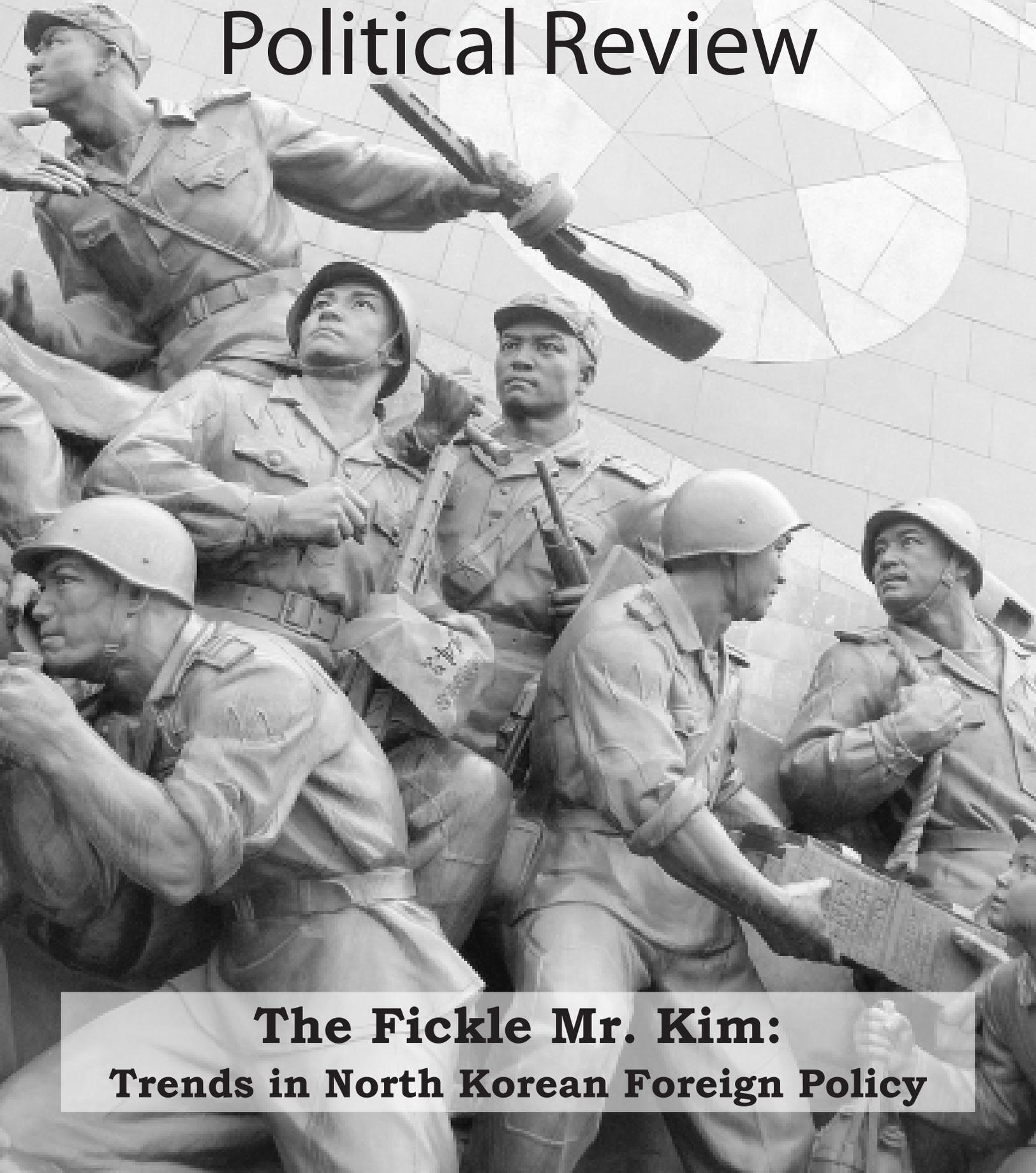


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Northeastern University Political Review



**The Fickle Mr. Kim:
Trends in North Korean Foreign Policy**

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Mission Statement of the Northeastern University Political Review

The Northeastern University Political Review seeks to be a nonpartisan platform for students to publish essays and articles of the highest possible caliber on contemporary domestic and international politics, as well as critical reviews of political media. The Political Review aspires to foster a culture of intelligent political discourse among interested individuals while promoting awareness of political issues in the campus community. The organization envisions itself as a place where students with a common interest in politics and world affairs may come together to discuss and develop their views and refine their opinions. The Political Review hopes to reflect the diversity of thought and spirit at Northeastern, including the dual ethic of academic and experiential education our school embodies.

**Northeastern University
Political Review
2009-2010**

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From the Editor:

Last spring, while debating current political events with several of my classmates, we realized that there were few outlets here at Northeastern through which politically minded students could express themselves. While publications existed that discuss on-campus happenings or focus on other academic disciplines, there were no similar journals for politics, international affairs or other similar areas of study. In addition, while there were several partisan and activist groups on campus, for the student interested in exploring public affairs independently and academically there were few opportunities to do so outside the classroom.

For that reason we decided that Northeastern ought to have a student run review of politics. We intend for the Northeastern University Political Review to be non-partisan, intellectually engaging and reflective of the diversity of thought and spirit here at Northeastern. It was pleasing to see a packed room at our first meeting, demonstrating that Northeastern students not only wanted a place to explore their political views and ideas, but also that they were willing to put in hard work to make it happen. We hope that this publication, like so many others at Northeastern, will reflect the dual ethic of academic and experiential education our school represents.

We have included a number of articles, opinion-pieces and book reviews here that will hopefully be positive additions to Northeastern's campus conversation. The matters dealt with here are timely and animating. Our writers have leapt into issues as diverse as paternal leave, the mischief of North Korean foreign policy, human rights in the cocoa trade, moderate politics and more. We hope that readers will find them worthwhile. And we hope that those who do not will send us their work so that others might know what they ought to be thinking about in the realm of politics and society.

I would like to thank all of our section editors and their deputies, as well as our executive board for their diligent work this semester as we built the Political Review. Their efforts are manifest on every page. We are also grateful for the support and encouragement of the Department of Political Science and the Media Board in bringing about what will hopefully be the first of many issues of the NU Political Review.

--Khalid Lum, '12

Editor-in-Chief, Northeastern University Political Review

Raising or Razing the American Family? Reforming Parental Leave

Family leave policies in the workplace have traditionally focused on women, reflecting traditional American cultural values that assign a dominant role for mothers in the child rearing process. Recent research shows that this framework neglects the role fathers can play. Parents learn the “maternal instinct” through caring for a child in the initial stages of development. As with any other job, parenting skills are acquired through experience. As policy makers seek to reform parental leave policies, it is important to consider the important role both parents play in raising families.



Advocates point to the need for better policies because accessibility to parental leave supports families, parent-child bonding, and job security for parents. The costs of inadequate parental leave policies affect more than just business but also the development of pro-social and productive American citizens.

