

THE PENDULUM

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

A FOUL FOR QATAR: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING THE FIFA WORLD CUP | PG.20

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A LETTER FROM THE EDITOR...

To the reader,

By opening up our magazine, you have joined a journey. A journey to broaden our campus' perspective and engage in our global community. This journey will not always be a joyous one, but it will be an important one. As students, it is our responsibility to society to advocate for those whose stories are not pleasant, whose struggles require awareness and assistance, whose lives deserve recognition. With the power of knowledge, we can make a difference.

The articles you are about to read are prepared by talented writers who share these stories not only to inform, but to mobilize you as future leaders. The Pendulum was formed in order to provide the Clemson community with the knowledge of issues that fall outside of our immediate reach. The events that occur in the global community do not only affect the direct participants, but all of us. Each event has consequences that catalyze another. This is where the importance of these articles lie. While seemingly average acts can appear to be insignificant, such as naming Qatar as the host for the next World Cup or an increase in demand for bovine leather, there are deeper consequences when you delve further. Today, I encourage you to delve further. Maintain an open mind and allow these stories to spark new passions within you and broaden your perspective on the world surrounding you. Do not hide from the plights you encounter, advocate for their change.

Throughout my time with The Pendulum, I have been fortunate to work with passionate and formidable people and I will forever be thankful for them. To the writers, your determination and creativity have touched the lives of many throughout this process. Thank you for your time and your voices. To the staff, in you I have truly found some remarkable friends and role models. Thank you for your expertise, your company, and your dedication. To the reader, by embarking on this journey with us, you too are contributing to the mission of The Pendulum. Thank you for your time and open-mindedness. It has been an honor to serve as Editor-in-Chief and I could not be more proud to have been a part of an organization such as this.

Ever loyal,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jade Killion". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Jade Killion

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HACKING DREAMS AND ELECTION SCHEMES:

A Page From the
Russian Playbook

James Barbaccia

Within global politics, foreign election interference has been an age-old occurrence, likely dating back to the earliest of civilizations, but in modern society, election meddling has taken on an all-new meaning. As the world's leading nations continue to make technological advances, the ability for said countries to influence power politics has increased drastically. This type of national security threat is an issue that is continuing to grow in prevalence due to virtual hacking schemes and other technological offensives, with little chance of stagnation as time progresses. Within this context, it is important to ask how many countries are interfering in foreign elections. Unfortunately, this is a rather difficult question to answer due to the covert nature of election meddling. However, there is still some level of awareness related to these operations. Interestingly enough, the United States and Russia have been the largest culprits of consistent foreign election meddling, with a combined 117 worldwide interferences since the conclusion of World War II. In particular, Russia has made use of its meddling tools apparent in the 21st century, with recent occurrences being cited in Ukraine, the United States, and parts of Western Europe. The use of these foreign election interferences may come across as surprising and rather intimidating to many countries within the current world order, but Russia has had a particularly rich history of interfering in foreign elections in the post-World War II era. Overall, from 1946 to 2000, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics



(USSR) and Russia have interfered in a confirmed 36 partisan electoral races, with an inclination towards meddling in European elections.

Between the conclusion of WWII in 1945 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, much of the U.S. and Russia's efforts were focused on either strengthening democracy or communism within foreign countries. The U.S. did this to contain the future spread of communism while maintaining its global image as the "international peacekeeper". On the contrary, Russia focused its efforts on maintaining power in Europe and remaining a global leader, looking to prevent the spread of democratic institutions that could undermine its sphere of influence. Both countries have provided each other a certain degree of competition in spreading their own ideologies. Even without the presence of the Cold War, this behavior has continued into the present day.

There are multiple examples of Russian interference throughout the 20th century, but the Polish Parliamentary Election of 1947 is a strong testament to the influence of Russia's meddling efforts. In its first election since the end of World War II, the Polish desired a free election without foreign interference, but the Kremlin and the Communist-driven Polish Workers' Party (PPR) had other plans in mind. Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin was well aware of the likelihood of Poland becoming an anti-Soviet government, so he acted accordingly to ensure Poland remained under Soviet jurisdiction. Poland's secret police, the UB, worked closely with established Soviet MGB intelligence officers (predecessor to the KGB) to ensure that newly appointed commission members, tasked with monitoring voting within Poland's

various regions, were scattered with UB officers. In some regions, over 40% of the electoral commission members appointed were UB officers. Additionally, ballot boxes were often discarded entirely, with party members that attempted to run in opposition finding themselves arrested or beaten by UB police. In the few remaining weeks before the election, over 100,000 members of the Polish People's Party (PSL) were arrested and 130 were murdered. The final result was one that Stalin desired, considering the PPR-dominated Democratic Bloc won 394 out of the 444 available parliamentary seats, or 80.07% in total.

In the past decade, Russia has shifted away from some of its traditional election interference tactics, focusing more on utilizing the influential power of social media, virtual disinformation, hacking capabilities, and data breaching. These tactics were seen in Russia's interference with the 2014 Ukrainian presidential election. After ousting the previous president, Viktor Yanukovich, through a mass revolt in Kiev, the Ukrainian people prepared to vote for their new leader on May 25, 2014. In the few days before the election, pro-Russian hacking group CyberBerkut interfered by destroying vote tallying system files and leaking confidential documents from Ukraine's Central Election Commission (CEC). Additionally, once Ukrainian officials restored these systems, CyberBerkut struck again through a series of state-directed attacks on election day, providing misinformation that far-right nationalist Dmyto Yarosh had won despite possessing less than one percent of the popular vote. The CEC's website was hacked and Yarosh was posted on its webpage as the declared winner, leading to a false announcement on various Russian media sources of the election's outcome. In actuality, an absolute majority of 54.7% of votes were won by opposing candidate Petro Poroshenko. While the Russian interference was a failure, it was still able to create quite a hiccup in the Ukrainian electoral process. Following the events of the 2014 Ukrainian election, the Russian state held a considerable role in determining the outcome of the U.K.'s 2016 European Union membership referendum. Also referred to as the "Brexit Referendum", this vote was held to determine whether or not the U.K. would remain in the European Union. Building up to the election, Russian "language bots" plagued Twitter and other social media platforms with disinformation and posts supporting "pro-Brexit rhetoric." These bots posted content in English and utilized hashtag function tools to increase searchability within the U.K.. After further investigation, it was found that the 400 Twitter bot accounts discovered had belonged to the Russian Internet Research Agency (IRA). To create further divide in the voting process, on June 23, 2016 (the U.K.'s voting day) Russian hackers targeted the British power supply in a final attempt to disrupt voting submissions. Consequently, the Russian interference was a success considering the "Leave" campaign narrowly defeated the "Remain" campaign with 51.89% of the popular

vote. This type of social media flooding has created an all-new archetype of foreign meddling, in an age where disinformation and misleading tactics can have a substantial impact on the nearly 4 billion people who use social media each day.

Ultimately, the most widely recognized foreign election interference on Russia's behalf is its attack on the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. The Russian government had the objective of undermining public faith in the U.S. democratic process, feeding into the already branching polarization found within the country with a series of multifaceted cyber-attacks. Additionally, the Russian government had the objective of harming the campaign strength of Democrat Hillary Clinton in her presidential race against Republican Donald Trump in an effort to leverage Russia's own interests in Asia. President Vladimir Putin began the implementation of this project in early 2014, referring to it as "Project Lakhta." The attack was mostly marked by Russian IRA-managed social media accounts spreading disinformation and projecting heavily polarized political views in an effort to create a divide within the American people. Secondly, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) succumbed to a serious data breach on two separate occasions from Russian hacker groups APT29 (Cozy Bear) and APT28 (Fancy Bear). The DNC and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's (DCCC) networks were penetrated, resulting in a leak of emails and documents useful in damaging Hillary Clinton's candidacy. With the increasing presence of high-level technology in foreign election processes, it is easy to understand why Russia has evolved its meddling efforts. While it is likely that other countries are attempting to replicate these methods, it should be noted that continuous use of these capabilities can have drastic consequences for international security. Russia's interference within foreign elections, both historically and in the present day, have been used to provide the country with an upper hand at the expense of democracy and free will. Without heightened cybersecurity measures or a standard code of cyber conduct for international parties, there will always be a risk that European countries and global democratic institutions will suffer from the costs of rigged elections. Voters' rights over the past 75 years have been violated, but unrestricted modern technology has made this issue more prevalent than ever. There must be a mutual understanding of the sheer power associated with election meddling via internet use, but more importantly, there needs to be a much larger awareness amongst the international community of how this behavior can shape our very existence as we know it today.



