget discrimination. The memo openly acknowledged that, “the level of service given to residents of east Jerusalem is much lower than that given to residents of west Jerusalem.”<sup>37</sup> The memo also went on to list the ways in which East Jerusalem’s Palestinian population was disadvantaged: most roads were unpaved without sidewalks or lighting, 60% of East Jerusalem neighborhoods still had no garbage collection, the water system was inadequate, and Arab schools were neglected in the budget, to name a few of the concerns.<sup>38</sup> Even today, these issues persist throughout East Jerusalem, exacerbated by increasingly strict government policies and ID card discrimination. For example, some Arab areas of East Jerusalem have not had trash collection since 1967, and

attempts by permanent residents to bring these issues up with the Israeli municipality, are repeatedly denied.<sup>39</sup> Although their blue card status technically entitles them to the same treatment as Israeli citizens, especially in municipal issues, East Jerusalem’s Palestinians are almost always treated as second-class citizens.

Predictably, the budget discrimination against permanent residents – compounded with issues like the expropriation of East Jerusalem territory to construct Jewish settlements – led to unrest within the Arab community. As the First Intifada began to tear the city apart in 1987, the Israeli dream of a “united” Jerusalem was quickly eviscerated. The city’s leadership had ignored the first signs of unrest in 1985, and even though they were fully aware of the unfair issues that East Jerusalem’s Arab population faced, nothing was done to remedy them on the ground.<sup>40</sup> As a result of the police response to the uprisings, the distinction between the treatment of East Jerusalem and the occupied territories became blurred, and polarization between the Arab and Jewish communities became increasingly pronounced.<sup>41</sup> Additionally, blue ID card holders were subjected, at least during the First Intifada (1987-1991), to similar checkpoints and inspections that had typically been reserved for West Bank residents.<sup>42</sup> Revoking some of the privileges typically associated with the permanent residency card further incensed the Palestinians of East Jerusalem, and, in part, contributed to the reemergence of a collective Palestinian identity.

As authors Chesin, Hutman, and Melamed pointed out in *Separate and Unequal*, “Kollek could not help but say ‘I told you so’ to Israel’s national leaders. According to the mayor’s thinking, the uprisings that broke out in Jerusalem as part of the intifada were the direct result of the failure of the government to invest more money in improving living conditions in East Jerusalem.”<sup>43</sup> For Kollek, uniting the two halves of Jerusalem was as simple as treating the entire city’s population fairly in both budget allocations and responding to concerns from Palestinian residents. On the ground, however, these goals were never initiated,

which culminated in violent unrest and a re-dividing of Jerusalem along much more hostile and polarized lines. This is the Jerusalem that exists today, and East Jerusalem’s permanent residents continue to be disenfranchised despite their blue card status. The identification cards issued by the Israeli government have only deprived the Palestinians of agency and their ability to define their identity for themselves. Instead, they are trapped in a legal limbo – without citizenship in any country and the desire to remain in their home city, they are often the victims of policies made far beyond their control. The next section will discuss the socio-spatial implications and consequences of these policies.

THE EFFECT OF IDENTIFICATION  
CARDS ON SPATIAL RELATIONS

In a 1969 study of the self-imposed labels of Israeli Arabs entitled “Some observations of the national identity of the Israeli Arabs,” academics Peres and Yuval-Davis asked respondents to rank the labels that they most identified with.<sup>44</sup> The study was conducted before the 1967 war, and a follow up was conducted afterwards. Before the war, the researchers found that Arabs, on average, ranked their identity preferences as follows: Israeli, Israeli-Arab, Arab, Palestinian, and Muslim/Christian. After the war, the rankings shifted: Arab, Muslim/Christian, Israeli-Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli.<sup>45</sup>

The results of this study emphasize the profound effects of the 1967 war on the Arab population of East Jerusalem, especially in the years following the city’s annexation. Teddy Kollek, in his desire to unify two populations, saw such shifting identity preferences as a threat to unified Jerusalem. He said, “The Christians are not the problem. We can come to agreement with them. The central problem is the Muslim Arabs, and Muslim Arab nationalism. That is the major problem we face.”<sup>46</sup> However, as this section will discuss, the policies that the Israeli government imposed on East Jerusalem’s Palestinians isolated them physically, singling out their identity rather than including them in the fabric of the city and fulfilling Israeli



legal obligations towards the city's permanent residents.

In 2002, following the beginnings of the Second Intifada (2002-2005), Israel approved the construction of a barrier wall in order to deter suicide bombers from entering the West Bank.<sup>47</sup> The barrier created a spatial divide between the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and heavily impacted future ID card policies; the type of identification card carried determined who could enter or exit through the barrier wall, at which checkpoints, and how difficult this process would be for them. Although the barrier essentially re-drew the boundaries of Jerusalem and physically annexed most of East Jerusalem, it also had a significant effect on many Palestinian communities. Some West Bank communities (not in possession of permanent residency) were included on the "Jerusalem" side of the barrier, while large, peripheral Palestinian communities were physically annexed to the "West Bank" side of the wall.<sup>48</sup> At some points, as in the case of Abu Dis, the barrier wall even ran through Palestinian towns.<sup>49</sup> Recent estimates suggest that about 25 percent of East Jerusalem's permanent residents are cut off by the barrier.<sup>50</sup>

Since the construction of the barrier, identification cards have become an even more critical component of Palestinian daily life, impacting economic status, ability to obtain jobs, and family unification – as in the case of Rimaz Kasabreh, the West Bank Palestinian who must live illegally in East Jerusalem in order to stay with her husband and two children. The following case study from the 2011 UNOCHA report (found on pages 74-75) further illustrates the central role that the barrier wall plays in the everyday decision-making processes of Palestinian families.

Kifaya al Khatib has eleven children, and has been living in her current home since the 1970s. Originally in the West Bank, part of her village – including her family's house – was "annexed" into East Jerusalem when the barrier wall was constructed. Because she does not possess the blue Jerusalem ID, she

cannot travel throughout the city, cannot drive there, cannot take any form of transportation, and must travel through a checkpoint in the barrier in order to enter the West Bank and purchase groceries – a basic necessity that she is not allowed to buy within Jerusalem. Activities that most would see as mundane, such as buying food, have become a long and arduous process for the al Khatib family, and all grocery bags must be inspected at the barrier checkpoint by IDF security patrols. Kifaya is only permitted to bring in food for her own family's consumption, and cannot bring most meats, dairy, or eggs into Jerusalem – items which were previously staples of her family's diet. Additionally, Kifaya has been unable to acquire the permanent residency that would make living on the "Jerusalem" side of the barrier easier.<sup>51</sup>

Our life has changed drastically as a result of the Wall. Even though we live on the Jerusalem side, we are not allowed to be in Jerusalem itself, because we don't have Jerusalem ID cards to reside here or permits to enter the city. The only place I'm officially allowed to be is my home itself and the stretch of road leading to the checkpoint. I can't even visit my neighbours ... I have been fighting for 20 years to get a Jerusalem ID to reside in Jerusalem. While my neighbours in the same situation received one, I was refused, the reason being that my house is built without a permit. Even though we don't have a building permit, through our lawyer we managed to avoid getting a demolition order. However, when we built an extension for my son's family, it was demolished.<sup>52</sup>

Spatially, the construction of the barrier, combined with the identification card policy, has made daily living a nearly impossible process for many Palestinian families, especially those from the West Bank who have now been relocated to the "Jerusalem" side of the wall. As Kifaya said, "If I think about my future my biggest hope is to be able to feel relaxed and to move freely.

## ANY WAY IT IS EXAMINED, THE FORMATION OF AN OVERALL PALESTINIAN IDENTITY IS A WEIGHTY AND COMPLEX ISSUE

The way it is now, we feel like we're living in a cage."<sup>53</sup>

With the Second Intifada, restrictive policies – like those the al Khatib family faces today – only increased. Although the barrier was constructed under the premise of legitimate security concerns for the Israeli state, its function today has far exceeded its original purpose of protecting the inhabitants of Jerusalem from terrorist threats. Not only do the borders of the barrier still stretch kilometers beyond the 1947 Green Line, but they also act as a physical regulation of identity for those not privileged enough to hold Israeli citizenship. These individuals are not terrorists, and many hold deep personal ties to the city of Jerusalem. Often, they are people like Kifaya: rendered immobile because they do not have the proper identification that will allow them to move freely within their own village, and subject to ID card and permit checks on a daily basis. These policies go far beyond the scope of preventing terrorist actions, especially for Palestinians that have inhabited their homes in the West Bank or East Jerusalem for decades, if not generations.

Beyond the barrier wall, there are several other measures in place that have come to define spatial relations between Palestinian communities and Jewish communities in East Jerusalem. The most potent example of these is the system of road networks that runs through the city. As a report from the Journal of Palestine Studies summarized, "in

effect, Israelis and Palestinians use a parallel road system."<sup>54</sup> Those possessing Israeli citizenship – and a government-issued license plate indicating this status – are permitted to drive on the bypass road, which is a separate transportation system from the one available to Palestinians.<sup>55</sup> The bypass road consists of a secure system of roads, which are regularly patrolled by the IDF, are well lit, and are well maintained by the municipal authorities.<sup>56</sup> The Palestinians, however, travel along a separate system that links Palestinian villages to one another. Because the road system is poorly maintained and subject to a series of obstacles by the IDF – one report counts 85 checkpoints and 460 roadblocks–travelling across East Jerusalem takes significantly longer.<sup>57</sup> As Wendy Pullan noted, "What used to be a five minute trip across Abu Dis to the university, or a fifteen minute drive from Jerusalem, is now, for those with the proper permissions, a journey of at least 45 minutes involving Israeli military checkpoints."<sup>58</sup>

The road system and barrier wall are perhaps the two most obvious examples of how Palestinian mobility in physical space has become severely restricted in East Jerusalem. It is important to note that these systems of mobility rely heavily on identification – whether through blue cards or green cards (issued by the Palestinian Authority to most West Bank residents) or military permits for checkpoints and roads, East Jerusalem's Palestinians are

constantly forced to prove their identity. Not only does this make daily life difficult for many residents (both permanent and illegal), it also perpetuates a system wherein Palestinian agency is controlled by a higher authority: in many situations, even blue ID card holders have little say in their own self-definition. As this paper will discuss next, the identification and mobility restriction policies that the Israeli government operates in East Jerusalem have a profound effect on Palestinian identity, self-determination, and psychological independence.