In February 1993, President Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) into law, enacting the only federal legislation that addresses the demands of work and family. The FMLA stipulates a universal standard of a twelve week, unpaid leave for all businesses employing more than 50 employees within a 75 mile radius of the workplace. This leave can be used after the birth or adoption of a new child or to care for a family member or one’s self suffering from a serious health condition. If a more comprehensive leave policy is already in place, an example being paid leave for up to twelve weeks, then the business does not have to revert to the unpaid leave set by the FMLA. The act merely provides a minimum businesses must adhere to.

The passage of the FMLA in 1993 marked a historic event for working fathers and mothers and set a precedent for progress in the area of family leave. But

the fact remains that the original intent of the FMLA has yet to be brought to fruition for most families. As noted by Emily Hayes in the William and Mary Law Review, “The FMLA reaches its original goals of family and job security only for those families who can afford to lose at least one income for a three-month period.” And according to a 2009 report released by the National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, child care costs in the states range from between \$5000 and over \$10000 for the full-time care of an infant. The trend, easily predicted from the gender wage gap, is that mothers take leave more often

than fathers. As of 2008, a woman makes \$0.77 for every dollar a man earns annually. Given the high cost of child care and the discrepancy in the amount a woman makes in comparison to a man, most families can afford to lose the mother’s wages over the father’s.

Critics will point to the increased costs small businesses would face with the implementation of a paid-leave program. At a glance, requiring small businesses to grant paid leave seems like a fiscal recipe for disaster. However, a cost study performed by the Department of Labor to investigate an expansive parental leave policy found “It was much more cost-effective to evolve a well-planned parental leave policy than to lose the worker concerned and have to replace him or her permanently.”

With the evaluation of parental leave and its viability in the United States, it is important to turn to the place where it has existed for decades, Europe. In particular, Sweden presents the most information with studies on long-term impacts and effects of its comprehensive leave policy. The four major components of Sweden’s policy are “The extensive economic support to families with children, of which the most important ingredient is the child allowance... a comprehensive system of heavily subsidized public child care... parental insurance benefits... [and]

a series of employment benefits.” This model has extended beyond the initial parental leave allowance for the birth or adoption of a new child and actually includes provisions to continue to support the needs of families. There can certainly be no doubt about the wealth of knowledge the Swedish example provides. A report by the International Labour Review found that all studies on Sweden “Conclude that there have been significant positive effects of combined parental leave and working-time arrangements on the career patterns of Swedish women.”

Several states, including New Jersey and Washington, have recently taken the initiative to enhance the provisions set out in the FMLA. In 2004, California became the first state to provide a paid leave program with the passage of the Senate Bill 1661. This program applies a partial wage replacement (up to 55% of one’s wages for a maximum of \$882 per week) for a maximum of 6 weeks within a 12-month time span. Studies of the California model point toward a large number of families benefiting from the availability of paid leave. Yet, it is clear that there is “A significant need to provide the public with more information about the program”

as less than 30 percent of surveyed workers who were even aware of the program’s existence.

In 2004, California became the first state to provide a paid leave program

With a paid-leave program instituted in California, often a trendsetter throughout the nation’s history, it appears likely the rest of the country will follow suit. The issue of paid-family leave is an issue that both the Democrats and Republicans should be able to find reasons to support. The implications of a solid paid-leave program touch on values from both parties.

The Republican Party promotes the idea of strengthening America through the promotion of family values and strong families. Looking at the effects of viable and beneficial paid leave, such programs contribute to the building and strengthening of families by allowing both mothers and fathers an opportunity for parent-child bonding in the child’s initial years

of development. Children whose fathers are actively involved in their lives are significantly more likely to do well in school, have healthy self-esteem, exhibit pro-social behavior, and avoid high-risk behaviors like drug use, truancy, and criminal activity.

The issue of family leave and its ramifications tie directly into the Democratic platform, which prioritizes the strengthening of working families and providing opportunities to all Americans. As it has been determined that working and low-income families cannot afford the leave mandated by the FMLA, current law unintentionally places these classes at a disadvantage. An inequality exists that the Democratic Party would presumably have an interest in addressing.

In the years after the enactment of the FMLA, new legislation has arisen to address inadequacies. The Federal Employees Paid Parental Leave Act, which “Guarantees federal workers with four weeks of full pay while they are on FMLA leave for the birth or adoption of a child,” was passed by the House in June 2009, and the Obama administration has come out in support of the Act as well. The bill has been

referred to the Senate Committee, and no report has been released yet. Other proposed legislation in the House includes the creation of grants for

states to develop comprehensive programs as well as expanding the FMLA to 12 weeks of paid leave.

As America experiences the most severe recession since the Great Depression, it seems unlikely that new or updated government-funded programs will receive the needed financial support. Proposals for a paid leave program have explored drawing funding from existing federal programs for disability and unemployment and even going as far to suggest the creation of a new insurance fund. With new or expanded programs, new sources of revenue need to be sought— revenue to sustain and carry America into the next generation.

- Janet Lui, *Behavioral Neuroscience* ‘11

Let's Get This Party Started: The Moderate Challenge in Rhode Island

In Rhode Island, a new third party, the Moderate Party of Rhode Island, hopes to challenge Democratic Party dominance with a message of fiscal conservatism and pragmatic policymaking. In a region long seen as bastion of liberalism, with only token opposition representation in the legislature, can it be successful in reigniting and shaping political debate within the state and throughout New England?

The election of Senator Scott Brown has seemingly reinvigorated a dying Republican Party in New England. Unable to sway the area's traditionally socially liberal voters, Republicans had been losing seats in the region's congressional delegation and state legislatures with no end in sight. Now, with the unlikely triumph of Brown in the Senate special election, many Republicans in Massachusetts and across New England are hopeful that that this victory signaled the beginning of a resurgence in support of Republican principles.

However, it remains to be seen whether Brown's victory provided a model that other candidates could follow to defeat the entrenched Democratic establishment, or whether it was a unique case that cannot be replicated. If future candidates seek to emulate Brown's success, they will likely need to do so by codifying his ideas and proposals into a clear and comprehensive political platform.

This may be easier said than done. It is no secret that the Republican Party has had difficulty in recent months coalescing around a set of common policy goals. Perhaps the best example of the GOP's internal struggles was found in the 2009 special election for the U.S. House of Representatives seat in New York's 23rd Congressional District. This off-year election garnered national attention following the decisions of several prominent Republican politicians, including Sarah Palin, Tim Pawlenty, and Fred Thompson to endorse Conservative Party candidate Doug Hoffman rather than Republican candidate Dede Scozzafava. Scozzafava holds moderate-to-liberal views on issues such as abortion and gay

marriage, though many of her other positions would put her to the right of most Democrats in New York. Ultimately, Scozzafava withdrew from the race and Democrat Bill Owens emerged the victor, with 49 percent of the vote to Hoffman's 46 percent.