FRACTURED NATION:

WHAT THE LATEST BOSNIAN CRISIS MEANS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY

Helen Schmidt

Bosnia and Herzegovina's, hereafter referred to as "Bosnia," history is mired in conflict, ethnic divisions, and genocide. Divided into three governing bodies based on ethnic partitions, the Serbian leader of Bosnia, Milorad Dodik, has been ramping up his nationalist rhetoric and initiated succession proceedings. Due to Bosnia's turbulent past, this could lead to another war on the European continent. Is this a second crisis in the making, and how concerned should the world be?

Bosnia is a historically medieval state which was part of former Yugoslavia, located in the Western Balkan region. It has a population of 3,481,000 and includes three major ethnic and religious groups: Bosnian Muslims (known as Bosniaks), Orthodox Christian Serbs, and Roman Catholic Croats.

Following the Cold War, Yugoslavia was quickly deteriorating due to economic turmoil and nationalist sentiments, and beginning in 1992, Yugoslavia started to disintegrate. After the succession of Slovenia and Croatia, Bosnia held a referendum and declared independence on March 3, 1992. Bosnian Serbs

boycotted the referendum and, due to the ethnic divisions formed during the dissolution process, Bosnia was unstable. The Serb parts of Bosnia called for reinforcements from Belgrade, which provided support through the Yugoslav Peoples Army. After the recognition of Bosnia by the United States in April of 1992, the Yugoslav Peoples Army began creating siege positions around Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, and a war began. Ethnic cleansing occurred, resulting, among other incidents, in the killing of 8,000 Bosniak Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica, a United Nations "safe zone," by the Bosnian Serb forces led by General Ratko Mladic. It is important to note that "although Bosniaks were the primary victims and Serbs the primary perpetrators, Croats were also among the victims and perpetrators." From 1992 to 1995, it is estimated that 100,000 people died and that more than 2,000,000 were displaced.

In November 1995, a Bosniak-Croat land offensive strike and US-led NATO airstrikes forced peace talks. While unsuccessful negotiations had occurred since 1991,

The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFA), also known as the Dayton Peace Agreement, was negotiated in 1995 and is the governing system still in place today. It laid out a framework for withdrawing troops from various parts of Bosnia, installed provisions for human rights, and established the governmental structure of Bosnia. Bosnia is now divided into the Croat/Bosniak entity, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Serb entity, Republika Srpska (RS). The GFA also set up quotas for most governmental bodies and a rotating three-member presidency between each division.

Currently, the Serbian representative of RS is Milorad Dodik, a nationalist who has long been vying for independence for RS. Dodik has been quoted saying that "Bosnia-Herzegovina is nothing more than 'a paper republic.'" Dodik has long been using inflammatory nationalist rhetoric and, in recent years, has been questioning the massacre at Srebrenica, calling it "a myth" and "a deception." The prior United Nations envoy, Valentin Inzko, passed a law in July making

genocide denial illegal in Bosnia using powers in the Dayton Peace Agreement. A few days later, Dodik suspended RS's participation in state institutions. Dodik warned that RS would be setting up an independent taxation system, judiciary, and military—similar to the one who carried out the Srebrenica massacre. The current envoy, Christian Schmidt, has warned that Bosnia is experiencing its "greatest existential threat of the postwar period." Dodik has not made good on his promise of establishing a separate military, and it is unclear whether and when he will. Dodik has been placed under United States sanctions and European officials have warned of similar actions. Weeks after the sanctions were put in place, lawmakers of RS voted to create an independent judiciary from the Bosnian systems. This would have also impacted taxation, security, and defense of RS but fell short of a final decision to separate the institutions, which would require support from the upper house of RS. Concerningly, Russia has endorsed a promise of Dodik to hold an independence referendum in RS.

There is much debate about Dodik's course and what it could mean for Bosnia. In a concrete sense, Dodik's nationalist rhetoric and genocide denial are harmful in a country that has already seen the ethnic cleansing of various groups and which remains volatile. There is fear that even without succession, the moves by Dodik could cause further destabilization, forced migration, and ethnic divisions within Bosnia. In the mildest case, Dodik's desire to separate the intelligence service from Bosnia could be because of personal worry about future investigations into potential wrongdoing. However, others, like the head of the Serb Democratic Party which is the largest opposition party in RS, Mirko Sarovic, have stated that "Dodik's course threatens to destroy the architecture of the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended more than three years of war between Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks...I think the path [Dodik] has chosen is dangerous for Republika Srpska and we cannot follow." Dodik has argued against this possibility, stating that "war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is no longer possible, but a decision on the independence of Republika Srpska is possible." It seems unlikely that Serbia would accept an independent RS into Serbia. This would endanger the European Union succession that Serbia has been working towards, but this does not necessarily stop Dodik from further pursuing his end.

Depending on the severity of Dodik's actions, succession would harm European Security as a whole. Jasmin Mujanović has stated that that in light of current international crises like "Ukraine, Belarus, Syria and Afghanistan, 'a significant deterioration in the security and stability of Bosnia is something that both the EU and the US can ill afford."

The Balkan region remains volatile, so a further ethnic inflammation within Bosnia could negatively impact European security.

European leaders have been weighing the implementation of sanctions on Dodik to attempt to prevent the succession of RS. Europeans need to act carefully in this crisis. A senior EU official stated, 'we are stuck between a rock and a hard place. The international community cannot be seen to be victimizing the Serbs, as it pushes them and Serbia further into Russia's arms. But the Balkans are on the EU's doorstep. Increased Russian influence in the region gives them another foothold and platform for influence, if they want to destabilize things further.' However, with attention currently being consumed by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, it seems unlikely that European officials will be acting on the crisis in Bosnia soon. It remains an open question whether RS will try to take advantage of the disarray in Europe to move its succession campaign forward.



"EUROPEANS NEED TO ACT CAREFULLY IN THIS CRISIS..."

A PART OF APARTHEID:

South Africa's Flawed Education System



Ellen Mattera

Education is not only a foundational experience, but one shared by almost all members of society. This foundation consists of the development of basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills as well as the growing sense of community. The socialization that comes with being a student, including determining what bonds to form and how to participate in new friendships, often shapes the future social course of students' lives. Many wealthy, developed nations take for granted that this individual growth will happen in a well-funded and supported, safe environment. However, this environment is not a given around the world. In many nations, the first concern in schools is the physical safety, rather than academics and mental health of the students. South Africa is one of these nations.

South Africa has long struggled with educational inequality and a lack of funding and attention to devote to its school systems. Throughout its difficult history, South Africa has dealt with a severe wealth disparity and is currently estimated to have 55.5% of its population living below the national poverty line. This lack of resources leads to an inability of the government to focus on education since even more foundational needs are not being met. While fixing basic humanitarian concerns may seem like a different issue than that of the educational system, some have argued that they are more intertwined than many realize. There are transient solutions that can be executed to fix concerns like poverty, but improving the educational system in many ways could

achieve a more permanent solution. To summarize this approach to enrichment, writer and researcher Janeli Kotzé claims in the South African context that, "Evidence indicates that there are significant social, education and economic benefits to quality early education of young children." He continues his remarks by reporting on the relative failure of South Africa to achieve the necessary levels of education to make this a positive correlation. This emphasizes that there is a direct link between education and social achievement as well as a national inability to provide sufficient education.

In recent years, the South African government has prioritized the idea of higher quality education, but these initiatives are not always matched in scope by resources. According to Professor Linda Ritcher and Ms. M. Samuels, in a publication for The National Library of Medicine, "The quality of Grade R provision in these areas is not up to standard because of low levels of funding; inadequate training, supervision, remuneration and retention of Grade R teachers; insufficient learner support materials; and inadequate monitoring and quality assurance." When students are given substandard education, at an age when education arguably has the greatest impact, they are then launched into higher levels of education and eventually enter into the workforce with lower levels of academic knowledge than their counterparts in better funded countries.