#### DEVELOPING IMPACTS ON PALESTINIAN IDENTITY

As Rashid Khalidi wrote in *Palestinian Identity*, “unlike most of the other peoples in the Middle East, the Palestinians have never achieved any form of national independence in their homeland.”<sup>59</sup> Although Palestinian national identity began to take root during the early 19th century, with more frequent references to the nation state of Palestine in the press, a fully present nationality never came to fruition. Today, collective Palestinian identity has almost entirely been shaped as a response to external forces: the British Mandate of Palestine, the Zionist settlers, the modern day policies of the State of Israel, and the treatment of Palestinians by surrounding Arab countries and the international community. Any way it is examined, the formation of an overall Palestinian identity is a weighty and complex issue – and far too nuanced to tackle in the span of a paper.

However, it is worthwhile to discuss the potential ramifications of the East Jerusalem identity cards on the Palestinian psyche as it pertains to those Palestinians currently residing within the walls of the city. Ramzi Suleiman’s essay, “On Marginal People: The Case of the Palestinians in Israel” explores the psychological consequences of state-imposed marginality on the country’s Palestinian population. Suleiman’s argument is two-pronged: first, that the Palestinian minority is a marginalized group within Israel;

and second, that “the practices of the State and Jewish public towards the Palestinian minority, are strategies and practices of power and domination.”<sup>60</sup>

Indeed, Suleiman’s assertions are supported by the case of the permanent residents of East Jerusalem, as well as those Palestinians who live illegally within the city’s boundaries. As Wendy Pullan wrote in *Jerusalem Quarterly*, the Palestinians and the Israelis have two very separate experiences in Jerusalem: those of “boundedness” and “mobility,” respectively.<sup>61</sup> Because Israelis are free to travel throughout Jerusalem and have access to secure bypass roads, “the distance becomes compressed and made comfortable, and in doing so, the political boundaries of space recede.”<sup>62</sup> In other words, citizens of Israel are not made constantly aware of their own identities through time-consuming and humiliating government checkpoints. Their identity is not contested in the way that it is for East Jerusalem’s Arab population.

“It is at these borders and barriers that the six million Palestinians are singled out for ‘special treatment,’ and are forcefully reminded of their identity: of who they are, and why they are different from others,” Khalidi wrote, describing the lengthy process of entering and exiting Israel as a legally stateless Palestinian.<sup>63</sup> This paper argues that it is this constant process of being forced to prove one’s identity and sense of belonging that has had the most substantial impact on Palestinian self-identity under Israeli rule. This is especially relevant in East Jerusalem, where blue ID cards are coveted by Palestinians but have simultaneously become a reminder of the holder’s uncertain status within the state. Furthermore, permanent residents know that their status can be revoked at any moment, and they must be able to prove, through a comprehensive paper trail, that their “centre of life” remains in East Jerusalem.<sup>64</sup> This policy of proving a “centre of life” has been in place since 1988, after the beginning of the First Intifada.<sup>65</sup> Between 1989 and 2012, 11,331 residencies were revoked, according to Israeli human rights organization HaMoked, which

#### THE WALL OF SEPARATION NEAR TULKAREM, PALESTINE



uses data supplied by the Israeli Ministry of Interior.<sup>66</sup> Finally, under 2003’s Nationality and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order) 6753-2003, spouses of permanent residents without blue card status are required to continually apply for temporary residency at ministry offices.<sup>67</sup> Often, when they arrive at these offices, they are again reminded of their marginal status. They will be told that working hours are over, or that they must speak Hebrew to communicate, even though Arabic is Israel’s second official language.<sup>68</sup> This law has been consistently renewed.

#### CONCLUSION

As this paper seeks to show, Palestinians residing within East Jerusalem have been repeatedly marginalized in Israeli society, most tangibly through the state’s permanent residency card policy. The use of the Jerusalem blue ID card is also closely linked to access for many other privileges within the city, including geo-spatial factors like the barrier wall and parallel road system that runs through Jerusalem. Palestinians are deprived of participating in the culture of Jerusalem and are prevented from partaking in the normal life of the city due to their physical location and restricted modes of access. This has negative consequences for Palestinian collective identity, as Palestinian communities are often isolated from one another, especially with the

construction of the barrier wall. Additionally, the creation of a hierarchy of access through identification cards could lead to future tension among Palestinians. There are also negative effects for the Israeli government, which will find itself in a constant cycle of quelling intifadas if it continues to respond to uprisings with increasingly harsh regulations, such as the Nationality and Entry into Israel Law and further budget discrimination, deprivation of services to Arabs in municipality offices, and poor resources for Palestinian schools and youth programs.

In “On Marginal People,” Suleiman summarized the effects of Israel’s formally imposed marginality: “...marginality is not caused by belonging to numerous groups, but by an uncertain belonging. In its successful attempt to transcend the Diaspora and create sovereignty for Jews, Zionism has created a new kind of marginality for the indigenous Palestinian minority.”<sup>69</sup> Although pinpointing Zionism as the sole cause of the Palestinian identity crisis in East Jerusalem today would be misleading, Suleiman makes his point by describing the case of the Palestinians as an “uncertain belonging.” Through physical barriers and spatial isolation, as well as unnecessarily strict family unification policies, daily life as a Palestinian in East Jerusalem is made more difficult by the Israeli bureaucracy. However, what is most significant about the Palestinian permanent residents of East

Jerusalem is how the access that they have been granted by Israeli government is so closely tied to an identification card – a card which can easily be revoked if they cannot prove through documentation that their identity, literally their “center of life,” lies within the city of Jerusalem.

As a result, the identity of Palestinians in East Jerusalem is inextricably intertwined with the Israeli legal system and their precarious status as residents within the city they call home. Living in Jerusalem should not mean that they should have their identity constantly pointed out to them, or that they should be unable to move outside of the city lest they lose their residency (a policy that does not apply to permanent residents from abroad).<sup>70</sup> By limiting the ability of Palestinians within East Jerusalem to live full and normal lives – without fear that their ID cards, with their blank “nationality” sections, will be revoked – the Israeli government is not only putting itself in a morally questionable position, but also endangering future prospects for peace. Unless the Palestinians of East Jerusalem are awarded the full permanent residency rights that they deserve as Israeli taxpayers, they will continue to be marginalized within their own city and disenfranchised politically and socio-spatially. And if this continues, then Teddy Kollek’s vision of a truly unified Jerusalem – one that is not only physically united, but also culturally and religiously egalitarian – may never become a reality.

## MUSLIMS IN MOSCOW

CAITLIN TOTO  
Boston University

In the ultimate years of the Soviet Union, as the liberalizations introduced by perestroika and glasnost took full effect, the nationalistic convictions of historically discriminated territories within the Russian and Central Asian region began to replace the ideologies of the USSR. Although the global community first applauded nationalism as an important force that debilitated the Soviet Union, social developments over the past twenty years have exposed the polarizing effects of the regions’ diverse ideologies. These vast ethnic differences have caused a number of conflicts on the outskirts of Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union, such as violence in Chechnya, Abkhazia, and Nagorno-Karabakh; however, this now-prevalent cultural chasm is becoming troublesome in the heart of the Federation, where a rising “outsider” Muslim population has clashed with a rejuvenation of Russian nationalism. Russia shares a turbulent history with Islam dating back to the Mongol invasion of Moscow in the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Since then, an inherent intolerance for Muslims has been embedded within the foundation of the country’s national identity. The recent influx of Muslims, precipitated by stagnant development in the Caucasus and Central Asia, have highlighted and reinforced the ideal that Muslims pose as an inferior, yet dangerous “other” in Muscovite society. Paradoxically, Moscow’s economy has become increasingly

dependent upon an “outsider” workforce that many of its citizens hold a prejudice against; thus, the Russian government must soon find a way to alleviate the bitter animosity between Muslims and ethnic Russians within Moscow, as a permanent change in the capital’s demography is inevitable.

### THE SOVIET STRATEGY AND THE ROLE OF THE “OTHER”

The role of the “other” is not an unfamiliar aspect in Russian society, and much of this enmity towards outsiders is depicted in the political strategy of the Soviet Union. The USSR held a prejudice in favor of Russian culture, and instead of appreciating the ingrained diversity of their vast empire, the government marginalized its peripheral territories. The Soviet Union had claimed that its ideologies rose above nationalist convictions; however, the government and elites only represented a portion of the population—ethnic Russians. Shireen Hunter, in her work *Islam in Russia* explains, “Ethnic Russians were assigned a civilizing role of the ‘elder brother’ toward the Non-European populations of the Soviet Union...Most official business was conducted in Russian and few high ranking or members of the intelligentsia in non-Native republics were fluent in their native language.”<sup>2</sup> The dichotomy between ethnic Russians and minorities was omnipresent in Soviet society. The USSR claimed their “Sovietization”



ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NOTICEABLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIFE SINCE THE TUMULTUOUS DAYS SUBSEQUENT TO THE REGIME'S FALL, THE POLARIZING EFFECT OF NATIONALISM CONTINUES TO POSE A THREAT TO REGIONAL STABILITY

strategy was a means to unifying their lands; however, "Sovietization" was by substantial measures "Russification" and it instead created a national consciousness felt by other cultures. This awareness only grew stronger and once the Soviet Union began to enact liberal reforms in the 1980s, national recognition burgeoned throughout the region.