In Massachusetts, former Harvard Pilgrim CEO Charlie Baker and convenience store magnate Christy Mihos are vying for the Republican nomination for governor in 2010, while state Treasurer and Democrat-turned-Independent Tim Cahill also prepares to mount a run against a seemingly vulnerable Deval Patrick. All three of these candidates tout their fiscal conservative bona fides, while defending their more liberal positions on social issues, a formula that has worked well for Massachusetts Republicans in the past. However, even if one of these candidates does manage to unseat Patrick, who continues to cling to single-digit leads in recent polls, it is still uncertain whether such a victory, even in combination with Brown's election, would translate into any sort of larger and sustainable challenge to the dominance of the Democratic Party in New England. The influence of "Rockefeller Republicans" in the region, a term used in reference to the moderate politics of former Vice President and New York governor Nelson Rockefeller in the 1960's and 1970's, seems to be a relic of a bygone era, overshadowed by the dominance of the conservative base in national Republican politics.

In Rhode Island, where Democrats hold a legislative supermajority similar to that in Massachusetts, a unique challenge has been made to single-party dominance. This past summer, a group of activists led by Barrington software engineer Ken Block gathered enough signatures to place a third party on the statewide ballot. Known as the Moderate Party, its platform focuses on four principal issues: economy, ethics, education, and environment. The Party takes no official stance on social issues, arguing that such issues are of secondary importance to the revitalization of the state's economy. In a state with double-digit unemployment that was ranked last by Forbes magazine in term of its favorability towards business,

voters will be eager to hear from candidates who seek to challenge the status quo, particularly on economic issues.

That the Moderate Party was able to achieve official status on the ballot is no small feat, as Block and other Moderate Party members needed to gather the signatures of at least 5% of the votes cast in the last gubernatorial or presidential election, or in this case 23,589 signatures. In addition, the Moderate Party had to overcome legal obstacles just to begin the signature drive, which it accomplished with the help of a favorable court ruling in May 2009. Since receiving official recognition in August, the Party has continued to build momentum and fundraise, and now has nearly as much in its campaign coffers as the state GOP.

However, the Moderate Party's inchoate stage has not seen all smooth sailing. At the end of November, the State Board of Elections began investigating Block's recent donations to the Moderate Party, which it said violated campaign finance laws limiting the amount that one individual may contribute to party-building efforts. Block later admitted that his actions violated state law and agreed to a \$2,000 fine. This incident may spell trouble for a party that has made ethics reform a key component of its platform. On the other hand, this conflict with the Board of Elections may offer the Moderate Party another opportunity to position itself in opposition to the state's current political establishment.

The Moderate Party has also met with difficulty in its quest to recruit a candidate for governor, though it says it will announce a gubernatorial candidate along with other 2010 legislative candidates on February 21st. One obstacle it faces is the fact that former Republican U.S. Senator Lincoln Chafee, who holds socially liberal and fiscally moderate positions, has launched a campaign for governor as an Independent and is currently leading polls for the 2010 election. While Chafee's platform may be in line with that of



the Moderate Party, his personal wealth will allow him to make a gubernatorial run without the backing of any political party. It is unlikely that Chafee would want to tie his political fortunes to those of a new and untested political entity if he can run a successful campaign on his own.

Despite these challenges, the Moderate Party may still be a force to be reckoned with in the 2010 election, especially in legislative races. The success of the Moderate Party thus far may indicate that the time is right in Rhode Island for the emergence

of a new opposition party.

A serious effort by the Moderate Party may establish a model for the Republican Party to follow as it continues to refine its message and reestablish itself as a party with national appeal. By rejecting the dominance of controversial social issues in its platform, and bringing to the foreground of the political discussion a philosophy of fiscal conservatism as well as a focus on other important issues such as education and the environment, the Moderate Party seeks to build a viable opposition party that will appeal in a region that is often socially liberal.

Republican Party leaders may not wish to replicate this practice exactly, but by embracing those individuals who are dissatisfied with the Democratic Party but hold more moderate views than the conservative base, they may find an alternative that is more desirable than letting the party collapse completely in New England. The Republican Party does not necessarily need to abandon its positions on social issues to be competitive in Rhode Island, or New England. Instead the emergence of the Moderate Party should be seen as a sign to Republicans that focusing their platform so heavily on divisive issues is likely to continue to alienate moderates in the Northeast.

Fields Without Fences? Negotiating Net Neutrality

In the 1960s, the Cold War was in full swing. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had launched the first artificial satellite into space, giving their country the advantage in space over its major rival, the United States. For the first time, the threat of weapons, known as intercontinental ballistic missiles, hung over the world. In response to the growing military capability of the USSR, the United States created an agency known as the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) and tasked it with creating a network to provide for the continued command and control of U.S. defense systems. The first iteration of this network, called ARPANET, was the precursor to the modern Internet as it is known today.

The modern Internet is a network of computers,

handheld devices, and various network-ing pieces (routers, switches, etc.) that had been

largely unregulated since the development of ARPANET in the 1960s and '70s. However, recent years have seen the idea of a free and open Internet come under fire by telecommunications companies, primarily those who carry the moniker of Internet Service Providers (ISPs). The principle of network neutrality or net neutrality states that there should be no discrimination concerning what Internet traffic goes where on the network and from what device. Currently, the system allows, for example, traffic from AT&T, Comcast, and Verizon to access websites that may be hosted on a different network. The system also allows programs or services provided by one ISP or group (i.e. Vonage, a Voice-over-Internet-Protocol, or VOIP, provider) to be used on another network's systems (i.e. Verizon, which offers a similar system for business owners). ISPs, however, are trying to

change that.

ISPs, which include companies AT&T, Verizon, Time Warner, and Comcast, are currently lobbying the government to allow them to restrict or favor traffic depending on whether the content provider works in tandem with them. There have been incidents, both within the United States and elsewhere, where ISPs have slowed down traffic (through a process called 'throttling') or outright blocked data transmissions over their networks. In 2005, Madison River Communications, an ISP based in the southern U.S., was ordered by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to stop blocking competing VOIP providers on their network. Another ISP, Comcast Corporation, was found to be guilty of sending false data along its network, hampering legitimate services such

as video-streaming sites and on-line games using the Bit Torrent protocol. These incidents have caused a

backlash amongst subscribers to their services, and have drawn the agency's attention.

The FCC is a governmental body that regulates and oversees the telecommunications industry, which includes phone, cable, and Internet service. The FCC has taken a very strong stance in favor of network neutrality, in keeping with both the policy of the Barack Obama administration and the body's history with both cable and telephone companies. In *Wired Magazine*, FCC Chairman Julius Genachowski, says, "The Internet's creators didn't want the network architecture - or any single entity - to pick winners and losers... The principles that will protect the open Internet are an essential step to maximize investment and innovation in the network and on the edge of it — by establishing rules of the road that incentivize

This principle, known as network neutrality or net neutrality, simply means that there is no discrimination concerning what internet traffic goes where on the network and from what device.

competition, empower entrepreneurs, and grow the economic pie to the benefit of all.” The FCC has been at the forefront of the fight for net neutrality, being involved in the two cases mentioned prior and also working with the public and the press.