To understand why the nation faces these difficulties, it is necessary to understand its colonial origins. South Africa originally attracted settlers who saw its merits in providing the human component of the Slave Trade Triangle. The country then proved to be more fruitful when both diamonds and gold were discovered within its borders. Over the following decades, the native populations of different ethnic African groups were often persecuted and separated from their national governments in a process that came to be known as Apartheid. This stemmed from the tensions between white colonizers and ethnic Africans, culminating in separate living areas, documentation and signage requirements for Africans, and brutality at little to no provocation. This oppression intensified until the native Africans lacked any form of representation. They were not allowed to participate in a democratic election until the 1990s, almost two centuries after colonizers first began their spread through the nation. The colonization of South Africa had an immediate and adverse effect on the continuance of education in the nation.

Colonialism created a racist and discriminatory environment across the nation, rooting itself in classroom practices. Teachers often encourage the suppression of native languages and practices, and Black students were considered inferior in the academic environment. Valentine Atsango, a South African woman, reflects on her time in school, saying, "I was in an elective class with predominantly Black students...It was clear that this teacher had low expectations for what Black students were capable of achieving and had no qualms expressing it." There is a bias in classrooms against their native members, which sets many students even further behind than the lack of funding and government attention already have. This bias presents itself when the question of speech is raised. Continuing her remarks, Atsango discusses her own experience with the suppression of her native language. She recalls that it was common practice to target students who were not conversing with white-approved dialects. Creating language barriers in classrooms has a negative effect on the developmental rate of South African students at an age when they are still trying to learn basic linguistic rules.

This verbally and instructionally adverse environment does much to inhibit the learning of students, but it is not the only obstacle in South African schools. Students are not only mentally and culturally repressed, but they also face physical danger when they enter their classrooms. This stems from the barrier in forming connections between teachers and students and between students from different racial backgrounds. Black students will encounter violence in the classroom at a damagingly young age, shaping their concept of life through a lens of fear and a lack of safety. This violence is often the chaotic interplay of peers, but a darker layer of the culture of violence derives from teachers delivering physical punishment

to students. There is also a high degree of sexual violence; 24% of South African female students attest to having experienced sexual violence. Between 2019 to 2020, over 500 violent encounters were reported in South African schools, with many more going unreported. If not addressed, this will create more and more generations that treat violence as a given in life, which will show itself in administrative choices when they begin to lead and participate in the nation.

During the recent years of the pandemic, education has been further compromised around the world, but especially for those that lack the infrastructure to respond to a global crisis. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) picks up on this thread, further referencing the third facet of educational loss in this area: the impact of COVID-19 on the presence of consistent and safe education. In the past year and a half that the world has grappled with the pandemic, education has lost ground as schools take a multiplicity of approaches to coping, all of which lead to lost time. UNICEF comments on this loss saying, "Being out of school not only leads to learning loss but mental distress, exposure to violence and abuse, [etc.]" These schools will not see progress if racial tensions and discrepancies are allowed to languish. This is not a conflict international voices can silence without the active and proactive involvement of those South African inhabitants committed to change. Change must come from those within the nation committed to seeing changes at a foundational level regarding racial relations, violence, and other barriers in their classrooms.

While these issues of education can seem limited to the classroom and the students' academic success, they have a direct effect on the achievement of entire generations of individuals who must shoulder responsibilities in their communities, government, homes, and workforce. Their plight in the classrooms cannot be viewed in a vacuum. If these students enter and leave their time in classrooms carrying with them nothing more than an ingrained sense of racism and fear of violence, then this damage will negatively affect their future, tainting the success of their entire nation. However, there is hope that there will be improvement. In recent years, there has been some progress, such as substantial improvements in the reading levels of South African students. There is still a damaging gap between what is needed for a full education and what South African schools provide, but the government has recognized this gap and currently spends more of its funds on education than other countries in Africa. Although mostly ineffective so far, efforts like this spark hope that South Africa will work on molding a new generation in safer and more developed classrooms.

THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PRISONER

Mary Ann Fahmy



The Rome Statute defines the crime of apartheid as “inhumane acts...committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime.” On February 1, 2022, Amnesty International deemed Israel as an apartheid state, publishing a report with extensive detail about the seizures of Palestinian land and property, unlawful killings, forcible transfer, drastic movement restrictions, and the denial of nationality and citizenship to Palestinians. One of the largest components of apartheid, oppression, and inhumane acts is expressed through unlawful criminalization and human rights violations that go unseen in prison.

The experience of incarceration is not lost upon Palestinians living under occupation. Since 1967, 20% of the total Palestinian population and 40% of the adult male population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been

detained by the Israeli administration. Over the years, prisoners have led hunger strikes and other movements to demand an end to the systematic practice of imprisoning Palestinians without charge, trial, or sentence. Adapted from the British mandatory regime, Israel’s colonial practice includes an “administrative detention” law which leads to Palestinians being imprisoned without due process. This enables a system that imprisons Palestinians without charge or trial for an extended period of time. Under international law and Israeli courts, incarceration for political opinions is illegal. However, Palestinian political leaders are regularly arrested and tried in the Israeli effort to oppress Palestinians. Through administrative detention, the Israeli military holds detainees indefinitely without charges or trial and allows this if they have “reasonable grounds to presume that the security of the area or public security require the detention.”

Currently, over 5,000 Palestinian activist prisoners,

including women and children, are held in Israeli incarceration, and the unlawful and egregious policy of holding Palestinian prisoners brings endless torture and abuse to the detained. The detained population is spread around 17 prisons, four interrogation centers, and four detention centers. Except for one prison, every institution is located in Israel, which directly violates Article 76 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, stating that an occupying power must detain residents of occupied territory in prisons inside the occupied territory. This alone proposes a multitude of complications for Palestinian prisoners: from practical repercussions of the inability to meet with Palestinian defense counsel to the emotional detriment of not being able to receive family visits. For the Palestinian political prisoner, injustice exists both inside and outside the prison cell.

Military regulations govern the arrest and detention of Palestinians living under occupied territory, even in day-to-day civilian life. The offenses under military orders are divided into five categories: "Hostile Terrorist Activity," disturbance of public order, "classic" criminal offenses, illegal presence in Israel, and traffic offenses. These categories of offenses are used to justify the criminalization of Palestinian civic life. The political parties of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are considered "illegal" despite the fact that the Israeli government has engaged in peace negotiations with the PLO since 1993. Other offenses include carrying a Palestinian flag, participating in a demonstration, and minor interactions, such as serving a coffee, with a member of a declared illegal association are labeled as support for a terrorist organization.

After a Palestinian citizen is arrested, interrogation can last for 90 days and often includes the denial of lawyer visits. This period usually includes cruel, inhuman, and degrading physical and psychological treatment. The forms of torture vary and may range from beatings, tying prisoners in "stress positions," 12 hour-long interrogation sessions, forced sleep and other forms of sensory deprivation, isolation and solitary confinement, and threats against the lives of relatives and loved ones. Any confessions obtained through these practices are admissible in court and are defended by the Israeli government as a way to combat terrorism though these practices breach international law.

Inside the prison cell, Palestinian detainees are subjected to various human rights violations and mistreatment. Every year, dozens of Palestinian prisoners are held in isolation and many of them are held in solitary confinement. This can either be ordered by the courts or by other authorities inside Israeli detention centers and prisons. Isolation can last from

12 hours to longer periods of six to 12 months, where detainees are held in isolation for 23 hours a day and have a one-hour solitary walk. According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), isolation is unacceptable under international law and should be used infrequently and exceptionally. Organizations like Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association have voiced concerns about Israel's excessive use of solitary confinement against Palestinians during interrogation and in prison custody. Apart from isolation, Palestinians are regularly restricted from family visitation while in custody. Under international law, family visits are an entrenched right, as expressed in the Fourth Geneva Convention. Israel, the occupying power, detains Palestinians outside of the occupied territory, which is illegal under international law, and inhibits their ability to receive family visits. If families are able to visit, extreme restrictions are in place: only immediate family is allowed, and oftentimes male family members between the ages of 16 and 35 are kept from visiting.