For seventy years, the Soviet Union attempted to eliminate the diversity of their region; however, the rise of nationalism as a powerful political force during the ultimate years of the regime rendered the Soviet's efforts fruitless.<sup>3</sup> Instead of creating an all-encompassing identity, the policies of the USSR reinforced the differences between ethnic Russians and minorities. Edward Lazzerini in his contribution to Muslim Communities Reemerge explains, "Complex ethnic realities rooted in history have revealed their extraordinary resistance to seventy years of gross manipulation and miscalculations...[they] have demonstrated varying degrees of impatience with the status quo, taken steps to broaden its economic, cultural, and political autonomy."<sup>4</sup> Thus, nationalism resuscitated the differences that the regime had attempted to weaken, creating a deep rift between cultures. This was evident in the rising number of ethnic conflicts that plagued the region, such as the Nagorno-Karabakh War and turbulence in nations such as Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. Thus, as the Soviet Union disintegrated, regional power

driven by nationalism formed the foundation of the new sovereign states.

Nationalistic influence not only fortified the voice of once marginalized territories; it also simultaneously strengthened integral aspects of Russian culture. In the years following the downfall of the Soviet Union, Russia underwent an identity crisis. Hunter explains, "By the time of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, most Russians had lost faith in the Soviet Union's ideology and utopian aspirations;" however, "Soviet socialism was based on Russian culture and history."<sup>5</sup> The ambiguity between Soviet culture and Russian culture called for new analysis of national identity for Russians, resulting in a revival of certain aspects of the Russian narrative. One of the most important reevaluations was that of the significance of the Russian Orthodox Church. Russian Orthodox Christianity, which was imposed by Prince Vladimir the Great at the outset of the eleventh century, is an integral aspect of Russian and Russian history; as nationalistic ideology fortified, religious ideology rejuvenated as well. Orthodox Christianity prejudice claimed that "Catholics, Muslims, Protestants or Jews can only be Russian subjects...they even can be given certain civil rights, but since 'Holy Russia' is meaningless for them, they cannot be true Russians."<sup>6</sup> Therefore as Russian nationalism grew stronger, so did the idea that Orthodox Christianity was the superior religion in the land.

INSTEAD OF CREATING AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING IDENTITY, THE POLICIES OF THE USSR REINFORCED THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MUSCOVITES AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

In addition to the strengthening of the Russian Church, vital consequences of Russian nationalism included the formation of the "other". As Russians addressed the concept of who they were, this inadvertently attended to the theme of who they were not. Hunter explains, "The process of identity formation includes the setting up of boundaries between 'us' and 'them,' between internal and external enemies and friends, by a process of exclusion and inclusion."<sup>7</sup> This exclusiveness has had numerous consequences concerning the integration of outsiders in Russian society, as it alienates communities that do not pay homage to Russian history.

#### ISLAM AS THE ANTAGONIST OF THE RUSSIAN NARRATIVE

The ideology of the "other" has had negative consequences experienced by most minorities attempting to integrate into Russian society; however, Muslims—from Central Asia and Russia-- have been affected the most by this exclusiveness.<sup>8</sup> The majority of the Islamic population is native to lands on the periphery of the Federation as well as nations bordering Russia. Consequently, Muslims within this region do not pay homage to the Russian and Muscovite narrative and instead adhere to diverse customs and ideologies. Furthermore, Islam as a whole has been historically perceived as an inferior, yet dangerous entity to Russian

society. Ethnic Russians and Muslims have had a contentious history with one another, dating back to the era of the Mongols. The Mongols ruled the region between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and therefore many Russians blame the Islamic Mongols for Russia's passivity towards the developments of the European Renaissance and for Russia's tyrannical past. Hunter explains, "Most Russians and other Western historians dismiss any positive contribution of the Mongols to Russia's cultural development because they believe the Mongols did not have much to contribute."<sup>9</sup> Thus, associated with its Mongol past, Islam has been a scapegoat for the misfortunes in Russian history.

Although Islam is viewed as inferior to Russian Orthodox Christianity and consequently Russian culture, it is also viewed as an unbaiting threat to Russia. As stated, Muslim dominated regions such as the Caucuses, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, which linger on the outskirts of the Federation. They have come to represent a subtle threat in Russia's hope to exercise hegemonic power within the region. However, the Northern Caucasus alone exemplifies the diversity of Muslim culture within and around Russia. Domitilla Sagramoso explains, "about 40 ethnic groups of Turkic, Iranian and Caucasian origin are currently living in the region, each of which has its own distinct national identity, language, history and culture."<sup>10</sup> This highlights the absence of a strong common identity between Muslims of the region. Despite this, there has



A MAN PRAYS DURING THE BATTLE FOR GROZNY IN THE FIRST CHECHEN WAR. THIS IMAGE OF PEACEFUL ISLAM AGAINST THE VIOLENCE RAGING BEHIND SHOWS THE BIASES IN PERCEIVING MUSLIMS

been an incessant uneasiness among Russians that the neighboring Turks will spread their influence and consolidate Islamic forces in the region. A number of developments, “such as the establishment of the Assembly of Turkic Peoples in 1991...help solidify these fears and are manipulated by ultra-nationalists.”<sup>11</sup> The influence of these two notions highlights the complicated relationship Russia has had with the Muslims’ circumference around the Russian Federation, thus leaving the religion as the hostile “other” ill-fated to reconcile with Russian nationalism.

The animosity towards Muslims in Russia has worsened over the years, and much of this tension can be attributed to the Chechen conflicts and recent terrorist attacks, such as the Moscow Theatre Crisis, that have assailed upon the capital. The Chechens and Russians have had a violent power struggle over the Northern Caucasus dating back to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Three years after the Chechens were defeated in the First Chechen War, in which the Chechens failed to gain sovereignty of their territory, Islamist militants from the Northern Caucasus attempted to invade neighboring Dagestan. Led by warlord Shamil Basayev and other radical Wahhabis, the militants hoped to create an Islamic State that would encompass Chechnya, Dagestan, and Ingushetia.<sup>12</sup> This was met by a Russian offensive attack and led to ten years of bloody violence. The hostility continued even after the Second Chechen War

ended in 2000. In 2002, the Moscow Theatre hostage crisis saw forty Chechens fighting in name of an Islamic separatist group holding over 800 people hostage for three days.<sup>13</sup> Although the demonization of the Chechens is its own separate issue for Russia, Islam as a whole has fallen victim to the violence in Chechnya, as “the Islamic factor was blown out of proportion; the fundamental concepts of Islam were distorted; and extremist ideology was extrapolated to the entire Muslim tradition.”<sup>14</sup> In order to suppress the Chechens, Putin has “linked this fear of Islamic terrorists to the deep-seated Russian prejudice against the Chechen criminality.”<sup>15</sup> Thus, in an attempt to demonize Chechens, Putin has also damaged the reputation of Islam as a whole.

#### MOSCOW’S DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFT

Many Russian nationalists believe their history renders them irreconcilable with Islam, and this notion is the foundation for understanding the negative reaction that Muslims faces as they migrate into Moscow. The recent influx of Muslims into the urban areas of Russia has provoked Russian nationalists to fill the streets and defend their cities against Muslim outsiders. However, Russian nationalists fail to understand the contradiction in their intolerance, as the output of the outsider workforce now makes up a vital portion of the Russian GDP. Thus, Moscow has

ALTHOUGH THE ANIMOSITY BETWEEN RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS AND MUSLIMS HAS WORSENERD IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THE POPULATION OF MUSLIMS WITHIN THE CITY IS WILL CONTINUE TO RISE

become dependent on the immigrants that many nationalists hold prejudices against.

The dynamics of the Muslim population within Moscow prior and post the Cold War reveal very different demographics. Moscow’s Muslims were geographically concentrated and ethnically homogenous prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the subsequent waves of migration into the capital. The population was “relatively small, well integrated, and Tatar dominated”<sup>16</sup> and had historical ties that reach back to the fourteenth and fifteenth century. While the Muslim inhabitants currently make up approximately 14% of the Moscow community<sup>17</sup>, the 1989 census reports that these Muslims accounted for 1.8 percent of the capital’s population.<sup>18</sup> Thus, because the Muslim

residents crafted a small portion of Moscow’s demography, the Muslim Tatar community was relatively assimilated within society and not viewed as a threat within the city.

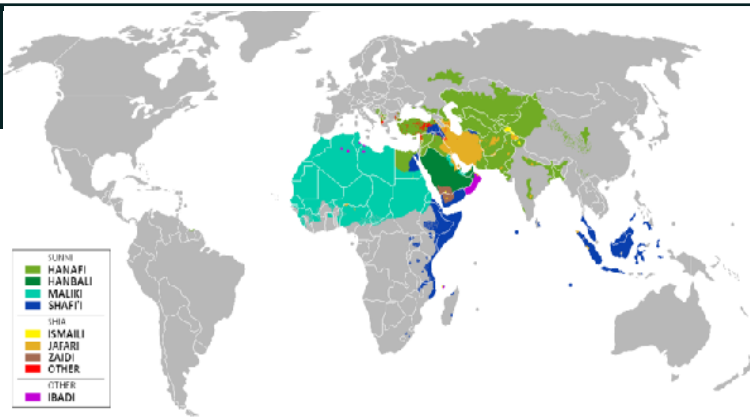
The economic woes within the Caucasus and Central Asia, in addition to the rise of Moscow as a hub of economic opportunity, caused a demographic shift within the city subsequent to Soviet rule. Following the fall of the Soviet Union, the newly formed territories experienced economic and social chaos. The dawn of the twenty-first century seemed to bring economic recovery for many of these states; however, while many of the Central Asian states have experienced economic growth, these increases can be accredited to oil and other natural resources.<sup>19</sup> Thus, this



PUTIN IN A MEETING WITH SUPREME MUFTI SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM TALGAT TAJUD-DIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL MUSLIM BOARD OF RUSSIA AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LEADERS



*DISTRIBUTION OF ISLAMIC POPULATIONS. THE CONCENTRATION OF MUSLIMS IN REGIONS OF THE CAUCASUS IS SEEN AS A CHALLENGE TO RUSSIAN NATIONALISM*



*MANY RUSSIANS CLAIM MUSCOVITE HISTORY IS IRRECONCILABLE WITH ISLAM; HOWEVER, THE MODERNIZING RUSSIAN ECONOMY IS IN DESPERATE NEED OF THE MUSLIM WORKFORCE ENTERING THE REGION*

“economic prosperity” failed to trickle down to form a middle class. For example, by 2004 the GDP per capita in Tajikistan “was 1/15th of that in Russia, showing the extreme differences between the wealthiest and the poorest of the CIS countries. This clearly shows that salaries in Russia, while low by Russian standards, might improve the living standards of a family in Tajikistan significantly.”<sup>20</sup> In 2013, the GDP per capita of Russia was \$14,037, while that of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan was \$871 and \$1,160 respectively.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the gap between Russia and its Muslim neighbors has not diminished in the past ten years.