In addition to their legal endeavors, the FCC has attempted to lay down guidelines for maintaining network neutrality. These guidelines have drawn support from pro-open Internet groups, including Electronic Frontier Foundation and Public Knowledge, a consumer group. The guidelines are meant to serve as a framework that continues the status quo of open access, that is, the ability of all Internet-capable machines to access the service without penalty based on what network is behind the connection. Currently, there are four tenets accepted by the Commission regarding the Internet as it applies to consumers: The entitlement to access lawful content, entitlement to run applications and services of their choice, entitlement to connect their choice of devices, and entitlement to competition amongst providers.

Unfortunately for the FCC, these principles are not fixed rules, and have been challenged in the public eye by telecommunications companies, most notably Comcast. Comcast’s position is that the FCC has no authority to force telecommunications companies to adhere to the aforementioned guidelines. Comcast’s arguments can be summed up in three statements, as put forth by the tech news organization Ars Technica: First, the Congress has not given the FCC the ability to act on the matter of net neutrality; second, that the FCC’s guidelines, having been presented in the form of a policy statement and not that of a binding document, do not carry any authoritative weight; and third, the regulation of such activities may breach Congress’s Administrative Procedures Act of 1946.



With this in mind, Comcast maintains that the FCC should apply the same rules to the Internet as it does to cable and telephone service. As of press time, the principles have not been fully challenged in any legal sense, but the groundwork is there, should a telecom decide to proceed.

The fight over network neutrality has been brought up several times in the US Congress, as the focus of bills brought forth by members of both the House and Senate. Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) introduced the Internet Freedom Act of 2009, which sought to limit the FCC’s ability to regulate the Internet and services attached to the Internet. A similar bill brought forth by Representative Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.), the “Real Stimulus Act of 2009,” used the exact same language

as that in Senator McCain’s proposal. Neither act has had further debate since being introduced to the Houses. On the other side of the argument, Representatives Edward Markey (D-Mass.) and Anna Eschoo (D-Calif.) have introduced the Internet Freedom Preservation Act of 2009. This bill sought to protect freedom of the Internet under the Communications Act of 1934 by amending that Act to include Internet services. This bill, too, has stalled in committee.

The fight over network neutrality is a fierce one, and could be pivotal to the informational future of the United States. Both sides are in hot pursuit of the public’s support, and are moving to guard their interests. Eventually, one side will prevail, and one can only hope that the result will benefit both sides, and not just that of the providers. Whichever side comes out on top will influence the future of the Internet as we know it.

- Paul Hanley, *Political Science* ‘12

Bitter Sweets: The Problem of Child Labor in the Cocoa Industry

Ten year old Madi, whose family cannot afford to send him to school, spends his days hacking away at cocoa pods with a machete. Such conditions are common in the Ivory Coast's farms where 43% of the world's chocolate is produced.

Although United States chocolate companies passed a protocol to get rid of "the worst forms of child labor," conditions

have not improved. This article looks to document the negligence and complicit support of child slavery by chocolate manufacturers and the Ivory Coast government, as well as to illustrate several steps which were taken to eradicate the problem.

Since the 1970s, the number of children working on cocoa farms has risen to a high of 1.6 million. Not only are children of the cocoa farmers forced to work on the farms, but many young boys are kidnapped or sold to farmers as slaves. The children work in inhumane conditions, are regularly beaten, and are fed very little. Working on cocoa farms requires long hours of work, frequently with the use of dangerous tools. Often, the boys come from the Ivory Coast's neighboring country, Mali, where child trafficking is also a concern.

Global markets play an instrumental role in the use of child labor in Western Africa. The Ivory Coast's economy has historically been dependent on exports. By the 1970s, the cocoa industry began to outpace the country's traditional cash crop, which is coffee. Today, approximately one third of the Ivory Coast's industries are based on cocoa, even though farmers are often at the mercy of the chocolate industry's fluctuating prices. Greedy middle men exacerbate the problem by exploiting the rural farmer's unawareness of global market rates.

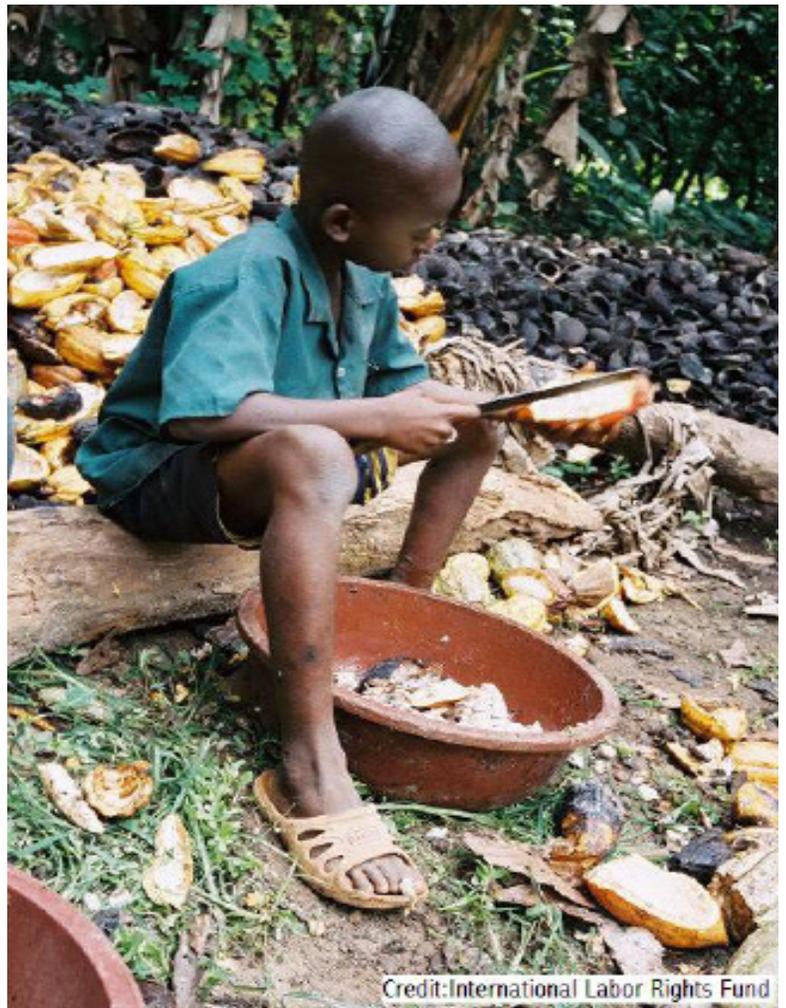
Corruption in the Ivory Coast's government has

also played a significant role in the decline of cocoa bean prices. Under President Felix Houphouët Boigny, who governed from the 1950s through the 1990s, government money was squandered on ill-advised plans, such as the building of a giant basilica. When

the country had to repay its loans in the late 1990s, the government liberalized the economy and stopped regulating cocoa bean prices. A new gov-

ernmental body was established to give aid to assist farmers and rural workers by setting up infrastructure, such as schools. Today, the government invests little money in infrastructure despite taking more

Since the 1970s, the number of children working on cocoa farms has risen to a high of 1.6 million.