The Geneva Conventions required that prison authorities provide medical support for detainees and prisoners, but Israeli authorities often neglect this duty. Medical problems in Israeli detention range from chest infections and diarrhea to more severe implications such as heart trouble and kidney failure. If accessible at all, treatment is typically insufficient and if delivered, it is extremely delayed. Specialized medical care is generally unavailable and though all prisons have a medical clinic, physicians are not regularly present. Medication is limited to over-the-counter painkillers and prisoners are expected to wait weeks, sometimes even months, to be transferred to a hospital. As a result of incarceration, released detainees and prisoners often have chronic health concerns like skin disease, extreme fatigue, anemia, renal trouble,

"Currently, over 5,000 Palestinian activist prisoners, including women and children, are held in Israeli incarceration, and the unlawful and egregious policy of holding Palestinian prisoners brings endless torture and abuse to the detained."

dental concerns, and ulcers. Since 1967, over 53 Palestinian prisoners have died as a result of medical neglect.

While the amount of women in detention is significantly less than men, the adversity remains. Female prisoners have reported a lack of gender-sensitive approaches and several violations of their health and hygiene. In September 2008, a study conducted by Addameer showed that roughly 38% of Palestinian female prisoners and detainees suffer from diseases ranging from asthma, diabetes, kidney disease, and sickle cell anemia, all of which can be treated, and until now, there is no report of specialized gynecological services present in Israeli detention. Similar to male prisoners, female prisoners endure psychological and physical abuse including beatings, insults, threats, and sexual harassment often delivered in the form of intrusive body searches.

Every year, about 700 Palestinian children under the age of 18 are prosecuted through Israeli military courts upon arrest, interrogation, and detention by the Israeli army. Several policies pertaining to the imprisonment of children are in direct violation of international law as Palestinian children over the age of 16 are allowed to be held in detention with adults. Additionally, children are sentenced on the basis of their age at sentencing rather than when they committed the offense. This leads to children being held in contempt for extended periods of time to then be tried as an adult later on. This contradicts Israel's civilian courts' policy which sentences defendants according to the age when their alleged offense was committed. Furthermore, Palestinian children are also subjected to ill-treatment such as sexual harassment and abuse, medical neglect, and torture with the intent to force confessions. In July 2009, the Israeli administration established a separate court for the prosecution of Palestinian children though multiple organizations have reported that this entity has done little to improve the protection of Palestinian children.

In March 2020, while the COVID-19 pandemic escalated, Michelle Bachelet, a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, called upon international governments to "not forget those behind bars" by "acting quickly to reduce the number of people in detention." In April, the International Committee of the Red Cross received

a letter from the Center of Constitutional Rights which was endorsed by seventy-four different organizations and emphasized the urgency for an intervention to safeguard Palestinian prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons from exposure to COVID-19. Despite these statements, the Israeli administration has not offered protection to the 5,000 detainees and prisoners held in their facilities, many of which have pre-existing medical conditions.

Currently, multiple organizations, such as Addameer, call for the international community to incorporate the issue of political prisoners in their meetings with Israel. Specific recommendations include: applying the use of military courts in accordance with the provisions of international law and implementing the respect of fair trial standards for all political detainees. Advocacy organizations also recommend the release of administrative detainees held on account of their political views or activities; affording every child under the age of 18 their rights in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child; ending the institutionalized policy of torture; and ensuring investigation of any abuse violating these terms. The last recommendations resonate with conditions inside the prison including the guarantee of hygiene, nutrition, and access to healthcare to the detained and allowing visits from family and council.

Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation in 1967, Palestinians have been subjected to the highest rate of incarceration in the world. All around the world, incarcerated individuals suffer from marginalization, mistreatment, and neglect. Such oppression is not lost upon Palestinians as it is an integral part of life in Gaza, under occupation, in apartheid. There is a grim reality in the cycle of abuse between Israel and Palestine. The Israeli administration regularly uses security justifications as citations for its mistreatment of Palestinians and designates human rights associations as terrorist organizations, thus ignoring their recommendations and calls to action.

THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE: *The Clash between Secularity and Religion in Modern Turkey*



Enes Cakir

Turkey's short history is marked by a political and societal clash between secularism and religion. Although the Turkish region has been historically Muslim since the 11th Century, Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, tore the seal of religion off from Anatolia, introducing Western ideals and policies in an attempt to transition Turkey into modernity. Fueled by the bureaucratic inefficiency and reluctance towards the change of the previously powerful Ottoman empire and his first-hand experiences of the Western world, Atatürk, after founding the Republic of Turkey, spent the rest of his life striving to enact his vision of modernity.

His vision meant a secular and democratic government that, unlike "softer" secularism, strove to completely separate religion and society and came to be known as Kemalism. Given how grand and transformative his goals were, time has served as a barrier to their actualization. Although separating religion and government may be relatively easy, separating religion and identity is exceptionally difficult, and as such, much of Atatürk's vision still remains illusory. Nevertheless, Atatürk is a revered figure in Turkey, his name literally meaning "Father of Turks." There are countless statues and expressions of his likeness but even given that almost divine reverence, the following history of Kemalism in Turkey is wrought with political conflict.

Since much of the nation is deeply religious and entrenched in tradition, opposition inevitably sprung up from the

garden of Atatürk's dream, the most powerful of which is Recep Tayib Erdogan, the incumbent President and leader of the Justice and Development Party, or AKP. Erdogan's political career is defined by a platform of religiosity and nationalism, of returning to Turkey its Ottoman-era prestige, a platform that many in Turkey have either openly or secretly desired. Considering the conservative traditionalism of many older Turks, Erdogan's success with his anti-western, ultranationalist, and Islamist platform is not surprising. Erdogan began his political career as a religious martyr after serving prison time for a religious poem given in public. From there, he was seen as an underdog in the fight against a century-long precedent of secularist leaders of which he came out on top. Now, Erdogan is seen by many as a leader not subject to the separation of powers that his predecessors were.

Erdogan has introduced and reintroduced many conservative and religious policies, often using Islam as justification, that all serve the ultimate goal of raising a more religious generations of Turks. Having been in some form of power for the last 20 years, Erdogan himself has transcended into an image of divine reverence, a quality that had once been reserved solely for Atatürk. However, as mirrored by the monotheism of Islam, Turkey has room for only one such divine figure.

Such is the nature of Turkey's current political climate, a clash between Kemalism and Erdogan, modernity and tradition, secularity and religion, and ultimately, young and old. As is the case in most countries, the youth in Turkey are more progressive, less religious, and beginning to escape the chains of tradition that have for so long bound the minds of Turks. In contrast, the senior population is more conservative and resistant to change. While Turkey's ruling party has been attempting to wind back the oriental clock on the role of religion in government, the youth of Turkey have ideologically repelled those efforts with an actualization of the qualities of modernity.

There has been an increase in irreligiousness among the younger generations; a greater desire for secularity within education, the workforce, and the economy; and an adoption of Western values within the youth, all fostering newfound doubt and concerns in a leader once marked by his high approval. As the 2023 election approaches, more than 50% of the population under the age of 32 wields the ability to alter Turkey's global course towards Western waters or anchor it at its primordial Aegean alcove.

Irreligiousness in Turkey has been steadily on the rise recently. According to a poll by Konda in 2019, the number of non-believers in Turkey has tripled in the past 10 years from 1% to 3%. A poll by Gezici Araştırma revealed that 28.5% of Generation Z in Turkey identify as irreligious, and of people surveyed between 15-20 years old, 15.7% defined themselves as religious or fully fulfilling religious obligations. Overall, 85% of irreligious people in Turkey are under the age of 35, and in 2018, the Turkish Ministry of Education published a report titled "The Youth is Sliding towards Deism," in which they related an increase in the apostasy of Islam in Imam Hatip schools.