Unemployment statistics further highlight why Moscow is a palatable destination for those in the Central Asian and Caucasus region looking for work. The capital boasts an unemployment rate of less than 1% and the city continues to produce nearly a quarter of the country’s GDP.<sup>22</sup> Within the Russian Federation, the urban economic boom can be felt in peripheral regions, where many citizens residing in these areas are enduring rates of high unemployment. While nearly everyone is employed in the capital, Chechnya’s unemployment rate in 2012 was 30%.<sup>23</sup> This has contributed to the flow of “outsiders” into the city. The influx of workers into Moscow is directly correlated to the rise of Muslims in the city, as Islam is dominant in these regions.

As stated, the new Moscow work force has its origins in Central Asian and Caucasus,

regions that are predominantly Muslim. The Islamic population of Moscow “now numbers over thirty nationalities, with particular inflows from Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.”<sup>24</sup> The number of Muslims in Moscow is difficult to quantify, because certain migrants from the Central Asia region illegally inhabit the city. Citizens of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan can remain in the country for 90 days without a visa, and a year with work authorization; however, many do not depart when they are supposed to. As of March 2012, calculations have estimated that more than two million Muslims now populate the city, hundreds of thousands of whom are illegal migrants thousands, meaning the Muslim residents now account for approximately 14% of the population.<sup>25</sup> In this way, Moscow now hosts a combination of indigenous Tatar population of Muslims, legal Muslims from the peripheral lands Russian Federation, and a mixture of legal and illegal Muslims from the bordering countries in Central Asia. However, nationalists do not acknowledge this diverse demographic make-up, as many classify the entire Muslim population as “others,” regardless of whether or not they possess a Russian passport.

**CULTURAL CLASH: RUSSIAN NATIONALISM VERSES THE NEW FACES OF MOSCOW**

The influx of Muslims in Moscow in

recent years has been met with a revitalization of Russian nationalism within the capital, much which can be accredited to President Vladimir Putin’s political strategy to consolidate power. Ethnic Russians living in the capital hold a special attachment to the Russian narrative because much of their story encompasses the history of Moscow. After Russia claimed victory over Kazan in 1552, Moscow became the nucleus of Christian activity for over one hundred years.<sup>26</sup> Thus, ethnic Russians claim the capital to be the “Third Rome.” This dominance is symbolized by Ivan the Terrible’s construction of the Saint Basil’s cathedral in which “the onion-shaped domes were intended to symbolize the severed, turbaned heads of eight Muslim chiefs.”<sup>27</sup> Ethnic Russians proudly assert this history as an integral part of their personality and refer to it as a reason why Moscow must continue to represent Christian dominance. This narrative has been renewed over the past ten years, as President Vladimir Putin has been attempting to bolster Russian nationalism as a means of political consolidation. In a July 2013 while giving an interview to the producers of documentary *The Second Baptism of Rus*, he claimed that “[The Russian Orthodox Church] is our common spiritual, morals, and values, and this plays a very big part in uniting the people. Naturally, the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia itself and the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad felt this in their hearts and started moving closer to each other.”<sup>28</sup> As Muslims have filled the

streets looking for labor, so have the Russian nationalists—rejuvenated by the renewed, cozy relationship between the Church and State—have taken to the streets to protest the outsiders’ presence. On November 13th, 2013, over 10,000 Russians marched through the streets of Moscow, breaking migrants’ car windows and chanting slogans such as “Russia for Russians” and “Today mosques, tomorrow jihad.”<sup>29</sup> These actions show that many of the nationalists view the Muslim population as intruders in their once homogenous “Third Rome.”

In addition to animosity expressed by Moscow citizens, the mayor of Moscow, Sergie Sobyenin, has caused additional tension. This has further alienated the Muslim population within Moscow and exacerbated the violence against the workers. In an interview with *Moskovskiye Novosti* newspaper in May of 2012, Sobyenin claimed, “Moscow is a Russian city and it should remain that way... People who speak Russian badly and who have a different culture are better off living in their own country.”<sup>30</sup> Instead of taking measures to alleviate the tension between the outsiders and ethnic Russians, Sobyenin has only exacerbated the bitterness. He additionally declared Moscow would prohibit the construction of any additionally mosques, which now numbers at a paltry four. These statements and actions further underline the fact that Muscovite traditions pay homage to the Russian narrative, which alienate even those living in Russia that do not follow



Muscovite customs. The mayor has remained quite unhelpful in the attempt to assuage the tension between nationalists and migrants, which has only further escalated the level of violence within the city.

Nationalistic violence has also risen in the past months, and this disorder was highlighted in the October 2013 murder of Yegor Shcherbakov. An ethnic Russian, Shcherbakov was stabbed to death by an Azeri Muslim migrant, triggering “Russia’s worst race riots in three years near Moscow’s southern Biryolyovo district.”<sup>31</sup> Police set up metal detectors at the entrance of Moscow’s main mosque and detained over 1,200 migrants at a market in Biryolyovo. The entire Muslim populace was held responsible for the action of one migrant. These actions highlight the animosity held by Russian Nationalists, and how Islam repeatedly takes the role of a scapegoat in Russian eyes.

#### LOOKING FORWARD: DIVERSITY IN MOSCOW IS TO STAY

Although the animosity between Russian nationalists and Muslims has worsened in the past few years, it is inevitable that the population of Muslims within the city will continue to rise. Moscow’s economy is dependent on migrants and, by extension, the Muslims that constitute much of the Moscow’s low paid workforce. Konstantin Romodanovsky, head of Russia’s Federal Migration Service explained, “Migrants make up to seven to eight per cent of Russia’s gross domestic product. I don’t know any economist who would say that we can do without migrants.”<sup>32</sup> Without this workforce, it would be nearly impossible for Moscow to maintain their current levels of economic production, as these migrants hold a large number of low paid, but crucial jobs. In addition, the birth rates of ethnic Russians has decreased in comparison to that of their Muslim neighbors. The CIA World Factbook reported that in 2014, while the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of Russia was 1.61 the TFR of Tajikistan and Kazakhstan was

2.76 and 2.34 respectfully.<sup>33</sup> These statistics underline the fact that Moscow will continue to undergo a demographic shift that favors the Muslim population. This change, due to Moscow’s dependency on the legal and illegal low-paid workers in the city, is inevitable.

The effects of nationalism subsequent to the fall of the Soviet Union exposed a deep rift between Muscovite and outsider culture. These ideologies, which are based on regional ties and religion, created barriers between the cultures of Russians and others; therefore, any assimilation process was, and still remains, tempestuous. Moscow is unfortunately a prime example of this unfortunate phenomenon, and cultural bitterness continues to threaten stability within the region. Many Russians claim Muscovite history is irreconcilable with Islam; however, the modernizing Russian economy is in desperate need of the Muslim workforce entering the region. The claws of nationalism must be put away, as the new workforce in Moscow is to stay.

## ENDNOTES, REFERENCES

### REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM AT NUREMBERG

#### Image Attributions

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry\\_Morgenthau.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_Morgenthau.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Die\\_Baudenkmal%20der\\_Stadt\\_Nuremberg\\_041\\_Justizpalast.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Die_Baudenkmal%20der_Stadt_Nuremberg_041_Justizpalast.jpg)

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl-Brandt.jpg>

#### Works Cited

Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Longman, 1999.

British Embassy. Memorandum, “United Nations War Crimes Court,” October 30, 1944. The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO. Accessed March 2, 2013. [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-10-30&documentid=8-2&studycollection-id=nuremberg](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-10-30&documentid=8-2&studycollection-id=nuremberg).

Brunner, Joeseeph. “American Involvement in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial Process.” *University of Michigan Journal of History*, Winter 2002. Accessed March 2, 2013. [http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/pages\\_folder/articles/American\\_Involvement\\_in\\_the\\_Nuremberg\\_War\\_Crimes\\_Trial\\_Process.pdf](http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/pages_folder/articles/American_Involvement_in_the_Nuremberg_War_Crimes_Trial_Process.pdf).

Cohen, Laurie A. “Application of the Realist and Liberal Perspectives to the Implementation of War Crimes Trials: Case Studies of Nuremberg and Bosnia.” *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs* 2, no. 113 (Spring/Summer 1997). Accessed March 7, 2013. <https://litigation-essentials.lexisnexis.com/webcd/app?action=DocumentDisplay&crawlid=1&doctype=cite&docid=2+UCLA+J.+Int'l+L.+%26+For.+Aff.+113&srctype=smi&sr-cid=3B15&key=c748ef8d385e98a94df04d05c9bd9ac8>.

The Government of the United States of America, The Provisional Government of the French Republic, The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. “Charter of the International Military Tribunal.” London, United Kingdom, August 8, 1945. Accessed March 7, 2013. <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/imtconst.asp#sec2>.

Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by James Murphy. N.p.: Hurst and Blackett, 1939. Accessed March 7, 2013. <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt>.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. N.p., 1651. Accessed March 22, 2014. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3207/3207-h/3207-h.htm>.

Hull, Cordell, and Henry Stimson. Cordell Hull and Henry Stimson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, memorandum, "Trial and Punishment of European War Criminals," November 27, 1944. The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO. Accessed March 2, 2013. [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?documentdate=1944-11-27&documentid=8-7&studycollectionid=&pagenumber=1](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?documentdate=1944-11-27&documentid=8-7&studycollectionid=&pagenumber=1).