Credit: International Labor Rights Fund

money than ever from the cocoa sector.

The economic relationship between Mali and the Ivory Coast is integral in understanding the circumstances which facilitate child labor. Given that Mali is one of the poorest countries in the world with a national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of only \$1,200 per person, many people migrate to the Ivory Coast to find work. Some Malian families allow slave traders to take their children as a result of dependence on that income for survival. This trend is intensified by an economy where an education does not guarantee a job, reducing the incentive to send children to school rather than using them for short term economic gain.

The legacy of subsistence farming in West Africa further contributes to the exercise of child labor. In the Ivory Coast, the percentage of children in the work force is between 40 to 50 percent. Many farmers have been brought up helping their parents in the field and therefore do not recognize the harm in using children for such labor.

These labor practices are in violation of multiple trade regulations and domestic laws. The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a legally binding instrument adopted in 1989, has since been ratified by the Ivory Coast. The treaty states that governments must protect children from work that would harm health, education, or other basic rights. Due to the hazardous nature of working on a cocoa farm, Ivory Coast farmers are in clear violation of this section of the CRC. The Ivory Coast is in violation of Article 35 of the CRC because the government has not adhered to the specific measures and protocols that must be followed to eradicate child trafficking. The Ivory Coast had ratified International Labor Organization Conventions in 1999, which ban the use of child labor and child slavery. Therefore, by allowing these dangerous and inhumane practices to continue, the Ivory Coast is in direct contradiction of international law.

The use of child labor is also in violation of the Ivory

Coast's domestic laws. The national standards for underage workers prohibit those under the age of eighteen from hazardous work and the age for light agricultural work is twelve. Although the nation's labor ministry has been successful in enforcing these laws in the urban portions of the country, they have been unsuccessful in rural regions.

The United States based company Cargil, the largest buyer of cocoa beans from the Ivory Coast, causes

In the Ivory Coast, the percentage of children in the work force is between 40 to 50 percent.

further problems for some farmers by loaning them money and then trapping them in debt. When farmers cannot pay back loans, Cargil threatens to have them arrested. Cargil, however, denies engaging in arresting those who owe money and reports that they are doing all they can to eliminate the use of child labor. They insist that they force all of their suppliers to sign waivers which state that they do not use or support child labor, and that their contracts will be subject to termination if it is discovered that they are using child labor. Cargil has yet to actually terminate any contracts as a result of child labor infringements.

In 2001, the United States House of Representatives passed a bill that would require chocolate manufacturers to place slave-free labels on their products and be subject to investigation from independent organizations to guarantee compliance. Knowing this resolution would be binding, the chocolate industry constructed a voluntary protocol to deal with the worst forms of child labor. The Harken-Engle Protocol claimed to remove the need for Congress to pass a binding law by cooperatively seeking to end unlawful child labor practices.

Since passing the Harken-Engle Protocol, however, the chocolate industry has failed to make serious changes in their relationship with local farmers. Instead, they cast blame on nongovernmental organizations, such as the International Labor Organization, and the Ivory Coast government for allowing child

labor to continue. The chocolate companies have used their dominant economic position to inhibit governmental action, such as a boycott by Cargil and Archer Daniels Midland that defeated Ivory Coast's attempt to raise their tariff on cocoa beans in 2001. It is unlikely that governments will implement the reforms necessary to monitor specific farms; instead they focus on potential slave-free certification processes for the country as a whole. An independent data collection agency, under Tulane University, reports that even eight years after the Protocol was first enacted, 1.6 million children still continue to work in hazardous conditions on cocoa farms.

Many nongovernmental organizations like the Global Exchange champion the use of Fair Trade products as the solution to child labor issues. However, a CNN report found that Fair Trade has had little impact in the Ivory Coast, and represents only one per cent of the global market. CNN reporter Christian Parenti, in light of this reality, commented that the most effective way to wipe out child labor would be for the Ivory Coast to invest its tax revenues in social care and education, instead of trying to implement Fair Trade. Nevertheless, this solution is unlikely given the Ivory Coast's post-civil war devastation and corruption among governmental officials.

In light of these problems, there is no clear solution for West African cocoa workers.

Fair Trade products still account for an

exceptionally small part of the market, and are not necessarily an economically feasible solution. Fair Trade products are more expensive to the consumer and forcing farmers to meet Fair Trade certifications might result in less profit. The result would exacerbate problems such as poverty and unemployment, and increase criminal activity in other economic



sectors. The Ivory Coast's government is still war-torn and riddled with corruption. It does not have the means to devote the resources necessary to eradicate child labor, nor does it have compelling incentives to do so. Moreover, binding international resolutions have not made as much of an impact on child

labor as they intended to, especially since sanctions have yet to be brought

The chocolate industry has also come to a decision concerning the plight of African laborers; it is decidedly apathetic.

on Mali or the Ivory Coast. The chocolate industry has also come to a decision concerning the plight of African laborers; it is decidedly apathetic. Until it becomes financially disadvantageous to use child labor in the cocoa industry, these practices are likely to continue.

- Gwendolyn Connors, *International Affairs '12*

The Fickle Mr. Kim: Trends in North Korean Foreign Policy

In recent years, North Korea's foreign policy has appeared to be volatile and erratic. Most international media coverage of East Asia in the past few months has featured election results and the region's recovery from the global recession. North Korea, with its closed communist economy and dictator Chairman Kim Jong Il, has not been heavily affected by either of these things, and has continued to conduct its foreign relations with an aggressive and seemingly unpredictable policy.

For instance, in September 2009, North Korea spontaneously opened the Hwanggang Dam, causing the flooding of the Imjin River resulting in the death of six South Koreans. In addition, North Korea not only

test-fired two short-range missiles at the beginning of December 2009, but Pyongyang officials also condemned South Korean President Lee

Myung-bak's "Grand Bargain" nuclear negotiation plan -- a single-shot, total exchange of incentives with North Korea in exchange for the North's complete termination of its nuclear program. In July North Korean representatives at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Ministerial Meeting in Phuket, Thailand even went so far as to state that United States' Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is "by no means intelligent," and sometimes "looks like a primary schoolgirl."

What is curious is that the North's followed up its mischievous behavior with more diplomatic gestures. When the South Korean government requested a meeting with North Korean officials regarding the dam incident, North Korea promptly accepted the South Korean request. South Korea's government also suggested the possibility of the ninth transna-

tional reunion of North and South Korean families separated during the Korean War, to which the communists quickly acceded. Despite their opinion of Secretary Clinton as a "schoolgirl," North Korean officials explicitly stated that they wished for a bilateral talk with the United States. North Korean officials announced that they were willing to rejoin the Six-Party Talks halted since April 2009. These talks, which included Russia, the United States, South Korea, Japan and China, were focused on the North's nuclear program.