Erdogan's religionist platform and goal of raising more pious generations of Turks is built upon these Imam Hatip schools. Since he has been in office, the number of Imam Hatip Schools in the country has tripled, with more and more funding being dedicated to them. They were originally public schools that served the purpose of raising Imams, or Islamic preachers, but now they are schools that incorporate a large amount of religious learning into the curriculum.

A study by Sakarya University and the ministry of education has shown that students in such schools are "resisting compulsory religion lessons, the government's 'religious generation' project, and the concept of religion altogether, and nearly half of the teachers referenced stated that their students were more likely to dispute Islamic interpretations taught at school as well as describe themselves as "atheists,

deists, or feminists". Erdogan's religious emphasis in schooling is having an effect opposite to that intended, and even though the polling is not widespread enough to conclusively and concretely determine how severe the shift away from religion is, its existence is undoubtable. For the younger generations, this disappointment with the government and religion go hand in hand, a disappointment that is only magnified with Turkey's economic problems.

Economically, Turkey has been struggling for the past decade. Given Erdogan's desire for religious convalescence within every domain of Turkey's public sphere, the economy has been given that same treatment. Interest is considered by many Muslim scholars to be forbidden in Islam, and as such, Erdogan's monetary policy revolves around not raising the interest rate, a policy many attest is economically harmful for a developing nation. Numerous economic experts hold that in order to attract foreign investment, diversify currency, and reduce inflation, the interest rate must be increased, allowing for more return on investment and an increase in currency value. However, Erdogan has refused to do this against the behest of many of his (now former) financial advisors.

According to Reuters, inflation increased to nearly 50% in February of 2022, the highest it has been in two decades, and consumer prices are on the rise along with it. Polls show that Turkish people believe the inflation is actually higher than reported, and just last month, Erdogan replaced the head of the Turkish Statistical Institution (TUIK), the group responsible for those statistics. The Inflation Research Group (an independent academic group) calculated that Turkey's inflation rate was actually over 80% in December of 2021. Financial experts within and outside of Turkey continue to blame Erdogan's refusal to raise interest rates as the culprit for such severe inflation, but

"Such is the nature of Turkey's current political climate, a clash between Kemalism and Erdogan, modernity and tradition, secularity and religion, and ultimately, young and old. As is the case in most countries, the youth in Turkey are more progressive, less religious, and beginning to escape the chains of tradition that have for so long bound the minds of Turks."

rather than address their opinions, Erdogan has continued with his Islam-backed insistence.

Many in Turkey have become exceedingly frustrated with this, especially the youth that have now lived under some form of Erdogan rule their entire lives and who also face the brunt of the unemployment issues that plague the economy. The most recent numbers from the TUIK show that youth (15-24) unemployment is 24%, and that figure has been hovering between 21 and 26 for the last 3 years. In addition, over 40% of the workforce works at the minimum wage. A recent survey conducted by the Habitat Association and Infakto Research Group uncovered that "finding a job" was young people's top priority.

There is also the matter of widespread nepotism in the government and workforce, with many political appointees holding positions for which they possess little to no qualification. This ongoing issue has led Turkey's Court of Accounts to warn of a breakdown of an "efficient and impartial public administration" within Turkey, and an article by Oguz Alyanak and Umit Kurt cites numerous examples, "Hamza Yerlikaya, a two-time Olympic champion wrestler was appointed to the board of Turkey's third-largest public bank; Mustafa Sancar, the chairman of the Ankara Zoo was placed as the deputy chair of the Scientific and Technological Research Council's publication powerhouse, ULAKBİM... What do all of these people have in common? Their ties to the AKP, and their public praise for its leader, Erdoğan".

In addition to these appointments, in 2018, Erdogan introduced a new university appointment system that allows him to appoint the heads of all public and private universities, adding not only to the issue of nepotism but also making Turks question the quality of their education systems. Governmental nepotism has become increasingly discouraging for the millions who are struggling with unemployment and the consistent economic problems have only served to create more frustration in rising generations regarding their future.

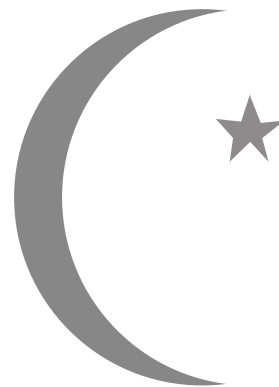
Surrounded by a bleak economic atmosphere and showing less faith in religion, Turkey's youth has increasingly begun voicing their dissent toward Erdogan and a religious government. On June 26, 2020, Erdogan addressed students whose university exams were postponed due to COVID-19 and was met with a sharp backlash from thousands of students. The video of his speech received over 422,000 dislikes, and the hashtag #OyMoyYok (No vote for you) trended on Turkish Twitter.

A major motivating factor for the new generations of Turks is freedom of expression, with polls showing that young Turks

today are more tolerant of diversity towards ethnicity, religion, and homosexuality and that they fear Erdogan's increasing authoritarian power. Freedom of speech goes hand in hand with this increased diversity, but Erdogan's administration has a history of arresting dissenters.

In January 2021, protests from students and staff erupted over the "undemocratic" appointment of Melih Bulu as rector of one of the highest-ranked universities in the country. Over 200 people were arrested and Baran Dogan of Ileri Haber stated that "since the government could not stop the protests through "oppression, violence and threats", they claimed that most of the demonstrators were not students but provocative terror groups in order to overshadow the legitimacy of the protests", with Erdogan calling the protesters terrorists and denouncing the LGBT movement. Events such as these trace toward the core of the main issue. While Turkey's youth embraces the liberal democracy of the Western world with their approach to tolerance and acceptance, Turkey's administration remains bound to tradition and conservative exclusion.

In the upcoming 2023 election, the clash between Erdogan's ultranationalist conservatism and the Turkish youth's Western liberalism will come to a climax, determining the future of the country. Over 7 million Turks will be eligible to vote for the first time, and the AKP's greatest challenge in winning the election will be whether they can harness the youth vote or be trampled by it. Irreligion, economic disappointment, and Westernization are all on the rise, and it's only fitting that the generation that has had their fate shaped by Erdogan be the determining factor in his. While Erdogan holds steadfast with his Islamic ideals, it seems his efforts to raise a more pious generation may have ended up raising the generation that aims to put him out of office.



TRAPPED IN CHAINS



THE MODERN DAY SLAVE TRADE IN LIBYA

Amani Altwam

The death of the Libyan dictator, Muammar Gaddafi, in 2011 led to the collapse of the Libyan regime. Since then, the country has continued to be in economic and political turmoil, with the migration crisis playing a key role. Libya became a crucial area for African migrants fleeing their countries in Sub-Saharan and West Africa and making the voyage to Europe. The number of African migrants surviving the voyage across the Mediterranean Sea and making it to Europe is scarce. Since 2014, close to 20,000 African migrants have died at sea while attempting to cross the Mediterranean. The majority of African migrants fleeing to Europe never make it on the boats that cross the sea. Instead, they end up being captured in Libya and their fate lands in dangerous hands.

Although the human trafficking of African migrants has been ongoing for years in Libya, it has only recently been brought to the world's attention after 2017. The African migrants that are "passing through" Libya are coming from various countries in Sub-Saharan and West Africa, mainly Niger, Nigeria, Sudan, Eritrea, Ghana, and Mali. Libya has become

a key location for human traffickers and smugglers since African migrants fleeing their own turmoil-fueled countries are the ideal targets. African migrants are easily captured by human traffickers because they have no one to depend on after they have fled their home countries and families. In Libya, violence towards African migrants after they are detained and sold into slavery, is horrific and consistent. According to many sources, it seems that African men are targets for smugglers and human traffickers since they can accomplish more hard labor and men are usually the ones who first attempt the journey to Europe and not women.

It was not until a bombshell video published by CNN made headlines in the mainstream media, did the treatment of African migrants gain attention. The journalists who are conducting this investigation travel to Libya and observe a slave auction happening outside of a warehouse, near the city of Tripoli. The video itself is a documentary film or exposé, focusing on the African migrants in Libya who are being sold as slaves or detained in detention centers. The main

purpose of this video is to provide proof that modern day slavery, the slave trade, and slave auctions still very much exist in Libya.