Hull, Cordell, Henry Stimson, and James Forrestal. Memorandum, "Nazi Atrocities, Both Pre-War and Since, Committed Pursuant to Criminal Conspiracy and Punishable as Such," November 1944. The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO. Accessed March 2, 2013. [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=5&documentid=8-11&documentdate=1944-11-00&studycollectionid=nuremberg&groupid=](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=5&documentid=8-11&documentdate=1944-11-00&studycollectionid=nuremberg&groupid=)

Locke, John. Second Treatise of Government. N.p., 1690. Accessed March 22, 2014. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm>.

Matthäus, Jürgen. The Lessons of Leipzig. In *Atrocities on Trial*, edited by Jürgen Matthäus and Patricia Heberer, 3-23. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2008.

Mead, Walter Russell. *Special Providence*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009. First published 2002 by Taylor & Francis Books.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr., and David A. Welch. *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation*. 9th ed. Boston, MA: Pearson, 2009.

Salter, Michael. *Nazi War Crimes, US Intelligence and Selective Prosecution at Nuremberg*. New York, NY: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007.

Smith, Bradley F. *The Road to Nuremberg*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1981.

Stimson, Henry. "The Nuremberg Trial: Landmark in Law." *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 2 (January 1947): 179-89. Accessed March 2, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20030031?seq=6>.

Taylor, Telford. *Final Report to the Secretary of the Army on the Nuernberg War Crimes Trials under Control Council Law No. 10*. Washington, DC, 1949. Reprint, Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., 1997.

"Treaty of Versailles, 1919." In *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. N.p.: n.p., 2013. Accessed March 22, 2014. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005425>.

United States of America, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and China. "Joint Four-Nation Declaration." Moscow Conference, Moscow, Russia, October 1943. Accessed March 2, 2013. <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp>.

United Nations War Crimes Commission. *Draft Convention for the Establishment of a United Nations War Crimes Court*. September 30, 1944. The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO. Accessed March 7, 2013. [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-09-30&documentid=8-1&studycollectionid=nuremberg](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-09-30&documentid=8-1&studycollectionid=nuremberg).

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Last modified May 11, 2012. Accessed March 2, 2013. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007069>.

von Lingen, Kerstin. *Kesselring's Last Battle*. Translated by Alexander Klemm. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2009.

#### Citations

<sup>1</sup> The Government of the United States of America, The Provisional Government of the French Republic, The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, "Charter of the International Military Tribunal" (London, United Kingdom, August 8, 1945), Sec. II, accessed March 7, 2013, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/imtconst.asp#sec2>.

<sup>2</sup> Please see John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (n.p., 1690), accessed March 22, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Books, 2002; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Please note that Mead prefers to view foreign affairs political theory in terms of four schools of thought rather than realism versus idealism. However, his definition of the Wilsonian viewpoint is useful for defining idealism in this context.

<sup>5</sup> Hobbes famously describes life as "nasty, brutish, and short," stating that man needs the state (the Leviathan) to govern his passions and establish order. Please see Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (n.p., 1651), accessed March 22, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3207/3207-h/3207-h.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and David A. Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation*, 9th ed. (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2009), 5.

<sup>7</sup> Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Longman, 1999), 143.

<sup>8</sup> The Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. "Joint Four-Nation Declaration" (Moscow Conference, Moscow, Soviet Union, October 1943), accessed March 2, 2013, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp>.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Brunner, "American Involvement in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial Process," *University of Michigan Journal of History*, Winter 2002, 3, accessed March 2, 2013, [http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/pages\\_folder/articles/American\\_Involvement\\_in\\_the\\_Nuremberg\\_War\\_Crimes\\_Trial\\_Process.pdf](http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/pages_folder/articles/American_Involvement_in_the_Nuremberg_War_Crimes_Trial_Process.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Bradley F. Smith, *The Road to Nuremberg* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1981), 37.

<sup>11</sup> Laurie A. Cohen, "Application of the Realist and Liberal Perspectives to the Implementation of War Crimes Trials: Case Studies of Nuremberg and Bosnia," *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs* 2, no. 113 (Spring/Summer 1997): 33, accessed March 7, 2013, <https://litigation-essentials.lexisnexis.com/webcd/app?action=DocumentDisplay&crawlid=1&doctype=cite&docid=2+UCLA+J.+Int'l+L.+%26+For.+Aff.+113&srctype=smi&sr-cid=3B15&key=c748ef8d385e98a94df04d05c9bd9ac8>.

<sup>12</sup> Cordell Hull and Henry Stimson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, memorandum, "Trial and Punishment of European War Criminals," November 27, 1944, The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO, accessed March 2, 2013, [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?documentdate=1944-11-27&documentid=8-7&studycollectionid=&pagenumber=1](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?documentdate=1944-11-27&documentid=8-7&studycollectionid=&pagenumber=1).

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum by Cordell Hull, Henry Stimson, and James Forrestal, "Nazi Atrocities, Both Pre-War and Since, Committed Pursuant to Criminal Conspiracy and Punishable as Such," November 1944, The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum,

Independence, MO, accessed March 2, 2013, [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=5&documentid=8-11&documentdate=1944-11-00&studycollectionid=nuremberg&groupid=](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=5&documentid=8-11&documentdate=1944-11-00&studycollectionid=nuremberg&groupid=)

<sup>14</sup> Henry Stimson, "The Nuremberg Trial: Landmark in Law," *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 2 (January 1947): 179-180 accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20030031?seq=6>.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>16</sup> Hull and Stimson to Roosevelt, memorandum, "Trial and Punishment of European War Criminals."

<sup>17</sup> The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919 and ended World War I. The treaty placed stringent requirements on Germany including demilitarization of the Rhineland and payment of hefty reparations for the war. The Treaty of Versailles is often cited as a potential cause of World War II. Please see United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Treaty of Versailles, 1919," in *Holocaust Encyclopedia* (n.p.: n.p., 2013), accessed March 22, 2014, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005425>.

<sup>18</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy (n.p.: Hurst and Blackett, 1939), 321 accessed March 7, 2013, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt>.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, *The Road to Nuremberg*, 38.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>21</sup> Hull and Stimson to Roosevelt, memorandum, "Trial and Punishment of European War Criminals."

<sup>22</sup> Brunner, "American Involvement in the Nuremberg," 3.

<sup>23</sup> United Nations War Crimes Commission, Draft Convention for the Establishment of a United Nations War Crimes Court, September 30, 1944, The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO, accessed March 7, 2013, [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-09-30&documentid=8-1&studycollectionid=nuremberg](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-09-30&documentid=8-1&studycollectionid=nuremberg).

<sup>24</sup> Memorandum by British Embassy, "United Nations War Crimes Court," October 30, 1944, The War Crimes Trials at Nuremberg, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO, accessed March 2, 2013, [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-10-30&documentid=8-2&studycollectionid=nuremberg](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nuremberg/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1944-10-30&documentid=8-2&studycollectionid=nuremberg).

<sup>25</sup> Memorandum by Hull, Stimson, and Forrestal, "Nazi Atrocities, Both Pre-War and Since."

<sup>26</sup> Jürgen Matthäus, *The Lessons of Leipzig*, in *Atrocities on Trial*, ed. Jürgen Matthäus and Patricia Heberer (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2008), 9.

<sup>27</sup> Kerstin von Lingen, *Kesselring's Last Battle*, trans. Alexander Klemm (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2009), 70.

<sup>28</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, last modified May 11, 2012, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007069>.

<sup>29</sup> Telford Taylor, *Final Report to the Secretary of the Army on the Nuernberg War Crimes Trials under Control Council Law No. 10* (Washington, DC, 1949; repr., Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., 1997), 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Michael Salter, *Nazi War Crimes, US Intelligence and Selective Prosecution at Nuremberg* (New York, NY: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007), 2.

<sup>32</sup> Taylor, *Final Report to the Secretary*, 242.

DIPLOMACY AND DEBT

Image Attributions

14

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Headquarters\\_of\\_the\\_International\\_Monetary\\_Fund\\_%28Washington,\\_DC%29.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Headquarters_of_the_International_Monetary_Fund_%28Washington,_DC%29.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:World\\_Bank\\_income\\_groups.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:World_Bank_income_groups.png)

Works Cited

Bayer, Reşat. 2006. "Diplomatic Exchange Data set, v2006.1." Online: <http://correlatesofwar.org>

Downer, Joshua. 2013. "Towards a Declaratory School of Government Recognition." *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 46 (2): 581.

Dreher, Axel; Sturm, Jan-Egbert; Vreeland, James Raymond (2006): Does membership on the UN security council influence IMF decisions?: evidence from panel data, CESifo working paper, No. 1808

Freeman Jr., Chas W. 2011. "The Incapacitation of US Statecraft and Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6 (2011): 413-432.

Henrikson, Alan K. 2006. "Diplomacy's Possible Futures." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. 1 (2006): 3-27.

International Development Association, "IDA Graduates." Last modified 2012. Accessed December 13, 2013. <http://www.worldbank.org/ida/ida-graduates.html>.

International Development Association, "IDA Borrowing Countries." Last modified 2012. Accessed March 25, 2013. <http://www.worldbank.org/ida/borrowing-countries.html>.

Lyon, Peter. (1969). "Neutrality, Neutralism, Non-Alignment." *International Relations* 3 (6): 444.

North, Douglas and Barry Weingast. (1989). *Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England*. *Journal of Economic History*. 49(4).

Schultz, K. A., & Weingast, B. R. (2003). "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition." *International Organization*, 3-42.

Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. "The Composition and Status Ordering of the International System: 1815-1940." *World Politics*. no. 2 (1966): 236-282. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009697> (accessed December 13, 2013).

Small, Melvin, and J. David Singer. "The Diplomatic Importance of States, 1816-1970: An Extension and Refinement of the Indicator." *World Politics*. no. 4 (1973): 577-599. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/stable/2009953> (accessed December 13, 2013).

Warbrick, Colin. 1992. "Recognition of States." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 41 (2): 473.



Wiseman, Geoffrey. 2011. "Distinctive Characteristics of American Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* no 6 (2011): 235-259.

World Bank, "GDP (current US\$) Data." Last modified 2013. Accessed December 13, 2013. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD>.