The contrasts between the North's words and actions make its foreign policy difficult to gauge. Although North Korea's foreign policy could be regarded as a

North Korean representatives...even went so far as to state that United States' Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is "by no means intelligent" and sometimes "looks like a primary schoolgirl."

classic 'good-cop, bad-cop' approach, there are two important questions that remain to be unsolved: What kind of message is North Korea trying to de-

liver? And to whom is North Korea trying to deliver this message?

There have been numerous suggestions in the western media that North Korea's aggressive behavior stems from its desire to threaten or intimidate President Barack Obama's administration. Some believe North Korea wants the United States to lessen its sanctions based on President Obama's statement that he was willing to negotiate with traditional adversaries of the United States. North Korea's "good-cop, bad-cop" approach is unlikely to influence United States' foreign policy on North Korea's nuclear proliferation: the Obama administration's fundamental stance toward North Korea remains the same as that of former President George W. Bush's administration. Both administrations put emphasis on the protection of United States' allies in East Asia and the

denuclearization of North Korea. The United States' policy on nuclear disarmament was further clarified when U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates announced that the United States would never accept a nuclear North Korea and agreed to expand the United States' nuclear deterrence policy in South Korea during his visit to Seoul in October, 2009.

North Korea is unlikely to provoke either China or Japan since it relies on both countries for important support. Japan's Yukio Hatoyama administration's North Korea policy has not changed relative to

that of the previous Aso Taro administration. Japan is currently prioritizing bureaucratic changes and domestic political challenges rather than foreign policy.

If Japan, China and the United States are not the target of the North's hot-cold policy, South Korea remains the only probable object of North Korea's recent activities. If one examines North Korea's recent actions, it is not difficult to see that most of the

country's behavior has occurred in hopes of catching the South Korean government's attention.

Despite its continuous threat of nuclear proliferation and short-range missile tests, North Korea has always expressed its desire to communicate with the South Korean government. Even when North Korea test-

fired its short-range missiles, the eighth transnational reunion of separated families still occurred. Also, the talk of a possible ninth transnational reunion was not hindered by any of North Korea's bombast. When North Korea denounced South Korean President Lee-Myung Bak's grand bargain approach, the country still managed to

respond very promptly to the South Korean government's request of a ministerial meeting to discuss the dam incident.

There has been a specific pattern to North Korea's recent actions – North Korea has separated humanitarian issues, such as the family reunion, from political issues, such as nuclear proliferation. By doing so, North Korea could still firmly state their position on



Despite its continuous threat of nuclear proliferation and short-range missile tests, North Korea has always expressed its desire to communicate with the South Korean government.

its nuclear program to the international community, and at the same time make a series of successful attempts to re-establish solid communications with South Korea.

What might be some of the reasons for North Korea's attempt to reestablish communication with the South? North Korea explicitly affirmed that it was willing to rejoin the Six Party Talks with China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, and the United States. The North's attempt to re-establish communication with the South can be seen as a means of engaging various members of the Six Party Talks ahead of their resumption, with an eye toward bolstering their position once they



being an international pariah for many years, North Korea needs a third party moderator to invite it back to the international fold to re-establish its prestige and credibility. It seems North Korea is looking to South Korea to be the negotiator.

North Korea has separated humanitarian issues, such as the family reunion, from political issues, such as nuclear proliferation.

reconvene. It is easier for North Korea to influence the other Six-Party capitals through South Korea. By delivering their message through South Korea, which has more support from the other Six-Party powers, North Korea's message could be considered more legitimate in the international community, whether it is a request for humanitarian aid or a demand to soften economic sanctions.

Despite this, North Korea's long time patrons, Russia and China, expressed their concerns over North Korea's nuclear ambitions when they supported United Nations Resolution 1874 in 2009, placing harsh economic and political sanctions on North Korea. After

Recent North Korean policy suggests weakness, a sense that the North feels that it needs the South to successfully reintegrate into the international community. This presents both the South Korean and American governments with an opportunity to pressure the North Koreans into giving up their nuclear program. It is important for the South Korean government to not repeat past mistakes, such as the exchange of financial and political support for negotiations without promises of real results. The South appears more powerful in light of the North's attempt to gain its attention. Although there are points of disagreement between regional powers, policy changes as states see fit. The Chinese and the Russians may be willing to take different positions according to the North's behavior. With a proper mixture of diplomatic cooperation from Russia and China, as well as political pressure from South Korea and the United States, progress may soon be possible in Northeast Asia.

- Sunny Nam, *Political Science* '12

The Fickle Mr. Kim: Trends in North Korean Foreign Policy

Nobody ever said promoting human rights would be easy. Some governments hardly bother and others give it their all. Some do the bare minimum. All governments balance their interests with their values. The United States has wavered back and forth between vocal and aggressive “democracy promotion” and realpolitik, often within the same administration. Most recent administrations have agreed on the importance of promoting universal values in American foreign policy. Methods have differed and emphases shift constantly. After eight-years of the Bush administration’s “Freedom Agenda” -- an effort to promote democratic reform especially in the Middle East -- many Americans and others hoped for a decisive change of direction. Many observers saw American efforts to promote democracy as a smokescreen for more sinister, hegemonic ends. The rhetoric of democracy promotion was tied to the invasion of Iraq, for better or worse. Many wondered how excesses such as Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib could be reconciled with American pronouncements about free elections and the rule of law. How could the United States advocate free elections while allying itself closely to countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt?

Barack Obama would bring a new beginning. At least that was the impression he gave. During his campaign many read his foreign policy views as pragmatic, prudent and transformational. He would be able to bridge gaps between Americans and Muslims, Africans and Asians. Much of the advice thrown his way urged him to break with George Bush’s style of promoting democracy; the neoconservative hypothesis that more democracy would lead to less terrorism had to be abandoned. The principle was fine -- it was the lecturing and exceptionalism that were rotten.

The Obama administration set out with an ambitious Muslim world outreach program, making a series of highly publicized efforts at improving perceptions of the United States and what it stood for. There was

his Nawrooz greeting on the occasion of the Iranian New Year in February, 2009; then came his famous Ankara speech on an official visit to Turkey. There he impressed on his hosts in the Turkish parliament: “the United States is not at war with Islam.” The US relationship with Muslim countries would be “based upon mutual interests and mutual respect.” Perhaps more memorable was his June speech at Cairo University. Derided by critics on the political right as part of an apology tour, Obama said explicitly: “No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other” adding: “That does not lessen my commitment ... to governments that reflect the will of the people.” The President was clear that he would not, however, be bound to ideology: “there is no straight line to realize this promise,” the promise being human rights.