The first half of the video focuses on providing proof that slave auctions are ongoing in Libya, with the CNN journalists going into a slave auction and secretly recording the auction unfolding. One of the auctioneers admitted to the journalists that within minutes, twelve Nigerians were sold at the auction that night. Some going for the price of \$400 to even \$700. The other half of the video focuses on the migrants that are being detained in a detention center. The migrants held in detention centers are referred to in the video as “the lucky ones” because they had been rescued from the warehouses. If these warehouses get full, the migrants start to get sold as slaves and slave auctions are held at those warehouses. The main purpose of these detention centers is to hold migrants until they are able to get deported back to their home countries. Many of the migrants in the detention center have confessed to being captured in Libya, held against their will, and sold as a slave. The video highlights one of the migrants in the detention center and he describes how much violence is inflicted onto the migrants that were sold as slaves. One of the most shocking parts of the video was when the journalist was talking to the immigration official in charge of the detention center. She asked him if he was aware that migrants are being sold into slavery and he said that he had heard rumors but there was no concrete evidence to investigate the matter. The bombshell of the CNN slave auction video set off a domino effect among news organizations, with dozens of media outlets finally reporting on the “exploitation of migrants and refugees [in] the north African country.” One of the reasons why the slave trade in Libya is still ongoing is because there was no international awareness, until the CNN slave auction video was published.

The exploitation of African migrants trapped in Libya can be seen through the firsthand experiences of two young Eritrean boys, Sami and Yonathan. Sami is an 18 year old who first left Eritrea at the age of 15. He was caught at the Libyan border and forced to

pay money that he did not have to continue on his journey to Europe. He was eventually taken to an illegal detention center in Libya where he was starved and physically and mentally tortured. Women and children were also kept in these detention centers, and Libyan guards would assault many of the girls and women with no consequences. After paying thousands of dollars to smugglers throughout his journey, he finally makes it to Tripoli, where he gets a job with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Yonathan is a 24 year old who was a soldier before leaving Eritrea to make the journey to Europe. He made a deal with Sudanese smugglers to take him to Libya, but he soon learned that no amount of money would get him to Libya safely and unharmed. Yonathan spent months being tortured and abused until he could find the money to continue his journey to Libya, where he eventually got captured and detained again for months.

For both Yonathan and Sami, returning to Eritrea was not an option since they left the country in the hopes of living a better and peaceful life. Unfortunately, their experiences are not rare, since the majority of African migrants fleeing their home countries end up being captured, sold, and abused before they could have the chance to reach Europe. Even after the firsthand accounts of numerous exploited African migrants and the CNN video, little has been done to put an end to the slave trade in Libya. Since the collapse of the Libyan government in 2011, human traffickers have exploited the desperation of families in Sub-Saharan and West Africa by promising them a future in Europe by traveling in rubber boats across the Mediterranean Sea. So few actually make the journey to Europe, while many of the migrants drown along the way or end up detained or sold into slavery in Libya.

TOO LATE TO CHANGE:

What Governments
Should do in the Face of
Climate Catastrophe

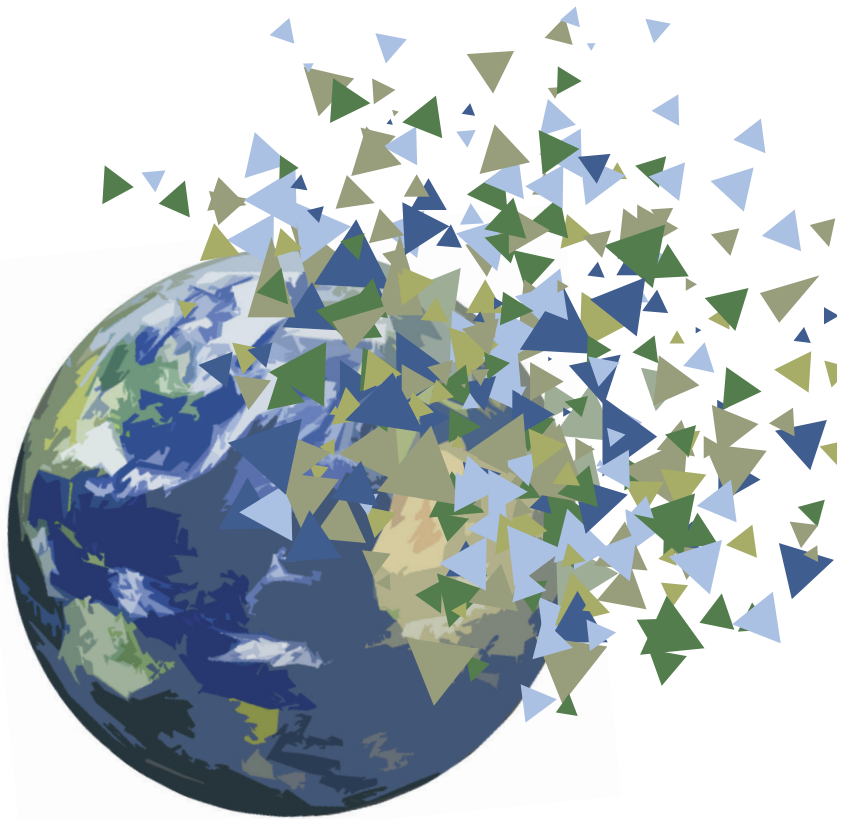
Matthew Ployhart


A travel website called World Nomads reports that Belgian temperatures, “even at the height of summer... rarely [exceed] 71 degrees Fahrenheit.” However, the same year that statement was posted, in 2019, temperatures in Belgium soared to 105 degrees Fahrenheit during the summer. According to The New York Times, melting on Greenland’s ice sheet in 2019 “extended across 380,000 square miles, or about 60 percent of the total ice area.” In July of 2021, the World Meteorological Organization proclaimed that temperatures in Antarctica had reached 18.3 degrees Celsius, or about 65 degrees Fahrenheit, what many would consider to be t-shirt and shorts weather. Climate change is everywhere in the news today.

Furthermore, no part of the world is a stranger to the impacts of climate change. In India, according to The World Bank in 2013, “a decline in monsoon rainfall since the 1950s has already been observed. The frequency of heavy rainfall events has also increased.” Europe, as well, is experiencing drastic transformation due to climate change. Nick Watts, executive director of the Lancet Countdown on Health and Climate Change,

claims that “the effects [of heatwaves] will be felt in the form of exacerbated heart disease and heat-related illness, spikes in hospital admissions and premature death, and increased pressure on health services.” The World Health Organization and The Guardian report that upwards of 70,000 premature deaths occurred in the summer of 2003 across 12 European countries. In addition, Siberia, Russia, known for being the coldest permanently inhabited place on Earth, even had inflated temperatures reaching 100.4 degrees Fahrenheit in 2021. National Geographic stated in 2022 that “Seas are predicted to rise a foot by 2050, regardless of how much global carbon emissions can be reduced.” So what can be done, many ask, to stop climate change? The answer: it is almost certainly too late.

A 2019 The New Yorker article entitled What if We Stopped Pretending? gave the following warning: “The climate apocalypse is coming. To prepare for it, we need to admit that we can’t prevent it.” In 2021, the United Nations Secretary General, António Guterres, stated that, “the battle to keep the 1.5-degree goal alive will be won or lost in this decade.” In order for that to happen, according to the World Resources Institute, “global emissions must drop





by half by 2030 to prevent the worst impacts of climate change." Unfortunately, given the largely-unmet standards set by the Rio Earth Summit of 1998 and the Paris Climate Agreement of 2015, the large number of people who do not believe that climate change exists or is as threatening as it has been made out to be, and the economic and social barriers that would need to be overcome to meet that goal, it is unlikely that climate change will be stopped or reversed in a timely manner.

Furthermore, the positive feedback loop of extreme heat leading to wildfires and melting ice will place enough carbon into the atmosphere that the trend could not be stopped by simply cutting human-produced carbon emissions. In other words, there comes a point when no matter what humans do to reform their ways, it would not make a difference. Thus, while it is still imperative to reduce carbon emissions, preparing for what is likely an inevitable future is perhaps the wisest option. "It's...important to admit that our planet has irrevocably changed and each of us needs to learn how to adapt," WIRED asserted in January 2022. Many individuals and nations are already on the move.