World Bank, "International Development Association: The World Bank's Fund for the Poorest." Last modified 2012. Accessed December 10, 2013. <http://www.worldbank.org/ida/what-is-ida.html>.

Citations (*Please see in-text citations*)

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers and Professors Mika LaVaque-Manty and Andrew Kerner at the University of Michigan for their suggestions and assistance.

<sup>2</sup> These dates are reported by the World Bank (World Bank, "International Development Association: The World Bank's Fund for the Poorest.").

<sup>3</sup> Specifically, data from the Correlates of War (COW) Project was used to quantify the presence of US diplomats in the state in question (Bayer, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> The merits of comparing the US government's attribution of state status to IDA members and graduates in general to its attribution of status to other states globally would allow the analysis to test whether simply being enrolled in the program significantly impacts the US perception of the state's position. However, the number of states enrolled in the IDA program makes this sort of comparison less insightful than it may first appear. There are currently 82 IDA eligible states; of these states, 64 receive only IDA services, and 18 receive a blend of IDA and other World Bank services (International Development Association, "IDA Borrowing Countries"). These countries qualify for IDA services because of their relative poverty, and thus comprise the world's poorest regions. Because such a large number of states qualify for IDA membership, comparing diplomatic relations of IDA members to non-IDA members would be an analysis of endemic poverty's influence on diplomatic representation, rather than an analysis of how increased financial development impacts diplomatic representation.

<sup>5</sup> Wiseman (2011) offers a complete analysis of the US's distinctive diplomatic style. He presents a seven point framework with which to evaluate American diplomacy.

<sup>6</sup> Also, the data has only been recorded every five years, and was only recorded every ten years between 1940 and 1950 due to the turmoil of that period. Thus, there is a potential for inaccuracy, because if the change in representation occurred within that five year span between data points but was only recorded the next time the COW collected data, the graphs may give a misleading interpretation of events. This could build an impression of a correlation that is, in fact, false.

#### WOMEN OF WAR

#### Image Attributions

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Women\\_at\\_war.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Women_at_war.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gathering\\_of\\_IDPs.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gathering_of_IDPs.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LTTE\\_Police\\_Women.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LTTE_Police_Women.jpg)

#### Works Cited

Anderson, Jon Lee. "Death of the Tiger: Sri Lanka's Brutal Victory over Its Tamil Insurgents." *The New Yorker* 17 Jan. 2011: 41-55.

Balasingham, Adele Ann. *Women Fighters of Liberation Tigers*. LTTE International Secretariat, 1993. <http://tamilnation.co/books/Eelam/adeleann.htm>.

DeMel, Neloufer. *Women and The Nation's Narrative: Gender and Nationalism in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

Gowrinathan, Nimmi. "How Women Rebel: Gender and Agency in Sri Lanka." Dissertation University of California, Los Angeles, 2012.

Gowrinathan, Nimmi. "How Women Rebel: Variation in Participation for Female Fighters in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." N.d.

Gowrinathan, Nimmi. "Why Do Women Rebel? Understanding State Repression and Female Participation in Sri Lanka." *UCLA Center for the Study of Women Newsletter*. (2010).

Grinker, Lori. *After War: Veterans From A World In Conflict*. de. Mo, 2004.

Gronfors, Martti. "Gender, Masculinity and Violence in Sri Lanka", *Essays on Social Development and Welfare in Sri Lanka*. Chandraratna, Donald, ed. Colombo: National Institute of Social Development, 2002:19-46.

Gunawardena, Arjuna. "Female Black tigers: A Different Breed of Cat?." *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality* (2006): 81-90.

Harrison, Frances. "Black Tigers Appear in Public." *BBC News*, 26 Nov. 2002. Accessed 4 April 2013. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/2516263.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2516263.stm).

Herath, Tamara. *Women in Terrorism: Case of the LTTE*. SAGE Publications, 2012.

Hellmann-Rajanayagam, Dagmar. "Female Warriors, Martyrs and Suicide Attackers: Women in the LTTE." *International Review of Modern Sociology* (2008): 1-25.

Horowitz, Donald L. "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management." *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Ed. Joseph V. Montville. Lexington: Lexington Books (1990): 451-75.

International Crisis Group. *Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity in the North and East*. Asia Briefing. No. 217. 20 December 2011. Accessed 20 November 2013. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/217-sri-lanka-womens-insecurity-in-the-north-and-east.aspx>.

Manchanda, Rita. "Sri Lanka: Culture Conflict for LTTE Women." *Women's Feature Service* (2003). <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-809644641.html>.

Manchanda, Rita, ed. *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*.

SAGE Publications India Private Limited, 2001.

Samarasinghe, Vidyamali. "Soldiers, Housewives and Peace Makers: Ethnic Conflict and Gender in Sri Lanka." *Gender Peace and Security Research Hub* 14.2 (1996): 203-227.

Sangarasivam, Yamuna. "Militarizing the Female Body: Women's Participation in the Tamil Nationalist Struggle." *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State* (2003): 39-59.

Schrijvers, Joke. "Fighters, Victims and Survivors: Constructions of Ethnicity, Gender and Refugee-ness among Tamils in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12.3 (1999): 307-333.

Singer, Marshall R. "The Tamil-Sinhalese Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: A Case Study in Efforts to Negotiate a Settlement, 1983-1988." *The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy* (1989): 1-22. Accessed 4 April 2013. XX

Sixta, Christine. "The Illusive Third Wave: Are Female Terrorists the New 'New Women' in Developing Societies?." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 29.2 (2008): 261-288.

Trawick, Margaret. "Girls in the LTTE." *Enemy Lines: Childhood, Warfare, and Play in Batticaloa*. London: University of California Press (2007): 147-184.

Trawick, Margaret. "Reasons for Violence: A Preliminary Ethnographic Account of the LTTE." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 20.Special Issue (1997): 153-180.

## References

<sup>1</sup> Neloufer De Mel, *Women & the nation's narrative: gender and nationalism in twentieth century Sri Lanka*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 206.

<sup>2</sup> Joke Schrijvers, "Fighters, victims and survivors: constructions of ethnicity, gender and refugee-ness among Tamils in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12.3 (1999): 308.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall Singer, "The Tamil-Sinhalese Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: A Case Study in Efforts to Negotiate a Settlement, 1983-1988." *The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy* (1989): 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990), 461.

<sup>6</sup> Singer, "The Tamil-Sinhalese Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Frances Harrison, "Black Tigers Appear in Public." *BBC News*, November 26, 2002, accessed April 4, 2013, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/2516263.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2516263.stm).

<sup>9</sup> Jon Lee Anderson, "Death of the Tiger: Sri Lanka's brutal victory over its Tamil insurgents." *The New Yorker*, January 17, 2011, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Singer, "The Tamil-Sinhalese Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>12</sup> Tamara Herath, *Women in Terrorism: Case of the LTTE*. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2012), 46.

<sup>13</sup> Vidyamali Samarasinghe, "Soldiers, Housewives and Peace Makers: Ethnic Conflict and Gender in Sri Lanka." *Gender Peace and Security Research Hub* 14.2 (1996): 217.

<sup>14</sup> Yamuna Sangarasivam, "Militarizing the female body: women's participation in the Tamil

nationalist struggle," in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State*, ed. Arturo J Aldama (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 71.

<sup>15</sup> Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam, "Female Warriors, Martyrs and Suicide Attackers: Women in the LTTE." *International Review of Modern Sociology* (2008): 8.

<sup>16</sup> Joke Schrijvers, "Fighters, victims and survivors: constructions of ethnicity, gender and refugee-ness among Tamils in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12.3 (1999): 316.

<sup>17</sup> Rita Manchanda, "Sri Lanka: Culture Conflict for LTTE Women." *Women's Feature Service*, 2003, Accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-809644641.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Yamuna Sangarasivam, "Militarizing the female body: women's participation in the Tamil nationalist struggle," in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State*, ed. Arturo J Aldama (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 65.

<sup>20</sup> M. Gronfors, "Gender, masculinity and violence in Sri Lanka" *Essays on social development & welfare in Sri Lanka*. ed. Donald Chandraratna. (Colombo: National Institute of Social Development, 2002), 24.

<sup>21</sup> Manchanda, "Sri Lanka: Culture Conflict for LTTE Women."

<sup>22</sup> Gronfors, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Hearth, 163.

<sup>24</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>25</sup> Sangarasivam, 60.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>27</sup> Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 10.

<sup>28</sup> Samarasinghe, 214.

<sup>29</sup> Manchanda, "Women, war and peace in South Asia: Beyond victimhood to agency," 102.

<sup>30</sup> Gunawardena, "Female black tigers: A different breed of cat?." *Female suicide bombers: Dying for equality* (2006): 83-4.

<sup>31</sup> Gowrinathan, "Why Do Women Rebel? Understanding State Repression and Female Participation in Sri Lanka", 1.

<sup>32</sup> De Mel, 206.

<sup>33</sup> Margaret Trawick, *Reasons for violence: A preliminary ethnographic account of the LTTE*. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 20.s1 (1997): 170.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>36</sup> De Mel, 224.

<sup>37</sup> Lori Grinker, *After War: Veterans From A World In Conflict*. (Millbrook: de. Mo, 2004), 22.

<sup>38</sup> Margaret Trawick, "Girls in the LTTE." *Enemy Lines: Childhood, Warfare, and Play in Batticaloa*. (London: University of California Press, 2007), 168.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>40</sup> Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Manchanda, "Women, War, and Peace," 115.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>43</sup> Christine Sixta. "The Illusive Third Wave: Are Female Terrorists the New 'New Women' in Developing Societies?." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 29.2 (2008): 264.

<sup>44</sup> De Mel, 205.

<sup>45</sup> Sixta, 268.

<sup>46</sup> Manchanda, "Women, War, and Peace," 114.

<sup>47</sup> Nimmi Gowrinathan, "How Women Rebel: Variation in Participation for Female Fighters in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." N.d. TS, 179.

<sup>48</sup> Manchanda, "Women, War, and Peace," 114.

<sup>49</sup> De Mel, 206.