“Obama’s new rhetoric was welcomed. There was hope for a counterrevolution in the status quo of United States foreign policy,” said Nasser Weddady, Civil Rights Outreach Director of the American Islamic Congress. Many hoped that the United States would take a more balanced, and effectual, line on

the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Others hoped the Administration would be more forthright in its support for democratic reform and the rule of law.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict sits at the center of many troubles in the Middle East. There the American

position can be extremely powerful. There has always

been an interest to keep the Israelis the closest allies in the region while simultaneously appeasing to the opposition in order to be able to better maintain security and have a system to fact-check intelligence services. However mitigating the transparency of these relationships has become increasingly difficult with the rising expectation of accountability and the ability for citizens to expose abuses over the Internet. Perhaps the best example is Egypt.

President Mubarak has strategically positioned his nation as a linchpin of Middle East diplomacy. US-Egyptian relations have been especially close since the Camp David Accords in the late 1970s. Egypt plays the role of a mediator in the Arab and Palestinian-Israeli conflict, one of only two Arab countries with diplomatic relations with Israel. The US-Egypt relationship is one of the most critical in the region. But Egypt is also thoroughly authoritarian, and many feel that the country's relations with Israel and alliance with the US are against the popular will. Many Egyptians, and Arabs, feel the Americans have been unfair in dealing with the Palestinian issue.

The Clinton administration was criticized for becoming too involved with the peace process, while the Bush Jr. White House was criticized for being too aloof at first and then counterproductive by protecting Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Though Bush openly supported a two state solution, he was seen as being overtly pro-Israeli. The administration's support for the blockade of Gaza after

HAMAS's victory in the 2006 elections there further dented American credibility. The US considers HAMAS a terrorist group. President Obama set out to strike a balance.

In his speech at Cairo University last July, President

Obama declared: "Israel is one of our strongest allies. It is a vibrant

Many Israelis reacted badly to Obama's comments on settlements, while many Palestinians and their supporters welcomed what they saw as a more balanced perspective.

democracy. It shares links with us in all sorts of ways. It is critical for us, and I will never waver from, ensuring Israel's security and helping them secure themselves in what is a very hostile region. So I make no apologies for that. What is also true is that the plight of the Palestinians is something that we have to pay attention to because it is not good for our security and it is not good for Israel's security if you've got millions of individuals who feel hopeless, who don't have an opportunity to get an education or get a job or what have you."

Many saw this as an important rhetorical shift. Many Israelis reacted badly to Obama's comments on settlements, while many Palestinians and their supporters welcomed what they saw as a more balanced perspective. But the President did not only speak about Palestine in Cairo. He also discussed minority rights, free expression and other human rights, winning significant applause along the way.

How well Obama and his Secretary Department has met expectations for reaching a workable balance is debatable. On October 30th, the United States voted in favor of a United Nations-sponsored talk to regulate the \$55 billion-a-year conventional arms trade, a noted shift from the staunch opposition from such dialogue since 2006. This was not the only notable policy shift.

Egypt had repeatedly asked for new shipment of F-16 fighter jets to upgrade its air force, but the Bush

administration denied its requests citing Egypt's poor human rights record. Obama decided this past June to fulfill the request; twenty-four new Lockheed Martin F-16 fighter aircrafts were delivered to Egypt. The sale was estimated to have generated over \$1 billion revenue.

Egypt's involvement with the construction of the iron wall on the Gaza border to prevent arms smuggling through the tunnel system has caused many to believe its government has abandoned the Palestinian cause. Issandr

El Amrani, a political analyst and journalist based in Cairo, notes that there is a certain perception of the relationship the U.S. holds with Egypt.

"As the Gaza wall is erected, it is perceived to be evolving into a Gaza blockade. Gaza then has a sense of hopelessness for possible reconstruction which turns into a fight for humanity, and human rights [sic] becomes the central argument. It is perceived that the United States working with Egypt is blocking the last light into Gaza," said El Amrani.

According to El Amrani the appointment of Hillary Clinton to Secretary of State has further cast shadows

According to El Amrani, the appointment of Hillary Clinton to Secretary of State has further cast shadows on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

on the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Secretary Clinton [...] has not offered a new style to the post. Personality matters in diplomacy, Clinton is not seen as a positive person and is believed to have a staunch pro-Israeli stance," said El Amrani.

Weddady shares a similar sentiment. Though acknowledging the efforts outlined in Clinton's speech on human rights at Georgetown University he argues

there has been a diffusion of executive power in the State Department. The President has appointed multiple Special

Envoys to various conflict zones. George Mitchell is the administration's Special Envoy to the Middle East. Mitchell's appointment was meant to highlight the Palestinian issue as at the top of the administration's agenda. Yet not everyone is pleased with this approach.

"When you hear that Kissinger met with Nixon everyday, while Clinton reports she meets with the President once a week, it makes one wonder about the administration fluency on their foreign policy. This is especially true when there is word on the ground that it is difficult to file and execute human rights initiatives because of a lack of coherency," said Weddady.

"If Kissinger managed to meet with the President everyday, then he was not going to talk about human rights. I think there is a strong relationship between the Secretary and the President. I think generally the relationship is very good," said Michael Posner, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

Recently, Internet freedom has been at the top of Posner's agenda. Since 2007, Posner has been working on a project to protect the right of expression on the Internet through the "Principles on





Freedom of Expression and Privacy,” which outlines how online companies can work within the framework of international human rights law. Secretary Clinton recently delivered a speech at the Newseum in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 21st on the principles of Internet freedom. In the crowd was Baseem Samir, an Egyptian blogger of the Egyptian Democracy Center who was imprisoned by Egyptian authorities for protesting against sectarian violence. Posner held a press conference in Cairo on the sectarian violence just hours after the disturbances.

When asked to comment on the situation, Posner offered, “Egypt has a very vibrant journalistic community. The policies of the Bush administration made it difficult for the advocacy of human rights with policies such as Guantanamo and torture and the like, but this administration, I think, is taking a very strong stance on promoting human rights.”

Posner was also adamant on the important role of the United Nation’s Goldstone Report which criticizes both Israel and the Palestinian opposition for war crimes. The initial reaction from Washington was mixed. The House was calling for Obama and Clinton to oppose the report’s claims against Israel, while

Obama was still on a settlement freeze policy, and Clinton gave a speech in Morocco praising Israeli President Netanyahu for have a “reasonable compromise” in which the Israeli leader “has proposed a moratorium on new housing units in the West Bank, but would allow building or finishing about 3,000 more units and would exclude East Jerusalem from any building limits.”

The shuffle on the human rights policy of the United States is nothing foreign to the world. The interwoven conflicts of the Middle East and the integral role the United States plays in them makes human rights advocacy a difficult cause to remain consistent on. While the troubled region wants to continue on with its “general positive skepticism” as El Amrani put it, skepticism may be starting to eclipse the positivity.

“Expect more of the same. The picture doesn’t look pretty. What, why and if the United States is capable beyond political speeches, electoral speeches has yet to be truly tested. If Obama is a statesman or simply another politician is not yet clear,” said Weddady.