The Maldives, an island country in Southern Asia, for instance, not finding much success in convincing other nations to cut carbon emissions, is facing active sea-level rise. To cope, its government is establishing elevated islands to house many of its citizens, and, thanks to a Dutch design firm, will anchor 5,000 floating homes atop pontoons. "The difference between 1.5 degrees and 2 degrees (Celsius) is a death sentence for the Maldives," the nation's president, Ibrahim Mohamed Solih, had expressed, and so the nation is doing what it can to adapt to changing times.

While sea-level rise is the most threatening effect to some, others consider another threat to the world: climate famine. Some companies, such as CIBO Technologies, are seeking new ways to farm crops in a world faced with extreme heat and altered seasons. However, for some, new technologies or genetically-modified crops are not enough and many call for the growing of more climate-resilient crops directly. According to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), while the yield of crops such as maize may decrease as much as 24% within the next eight years, "wheat could potentially see growth of about 17%."

Meanwhile in Europe, which is largely unaccustomed to the levels of extreme heat brought about by climate

change, there have been changes made to the very landscape of European cities. According to the BBC, more trees are being planted to allow for additional shade and the cooling of the air through a botanical process known as evapotranspiration (the evaporation of water from trees cools the air around them). Vienna, Austria has even gone as far as to establish what have been termed as "cool streets," which are "kitted out with seating areas, drinking fountains and [sometimes even] water spray misting machines." Other cities have even changed their architecture to incorporate more water and reflective surfaces.

According to Print, in 2021, the "whitest paint has been developed, and it's helping combat climate change." The paint, developed by researchers at Purdue University, is so reflective that it possesses the ability to reflect just above 98% of sunlight, helping cool buildings. This invention has the potential to aid cities in particular, which are especially vulnerable to extreme heat via a process known as the "heat-island effect."

Looking around the world, there seems to be no shortage of adaptations that governments and societies must make to adapt to climate change. As reported by the Global Commission on Adaptation, some things that are of the utmost importance include developing climate-resilient infrastructure, improved dryland agriculture, mangrove protection, early warning systems (for intensified natural disasters), and the creation of more-resilient sources of water.

In spite of all of these—and many more—changes, however, TIME magazine points out that, at this stage, life will still become strenuous and inequality will be accentuated. Already many feel "a sense of bottomless loss, unbearable guilt, and fierce resentment at previous generations who didn't do what was necessary to ward off this unstoppable calamity." In 2022, National Geographic, echoing a United Nations report, claimed that the impacts of climate change are already prominent at temperatures lower than anticipated. The world is not adapting nearly fast enough to keep up with the irreversible effects of climate change. With the future eerily uncertain, humanity can only campaign for governments to take swift action and adapt to what already seems to be an inevitable future, in addition to cutting carbon emissions. Camilo Mora, a climate scientist at the University of Hawaii, with National Geographic, said it best: "We can still choose between bad and worse."



Human Rights Violations
During the FIFA World Cup.

Shaw Sullivan

The Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, played every four years, draws in a combined viewership of over three billion people. The World Cup is a unique event that brings the world together for a month every four summers to watch soccer, or football, the world's most popular sport. The small Gulf Coast country of Qatar has been chosen as the host nation for the next iteration of the tournament in 2022. Nevertheless, the selection has been riddled with controversy due to human rights violations, potential harboring of terrorists, and bribery. The human rights violations, which are at the center of the controversy, include the deaths of an estimated 6,500 migrant workers while building the stadiums. Qatar has been criticized for using questionable methods of attracting migrant workers, most of whom are from South Asia, as well as controversial manners of keeping them in Qatar. Now, less than a year away, soccer fans around the world fear that the Qatar World Cup will permanently stain the image of the tournament.

In 2010, Qatar was awarded the right to host the 2022 World Cup after a surprising vote by FIFA members.

The Qatar bid won over bids by the United States, South Korea, Japan, and Australia. The selection of Qatar over these economic and cultural powerhouses was both surprising and questionable due to the hot weather, the ongoing armed conflicts in the Middle East, and accusations of Qatar harboring and sponsoring terrorism. Owen Gibson of *The Guardian* writes: "smaller than Yorkshire [England], boasting temperatures of over 50 degrees Celsius in June and July, and with no footballing tradition to speak of, Qatar was always an unlikely choice for football's World Cup." Of the 25 FIFA officials who took part in the vote, 14 voted for Qatar over the United States. This astounding majority is tied, however, to the news statement put forth by the *Sunday Times* in 2014 which announced, "millions of secret documents" were alleged proof that the Qatar Football Association (QFA) made payments of 5 million US dollars to FIFA officials. Qatar has since denied the claims, stating that the rumors are the results of "envy and mistrust." In 2015, nonetheless, 12 people and 2 corporations were charged in connection to the World Cup bribery scandal.

Despite these other issues, human rights violations remain at the center of the controversy for the 2022

World Cup. Reports of mistreatment and overworking of migrant workers claim to have led to the deaths of at least 6,500 of these individuals. Akysa Aryal, a member of Modern Diplomacy, states that an average of 12 workers have died per week since 2010. These workers leave their countries looking for opportunities in the oil-rich countries of the Persian Gulf, but after arriving, they are roped into contracts that make it difficult for them to leave the country. The system used in Qatar is known as the 'kafala' system, which gives the employer all the negotiating power. Aryal writes that workers have to ask the permission of the employer to leave the country, change the terms of their contract, or quit. The majority of the migrant workers come from South Asian countries such as India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Bangladesh and are usually unaware of the kafala system and how it works.

The treatment of the workers by their Qatari employers is also considerably harsh. The workers are forced to work in the brutal heat of the Arabian Desert and are subject to physical punishments. While being required to work in dangerous situations in building the stadiums, often without proper or any safety equipment, the workers are also forced to endure long work hours and live in poor conditions in slums hidden from the sight of tourists. The workers are also often lied to about their salaries and are frequently docked pay for housing, supplies, and food. According to Aryal, the redemption of this treatment comes in the form of the Qatari government passing labor reforms in 2020, which include requiring employers to pay workers a base salary of 1,000 Qatari Riyals, or \$275 per month. Despite these attempts, however, the living and working conditions in Qatar have not changed significantly and migrant workers continue to suffer. Nilambar Badal of the Asian Human Rights and Culture Development Forum stated that "nothing has really changed" for the conditions of migrant workers and that Qatar's reforms were to "save face."

Human rights violations have not been the only controversies associated with the 2022 World Cup. Several Arab-speaking countries have also accused Qatar of harboring and sponsoring terrorism. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen have cut diplomatic ties with Qatar and subsequently asked FIFA to move the World Cup. These 5 Arab nations have accused Qatar of being a "base of terrorism" for allegedly supporting and sponsoring terrorist groups and also questioned Qatar's support for Iran, with whom Saudi Arabia has a long-standing rivalry. An additional concern for the Qatar World Cup is the heat being a factor for both players and fans. Qatar's location on a peninsula in the Arabian Desert means that the summer's extremely hot weather could cause serious

"...human rights violations remain at the center of the controversy for the 2022 World Cup."

issues for the players and fans in the stadium. Despite elaborate plans by the QFA to build solar-powered fans in the stadiums, FIFA decided to move the tournament from summer to winter. There are also concerns about Qatar's 8 world cup stadiums being 'white elephant' stadiums. 'White elephants' are stadiums that are too large and require too much money for the place in which they are located to operate continuously. Soccer fans and officials fear that the stadiums will fall into disrepair after the World Cup, similar to most of the world cup stadiums built in Brazil for the 2014 World Cup. The stadiums range in capacity from 40,000 to 80,000. For a country of just 2.8 million people, these stadiums are probably too large to regularly sell out for Qatari Q-League matches. Additionally, there are also ethical concerns over the safety of LGBT+ fans in a country where homosexuality is illegal and punishable by death for practicing Muslims. Qatar has stated that they would allow LGBT+ fans to travel there for the tournament and that LGBT+ flags would be allowed in the stadiums.