<sup>50</sup> Rita Manchanda, "Sri Lanka: Culture Conflict for LTTE Women." Women's Feature Service, 2003, Accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-809644641.html>.

<sup>51</sup> Adele Ann Balasingham, "Women Fighters of Liberation Tigers," LTTE International Secretariat, January 1 1993, accessed November 30, 2013, <http://tamilnation.co/books/Eelam/adeleann.htm>.

<sup>52</sup> Trawick, "Girls in the LTTE", 156.

<sup>53</sup> International Crisis Group. Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity in the North and East. Asia Briefing. No. 217. N.p., December 20 2011, accessed November 20 2013, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/217-sri-lanka-womens-insecurity-in-the-north-and-east.aspx>.

<sup>54</sup> Gowrinathan, "How do Women Rebel," 195.

<sup>55</sup> International Crisis Group, 38.

<sup>56</sup> Nimmi Gowrinathan, "How Women Rebel: Variation in Participation for Female Fighters in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." N.d. TS. 17.



Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited 2006

## U.S. POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT TOWARD NORTH KOREA

### Image Attributions

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2006\\_North\\_Korean\\_nuclear\\_test.svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2006_North_Korean_nuclear_test.svg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DMZ\\_from\\_DPRK.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DMZ_from_DPRK.JPG)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:China\\_North\\_Korea Locator.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:China_North_Korea Locator.png)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Obama\\_waves\\_State\\_of\\_the\\_Union\\_2011.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Obama_waves_State_of_the_Union_2011.jpg)

### Works Cited

Cha, Victor D. "Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula." *International Security* 27.1: 40-78. (2002). Web.

Kim, Nan. "Korea on the Brink: Reading the Yonpyong Shelling and its Aftermath." *Journal of Asian Studies*. 70.2: 337-356. (2011). Web.

Pritchard, Charles L, and Tilelli, John H. Jr. "U.S. Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 2010. Web.

Suh, Jae Jung. "The Imbalance of Power, the Balance of Asymmetric Terror: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) in Korea," in John Feffer, ed. *The Future of US Korean Relations: The Imbalance of Power* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006): 64-80.

Wit, Joel S. "U.S. Strategy Towards North Korea: Rebuilding Dialogue and Engagement." *U.S.-Korea Institute SAIS*. 2009. Web.

### Citations

<sup>1</sup> Suh, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Pritchard, 26. Suh, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Cha.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Pritchard, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Cha.

<sup>9</sup> Suh, 71.

<sup>10</sup> Pritchard, 33.

<sup>11</sup> Kim, 344.

<sup>12</sup> Wit, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. Suh, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Suh, 71.

<sup>15</sup> Wit, 8. Kim, 352.

<sup>16</sup> Cha.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Pritchard, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Wit, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Pritchard, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>22</sup> Cha.

<sup>23</sup> Nations Online, "South Korea Profile," accessed 14 March 2014, [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/korea\\_south\\_profile.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/korea_south_profile.htm).

<sup>24</sup> Teo, Sarah. "South Korea's Foreign Policy in 2013: Building Trust in East Asia".



## Image Attributions

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:West\\_Bank-40.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:West_Bank-40.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bruqin\\_Mobile\\_Clinic.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bruqin_Mobile_Clinic.jpg)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pr%C3%A8s\\_de\\_Tulkarem\\_-\\_Juillet\\_2005.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pr%C3%A8s_de_Tulkarem_-_Juillet_2005.jpg)

## Works Cited

Aronson, Geoffrey, ed. "Settlement Monitor." *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2007): 173-186.

B'Tselem: The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories and HaMoked: Center for Defence of the Individual. *The Quiet Deportation: Revocation of Residency of East Jerusalem Palestinians*, April 1997. Accessed December 13, 2013. [http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/199704\\_quiet\\_deportation](http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/199704_quiet_deportation).

Cheshin, Amir S.; Bill Hutman; and Avi Melamed. *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Gradstein, Linda. "East Jerusalem's Identity Crisis." *The Jerusalem Post*, October 4, 2012. Accessed October 27, 2013. <http://www.jpost.com/In-Jerusalem/Features/East-Jerusalem-identity-crisis>.

HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual. "Status Revocations in East Jerusalem." Accessed April 16, 2014. [http://www.hamoked.org/files/2013/1157710\\_eng.pdf](http://www.hamoked.org/files/2013/1157710_eng.pdf)

Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Lustick, Ian S. "Has Israel Annexed East Jerusalem?" *Middle East Policy* 5, no. 1 (1997): 34-45.

Pullan, Wendy. "The Space of Contested Jerusalem." *Jerusalem Quarterly* no. 39 (2009): 39-50.

Suleiman, Ramzi. "On Marginal People: The Case of the Palestinians in Israel." In *Psychoanalysis, Identity, and Ideology: Critical Essays on the Israel/Palestine Case*, edited by John Bunzl and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, 71-84. Boston: Kluwer Academic, 2002.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns." March 2011. Accessed December 13, 2013. [http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha\\_opt\\_jerusalem\\_report\\_2011\\_03\\_23\\_web\\_english.pdf](http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_jerusalem_report_2011_03_23_web_english.pdf).

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns – Fact Sheet." Accessed November 18, 2013. [http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha\\_opt\\_Jerusalem\\_FactSheet\\_December\\_2011\\_english.pdf](http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_Jerusalem_FactSheet_December_2011_english.pdf).

United States Institute of Peace. "State versus nation." Accessed April 1, 2014. <http://glossary.usip.org/resource/state-versus-nation>.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, March 2011, accessed December 13, 2013, [http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha\\_opt\\_jerusalem\\_report\\_2011\\_03\\_23\\_web\\_english.pdf](http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_jerusalem_report_2011_03_23_web_english.pdf), 20-21.
- <sup>2</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns – Fact Sheet," United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, accessed November 18, 2013, [http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha\\_opt\\_Jerusalem\\_FactSheet\\_December\\_2011\\_english.pdf](http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_Jerusalem_FactSheet_December_2011_english.pdf), 1.
- <sup>3</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 6.
- <sup>4</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 7.
- <sup>5</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 8.
- <sup>6</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns – Fact Sheet," United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, accessed November 18, 2013, [http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha\\_opt\\_Jerusalem\\_FactSheet\\_December\\_2011\\_english.pdf](http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_Jerusalem_FactSheet_December_2011_english.pdf), 1.
- <sup>7</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 13.
- <sup>8</sup> *The Quiet Deportation: Revocation of Residency of East Jerusalem's Palestinians*, April 1997, B'Tselem: The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories and HaMoked: Center for Defence of the Individual, accessed December 13, 2013, [http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/199704\\_quiet\\_deportation](http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/199704_quiet_deportation).
- <sup>9</sup> Linda Gradstein, "East Jerusalem's Identity Crisis," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 4, 2012, accessed October 27, 2013, <http://www.jpost.com/In-Jerusalem/Features/East-Jerusalem-identity-crisis>.
- <sup>10</sup> "State versus nation," United States Institute of Peace, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://glossary.usip.org/resource/state-versus-nation>.
- <sup>11</sup> Ed. Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 37, no. 1 (2007): 178.
- <sup>12</sup> Ian S. Lustick, "Has Israel Annexed East Jerusalem?," *Middle East Policy* 5, no. 1 (1997): 42.
- <sup>13</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 66.
- <sup>14</sup> Wendy Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 39 (2009): 48.
- <sup>15</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 20.
- <sup>16</sup> Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 177.
- <sup>17</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 212.
- <sup>18</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 177.
- <sup>19</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 35.
- <sup>20</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 58.
- <sup>21</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 173.
- <sup>22</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 174.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 6.
- <sup>25</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 7.
- <sup>26</sup> Lustick, "Has Israel Annexed East Jerusalem?," 42.
- <sup>27</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 8.
- <sup>28</sup> Amir Cheshin, Bill Hutman, and Avi Melamad, *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 7.
- <sup>29</sup> Lustick, "Has Israel Annexed East Jerusalem?," 39.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 198.

- <sup>32</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 13.
- <sup>33</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 10.
- <sup>34</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 237.
- <sup>35</sup> Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," 43.
- <sup>36</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 25.
- <sup>37</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 21.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>39</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 126-127.
- <sup>40</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 18.
- <sup>41</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 173.
- <sup>42</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 176.
- <sup>43</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 190.
- <sup>44</sup> Ramzi Suleiman, "On Marginal People: The Case of the Palestinians in Israel," in *Psychoanalysis, Identity, and Ideology: Critical Essays on the Israel/Palestine Case*, ed. John Bunzl and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi (Boston: Kluwer Academic, 2002), 77.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamad, *Separate and Unequal*, 235.
- <sup>47</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 3.
- <sup>48</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 74.
- <sup>49</sup> Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," 178.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 45.
- <sup>52</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 74.
- <sup>53</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 75.
- <sup>54</sup> Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," 178.
- <sup>55</sup> Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," 45.
- <sup>56</sup> Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," 47.
- <sup>57</sup> Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," 177.
- <sup>58</sup> Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," 47.
- <sup>59</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 10.
- <sup>60</sup> Suleiman, "On Marginal People," 73.
- <sup>61</sup> Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," 48.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 1.
- <sup>64</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 2.
- <sup>65</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 14.
- <sup>66</sup> "Status Revocations in East Jerusalem," HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual, accessed April 16, 2014, [http://www.hamoked.org/files/2013/1157710\\_eng.pdf](http://www.hamoked.org/files/2013/1157710_eng.pdf).
- <sup>67</sup> "East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns," 19.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> Suleiman, "On Marginal People," 82.
- <sup>70</sup> *The Quiet Deportation*.

## MUSLIMS IN MOSCOW

### Photo Attributes

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Evstafiev-chechnya-prayer2.jpg>

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Putin\\_and\\_Muslim\\_religious\\_leaders\\_of\\_Bashkortostan](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Putin_and_Muslim_religious_leaders_of_Bashkortostan).

.jpg

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madhhab\\_Map03.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madhhab_Map03.png)

### Works Cited

Dannreuther, Roland. *Russia and Islam: State, Society, and Radicalism*. Taylor & Francis, Inc, 2013.

Hunter, Shireen. *Islam in Russia*. New York: M.E Sharpe, 2004.

Kappeler, Andreas. *Muslim Communities Reemerge*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1989.

Malashenko, Alexi. "Islam, the Way We See It." *Russia in Global Affairs* 4 (2006), 28-41.

Odynova, Alexandra. "Migrants on High-Alert Following Moscow Riots." *Equal Times*. <http://www.equaltimes.org/in-depth/migrants-on-high-alert-following-moscow-riots> (accessed December 6, 2013).

Pipes, Daniel. "Russia's Demographic Revolution | National Review Online." *National*

*Review Online*. <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/361804/russias-demographic-revolution-daniel-pipes> (accessed December 5, 2013).

Qobil, Rustam. "Moscow's Muslims find no room in the mosque." *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17436481> (accessed December 8, 2013).

Russell, John. "Terrorists, Bandits, Spooks And Thieves: Russian Demonisation Of The Chechens Before And Since 9/11." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2005): 101-116.

Rywwin, Michael. *Moscow's Muslim Challenge*. New York: M.E Sharpe, 1990.

Sadykov, Murat. "Central Asia: Labor Migrants Caught in Russian Politicians' Crosshairs." *EurasiaNet.org*. <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/67135> (accessed December 8, 2013).

Taheri, Amir. *Crescent in a Red Sky*. London: Hutchinson & Co, 1989.

"Thousands march on Moscow in anti-muslim migrants protest." *Vanguard News*. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/11/thousands-march-moscow-anti-muslim-migrants-protest/> (accessed December 8, 2013).

"Working in Moscow." *Expatriate Community for Expats worldwide*. <http://www.internations.org/moscow-expats/guide/working-in-moscow-15439> (accessed December 9, 2013).

Zeynalov, Orhan. "Migrant Worker In Russia, Detained As Suspect In Killing That Sparked Riot." *The Huffington Post*. [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/orhan-zeynalov-russia\\_n\\_4101237.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/orhan-zeynalov-russia_n_4101237.html) (accessed December 9, 2013).

### Citations

<sup>1</sup> "History & Culture of Russia / The Mongols and the Emergence of Moscow," *History & Culture of Russia, The Mongols and the Emergence of Moscow*, <http://www.geographia.com/russia/rush->

is03.htm (accessed March 26, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, (New York: M.E Sharpe, 2004), 28.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Laquer, "Russian Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1992), 106.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Lazzerini, *Muslim Communities Reemerge*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 9.

<sup>5</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, 140.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Laquer, "Russian Nationalism," 105.

<sup>7</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, 144.

<sup>8</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, 145.

<sup>9</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, 144.

<sup>10</sup> Domitilla Sagramoso, "Violence and conflict in the Russian North Caucasus," *International Affairs* (July 2007), 684.

<sup>11</sup> Shireen Hunter, *Russia and Islam*, 146.

<sup>12</sup> Domitilla Sagramoso, "Violence and conflict in the Russian North Caucasus," 697.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Jeffery, "The Moscow Theater Siege," *The Guardian* October 28, 2002, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/oct/28/chechnya.russia6> (accessed December 2nd, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Alexi Malashenko, "Islam, the Way We See It," *Russia in Global Affairs* 4 (2006), 34.

<sup>15</sup> John Russell, "Russian Demonization of the Chechens before and since 9/11," *The Third Quarterly*, Vol 26. (Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 2005), 108.

<sup>16</sup> Roland Dannreuther, *Russia and Islam: State, Society, and Radicalism*, (Taylor & Francis, Inc, 2013), 87.

<sup>17</sup> "Moscow Population 2014," *World Population Review*, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/moscow-population/>, (accessed April 17th, 2014).

<sup>18</sup> Roland Dannreuther, *Russia and Islam: State, Society, and Radicalism*, 87.

<sup>19</sup> World Bank "GDP per capita (current US\$)," Data, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD/countries> (accessed March 26, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Marthe Handra Myhre, "Labor Migration From Central Asia to Russia," 2012, <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/33968/MasteroppgavexxMyhre.pdf?sequence=1>, (accessed on December 7th, 2013)

<sup>21</sup> World Bank "GDP per capita (current US\$)," Data, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD/countries> (accessed March 26, 2014).

<sup>22</sup> "Working in Moscow," *InterNations*, <http://www.internations.org/moscow-expats/guide/working-in-moscow-15439> (accessed on December 4, 2013).

<sup>23</sup> "Unemployment Data for Republic of Chechnya," *Unemployment Rate in Republic of Chechnya*, [http://unemploymentinrussia.com/republic\\_of\\_chechnya.aspx](http://unemploymentinrussia.com/republic_of_chechnya.aspx) (accessed March 26, 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Roland Dannreuther, *Russia and Islam: State, Society, and Radicalism*, 87.

<sup>25</sup> Rustam Quobil, "Moscow's Muslims find no room in the mosque," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17436481>, (accessed on December 8, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> "History & Culture of Russia / The Mongols and the Emergence of Moscow," *History & Culture of Russia, The Mongols and the Emergence of Moscow*, <http://www.geographia.com/russia/rush-is03.htm> (accessed March 26, 2014).

<sup>27</sup> Amir Taheri, *Crescent in a Red Sky*, (London: Hutchinson, 1989), xi.

<sup>28</sup> "President of Russia." *President of Russia*. <http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/5747> (accessed April 17, 2014).

<sup>29</sup> "Thousands march on Moscow in anti-muslim migrants protest." *Vanguard News*, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/11/thousands-march-moscow-anti-muslim-migrants-protest/> (accessed December 8, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Murat Sadykov, "Central Asia: Labor Migrants Caught in Russian Politicians' Crosshairs," *EurasiaNet.org*, <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/67135>, (accessed on December 4, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Zeynalov, Orhan. "Migrant Worker In Russia, Detained As Suspect In Killing That Sparked Riot," *The Huffington Post*, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/orhan-zeynalov-rus->

[sia\\_n\\_4101237.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/orhan-zeynalov-rus-sia_n_4101237.html), (accessed on December 9, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Alexandra Odynova, "Migrants on High-Alert Following Moscow Riots," *Equal Time*, <http://www.equaltimes.org/in-depth/migrants-on-high-alert-following-moscow-riots> (accessed on December 6th, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook" <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2127rank.html> (accessed April 16th, 2014).

#### Cover Image

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flags\\_onu\\_geneva2.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flags_onu_geneva2.jpg)



THE WORLD.  
IN SMALL BYTES.

the  
**Diplomacist**  
diplomacist.org

The Diplomacist is a collaborative online journal borne of The Cornell International Affairs Review with writers from all over the country. The insularity of the modern media is blinkering our population, portraying events abroad as so foreign that they have little to no influence on our lives and thinking. At The Diplomacist we recognise this and see it as a deleterious social progression. We live in a global village, and it is the aim of The Diplomacist to give students a forum to convey their political opinions and interests on a global scale, outside the superficiality of the modern media.

Please visit our site at [www.diplomacist.org](http://www.diplomacist.org). If you have any questions, comments, or are interested in writing for The Diplomacist, please contact our editor, Lucius Elliott, at: [lae63@cornell.edu](mailto:lae63@cornell.edu)

Please send submission to [chx2@cornell.edu](mailto:chx2@cornell.edu). For the Fall 2014 issue, the deadline for submissions is September 28, 2014. Submissions should be approximately 3,000 words, but exceptions may be granted upon further discussion with the editor. Writers are encouraged to look at articles published in previous issues to get acquainted with the style of the CIAR. These can be found in electronic form on our website, [www.diplomacist.org](http://www.diplomacist.org).

The Cornell International Affairs Review proudly presents the Cornell Political Forum Award for excellence in undergraduate composition. The Cornell Political Forum was founded in 1987 and ceased publication in the early 2000s. In recognition of the organizations' shared characteristics, Cornell Political Forum alumni have generously endowed an award to be presented by the CIAR in honor of an undergraduate writer whose work demonstrates insightful analysis and overall academic excellence. The recipient will be selected from each year's publication by a jury consisting of advisers to the CIAR and its executive board. We believe this award will encourage undergraduate writers to share their ideas with Cornell and the broader community.

In order to make a donation to our organization, you can visit Cornell University's Give to Cornell website ([www.giving.cornell.edu](http://www.giving.cornell.edu)). There, select option to give online under the designation of "Cornell University – Other". In the description, please specify that the gift is going to the Cornell International Affairs Review. If you would like assistance in planning your gift or preparing the paperwork for tax credit, you can also contact the Office of Trusts, Estates and Gift Planning ([gift\\_planning@cornell.edu](mailto:gift_planning@cornell.edu) or 1-(800)-481-1865 and they can guide you through the process.

The Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, International Student Programming Board, Cornell Institute for European Studies, Department of Government, The Lencquesaing Family, The Pedraza Family, Michele Benton, Robert Andolina, Mitchell Alva, Sarah Eversman. We thank our contributors for their support.

# MASTHEAD

Presidents	Nicholas Stieg, 2015
Editor-in-Chief	Coco Xiao, 2016
Vice-President of Programming	Ryan Bisailion, 2016
Treasurer	Rolando Bonachea, 2017
Secretary	Jessie Weber, 2017
Head of Global Networking	Lucas Png, 2017
Creative Director	Samson Cheung, 2014
Junior Editors	Hannah Cashen, 2016 Danielle Sochaczhevski, 2015 Ju Jung-Lee, 2016 Yu Chen Xue, 2016
Events Staff	Kate Monson, 2016 Dallas Bennett, 2017 Nihaal Mariwala, 2014 Ryan Bisallion, 2016 Eugene Zhelezniak, 2016 Gabi Balbin, 2015
Editor-in-Chief	Lucius Elliott, 2015
Associate Editors	Zander Abranowicz, 2014 Demetri Papageorgiou, 2016
Staff Writers	Max Brashear, 2016 Sadev Parikh, 2014 Nihaal Mariwala, 2014 Conna Walsh, 2015 Anna Corrigan, 2014 Zihao Liu, 2016 Rolando Bonachea, 2017