The human rights violations and other controversies of the 2022 World Cup have led many people to demand that the tournament be moved. However, the time to make that decision has passed and doing so would mean the lives lost in building the stadiums were in vain. Qatar has responded to the accusations of human rights violations and harboring of terrorists by stating that the accusations are based on Western racism, envy, and mistrust. There have also been requests by multiple countries such as the United States, Australia, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt to move the World Cup elsewhere, but FIFA has denied the requests. There are also concerns over what happens after the tournament. Building stadiums for one of the world's most popular sporting events has brought attention to the current human rights violations and other controversies, but what happens once Qatar is no longer in the spotlight? Despite the labor reforms in 2020, migrant workers continue to live and work in poor conditions. There will not be as high a demand for migrant workers in Qatar after the World Cup, but as for the more than 1 million workers already there, the future holds no certainties.



A CLIMATE CRISIS YOU CAN'T HIDE

Madison Stephenson

With the effects of climate change experienced globally, little thought has been directed towards the leather industry and how bovine leather has contributed to the deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest. In recent years, the Brazilian government has deforested much of the Amazon to enable cows to graze on the land, but at what cost to the environment at large? As an integral biome to many of the world's flora and fauna, the Amazon Rainforest experiences a degradation of exorbitant magnitude due to the intentional deforestation of the Jaci-Paraná region for bovine leather exports.

A multi-billion dollar enterprise, the international consumption of bovine leather has been rising in recent years as a result of the sheer increase in supply and decrease in cost due to the rampant deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest. This deforestation has been the unfortunate by-product of market globalization

for bovine leather; on average, 80% of bovine leather exports go to global markets. When considering the complexity of the leather industry, environmental advocates and researchers have attempted to evaluate traceability across different industries, ranging from sellers, tanneries, and fashion homes. The different industries involved in leather manufacturing and distribution have subsequently faced social, economic, and cultural pressures, which have contributed to the cataclysmic environmental crisis across the rainforest in Brazil.

The complexity of the processes of manufacturing, distributing, and internationally exporting bovine leather has led to complications in pinpointing the root cause of why the industry has contributed so significantly to the global climate crisis. Upon closer inspection, however, the political rhetoric rationalizing the deforestation of

the Amazon Rainforest provides better insight into why the indigenous people of the Jaci-Paraná region may support the harmful environmental actions by the Brazilian government. As a country built on agriculture, which continues to drive its economy, Brazil has campaigned the notion of 'cattle capitalism' to the indigenous people. This notion intends to link the exportation of cattle products, such as beef and leather, to transitioning Brazil into a capitalist society. The rhetoric surrounding deforestation has led to a positive public discourse by indigenous and native people of the region, as they see the cattle industry as a hero for the Brazilian economic and employment sector. Native people believe deforesting the Amazon creates the capacity to have an expansive network of land for cattle to graze. The political initiative and rhetoric surrounding the ventures into deforesting thousands of acres of lush rainforests have led to further systemic issues in the uniform regulation of each stage of cattle ranching, from farming to manufacturing to distribution. Due to improper government oversight, documentation that tracks cattle can be subject to falsifications. Involving international trade relations subsidizes extensive issues, as intermediaries, importers, exporters, and traders all come from different regions with differing legislation that may not be consistent across international borders. As an effect of the indigenous support and the lack of uniform international policy, the bovine leather industry not only exists but persists in both its economic gain and environmental destruction.

Europe lies at the center of international hypocrisy surrounding the environmental crisis in Brazil. Europe exploits the turbulent Brazilian government for easy and accessible exports of lucrative leather. With the surmounting risk associated with the continuing deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest, Europe remains one of the largest investors in the unethical cattle ranching practices. The leather exported from Brazil to Europe is primarily utilized in the automotive, upholstery, and footwear enterprises. The EU-Mercosur Trade Agreement (EMTA) has been linked to the increase in demand and purchasing of leather exports from Brazil by the European Union. In short, the agreement removes approximately 93% of the tariffs for Mercosur products exported to European Union markets. The EU-Mercosur Trade Agreement was signed in 2019, following over two decades of negotiations between the European

"The political initiative and rhetoric surrounding the ventures into deforesting thousands of acres of lush rainforests have led to further systemic issues in the uniform regulation of each stage of cattle ranching, from farming to manufacturing to distribution."

Union and the Mercosur group of countries (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay). Although the agreement focuses on the inclusion of forest-based indigenous communities, cattle production is not cited as a "forest product" in the agreement. The agreement fails to address specific protocols for measuring potential negative environmental effects of trade in this region. The European Union holds power over Brazil for this reason. The rather parasitic trade relationship between Europe and Brazil will ultimately leave Brazil at an immeasurable loss.

From a different perspective, brands, although large contributors to the environmental crisis at hand, may also be victims of large-scale systemic issues of the leather exportation industry. Once cattle are slaughtered and the leather moves into the manufacturing stage, it remains almost entirely impossible to trace the animal hide to the land from which they grazed. The process of traceability usually ties back to the slaughterhouse ID given to the cattle, which provides little to no explanation as to where the cattle originated from. The issue of traceability intensifies as products purchased and produced by brands can be assembled with leather from different sources.

The Brazilian Institute of the Environmental and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) and the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMbio) have approximately ten officers that monitor and trace the land where deforestation occurs. The Brazilian Institute of the Environmental and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) has the primary responsibility to enforce environmental laws and regulate international treaties with environmental clauses. However, due to Brazil's decentralized political system, state agencies have much of the control over projects in the Amazon. As the administrative arm of environmental protection within Brazil, the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation functions quite similar to the Brazilian Institute of the Environmental and Renewable Natural Resources. With both institutes possessing little control over the Amazon and experiencing the effects of severe understaffing, there has been rampant degradation of the soil quality across the region and the inability to provide external purchasers of bovine leather with accurate information surrounding the cattle's origin and the ethical nature of the manufacturing process. In an effort to not implicate brands as accidental victims, it remains important to note that brands have become increasingly aware of the unethical practices of cattle ranching in Brazil and to continue to facilitate the purchasing and global distribution of leather that can be linked directly to the global climate crisis. When do brands and nations have the moral responsibility to boycott leather they know contributes to decreased species biodiversity, soil degradation, and increased greenhouse gases in our atmosphere? As global populations continue to experience the dire impacts of climate change, the Amazon Rainforest edges on the precipice of virtually no return to a functioning, biodiverse ecological landscape.

In an effort to mitigate the damage inflicted on the Amazon Rainforest, brands need to advocate for change and negotiate with the Brazilian government, who ultimately facilitates the unethical cattle ranching. Whether from a place of vulnerability or eagerness for financial stability, the Brazilian government

“...the Brazilian government needs to be held accountable by their foreign trade partners.”

needs to be held accountable by their foreign trade partners. All parties who participate in international trade agreements should implicate themselves as stakeholders in resuscitating the Amazon Rainforest. Trade agreements should include clauses that establish frameworks for technologically-driven monitoring methods, as well as public databases that work to ensure transparency from all parties involved in the international exportation of leather. Internationally, brands need to evaluate further the implications of their policies and intentionally investigate the practices of Brazilian cattle ranching. Some brands have taken initial steps with bans and restrictions on leather exports from Brazil in an attempt to minimize their contribution to the deforestation of the Amazon. Most recently, brands such as Timberland and Vans have banned Brazilian leather from all of their products. These brands have initiated an important precedent in petitioning against the deforestation of the Amazon. In an effort to restrict involvement in the market-driven deforestation, Vans and Timberland hope to enact change across consumer markets globally.

In consideration of future implications, many researchers point to preventive approaches as opposed to less severe restrictions, such as the restrictions established by the EU. International environmental advocates and government officials need to further evaluate the economic forces that perpetuate the lack of traceability and provide provisions in the global facilitation of deforesting one of the world's greatest biomes. Although it may be difficult to imagine the reversibility of the detrimental impacts already imposed on the Amazon, with actionable steps, change can transform the rehabilitation efforts in the Amazon. With successful and stringent deforestation policies, the Amazon Rainforest has a sliver of hope to reemerge as a flourishing biome to thousands of the world's species.

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