- Laura Mueller-Soppart, *Political Science* ‘13

Against the Revolted Multitudes: Why A Lie is More Scandalous Than the Truth

Was there ever a time when people trusted politicians? Given the United State's democratic system of governance, the men and women that preside over our daily lives are supposed to be the few among us who are capable of leading America toward prosperity. While mankind is rife with destructive inadequacies and backward tendencies, a select few are destined to rise above the fray to become models of excellence. It is these people who are supposed to possess both the definable skills and knowledge that are required to be effective leaders, as well as the more obscure, intangible qualities that enable them to deal with the unpredictable. We entrust them with the responsibility to guide the most ignorant among us safely down the road of life. This outlook on the United State's leadership, however, is far removed from the realities we see today.

Ask any ordinary citizen to characterize their feelings of their elected officials or politicians and they will surely outline a different perception. Tales of political scandals have become an all too common phenomena, with years of precedent ingrained into the consciousness of the public. Any good that our elected officials do are blunted by a persistent suspicion of their next actions. We have to constantly ask ourselves, "Are we being duped?" The popularity of candidates and those already in office is quieted by the prospect that they too will someday betray the public's trust. How can you blame Americans for their pessimism? There is a storied history of betrayal.

Every few weeks a new report is leaked professing that a prominent political official has committed some sort of transgression. Whether it is illegal drug use, marital infidelity, or financial violations, those in public office have become notorious for their less-than-moral behavior. Tales of madams, bookies, lobbyists, corporate cohorts, and illegitimate children are just some of the more agitating headlines. While some cases involve only unverifiable allegations and rumors, there have been countless instances where elected officials were verifiably guilty. In fact,



one can draw up a laundry list, including: Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, Ted Kennedy, Newt Gingrich, Eliot Spitzer, Ted Stevens, Mark Foley, Mark Sanford and Rod Blagojevich. The list goes on, encompassing those at the federal and state levels, encircling both major political parties. In this matter no one is able to claim moral superiority. In an age of career politicians, very few can state that their hands are clean. Over the years, far too many accounts exposing disturbing professional and personal information have made people doubt the promise of the virtuous political leader.

Not all elected officials leave office and go into exile, carrying the scarlet letter of a scandal into obscurity. Sometimes we forget about certain transgressions, believe them to be mistakes, or choose to accept the person's apology and move on, allowing them

to continue their public service. Perhaps we have lowered our expectations to the point that no one expects perfection. An individual can often restore their image and make up for their past, seemingly reprehensible activities. In this area there exists interesting case studies of how politicians have been successful in restoring their corrupted images. While some have held strong to claims of innocence, others have thrown themselves on the mercy of the public, revealing even the most intimate of personal details and conceding imperfection.

It is clear that if faced with a scandal, the best public relations strategy is complete honesty. In this age of “gotcha” journalism, there is little chance of hiding one’s skeletons indefinitely.

Honesty as the best policy is not just some naïve saying straight out of Aesop’s fables. The fact is that elected officials face even more recourse when they are caught red-handed in a lie. If one is caught doing something scandalous and then subsequently caught lying about it, only the most shrewd of individuals can hope to survive – Not all politicians are Bill Clinton. By being honest and getting out in front of the tabloid fervor quickly, one is capable of controlling the way that their indiscretion is framed. If a political figure does not swiftly reveal the information, people will dig for it. Claiming the right of privacy on even the most intimate of family issues is not enough to deter the prying public.

A wise professor once told me that if you find yourself having done something wrong, you ought to “hang a lantern on your problems.” By exposing all of the details and the context of the transgression on their own terms, an elected official assumes control of the issue by sitting in the driver’s seat. This prevents news reporters, editorialists, and bloggers from running with the story and thereby magnifying it exponentially. Once the media digs into an issue, any possibility of control over the situation is lost. Ad-

ditionally, the individual will also have to live with the demons of dishonesty. If an individual, however, exposes everything that he or she has done immediately and directly to the public, the abrasive inquiries by the media may subside.

Overall, this tactic allows for the process of retribution and eventual forgiveness to begin more quickly. Delaying the inevitable punishment by withholding the truth will only cause the perpetrator to suffer greater consequences in the future. Since Watergate took down Richard Nixon, the nation’s media-journalism establishment has assumed an unrelenting approach in investigating every detail pertaining to the lives of public servants. Doubting that the truth will surface is to ignore the fate of dozens of previously exposed politicians.

My plea to all elected officials is: Should you find yourself on the precipice of a scandal, immediately concede responsibility. Not only is it a more virtuous thing to do, it is strategically beneficial for the maintenance of one’s career in politics. We live in a forgiving society, where people are given second,

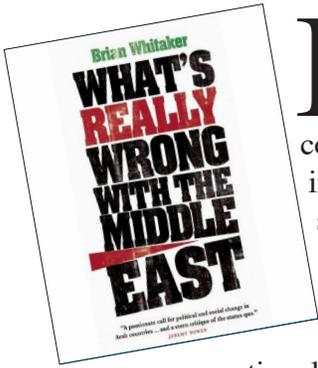
A wise professor once told me that if you find yourself having done something wrong, you ought to “hang a lantern on your problems.”

some-times third, chances. The requirement for this forgiveness, however, is

a full confession. One cannot allow the perception to exist that they are hiding something or that they are working to spin the situation toward a more acceptable conclusion. We have come to expect that our public officials are less than perfect people who do make mistakes. These mistakes can be accepted so long as the situation is handled properly. Being forthcoming may even be appreciated by the public as a breath of fresh air. Instead of lambasting the offender, they will cheer him or her upon their return from rehab or counseling. To maintain any semblance of credibility the obvious advice is to not become involved in such damaging scandals. But if you do, do not evade the situation.

What's Really Wrong with the Middle East?

By: Brian Whittaker - Saqi, 2009 - 384 pgs.



In *What's Really Wrong with the Middle East*, author Brian Whittaker has taken an unconventional and ambitious look into authoritarianism what is not so much the Middle East but the Arab world. The book asks: why is political order in so many Arab countries dysfunctional; why does political and religious violence spring from the region so frequently; and why has it been slow to democratize compared to others? Unlike other works on the subject, from notable authors such as Bernard Lewis, Fareed Zakaria and Samuel Huntington, Whittaker dispenses with talk of civilizations, consideration of a dearth of “self-criticism” and theories of religious essentialism. He challenges the assumption that authoritarianism is so powerful and enduring in Arab countries as a result heavy-handed regimes or a brittle civil society alone. Instead, he points to important elements of contemporary culture in the region, some of which are more deeply rooted than others, that make Arab populations “to varying degrees, participants in a system of oppression and denial of rights.”

“Contrary to popular opinion,” the journalist writes “most human rights abuses in the Arab countries are perpetrated by society rather than regimes.” He points to the patriarchal structure of the Arab family as the cradle of a society in which power is wielded over the weak and where women and minorities of practically every stripe (except, of course, the elite) are persecuted by conformist social expectations. He then explores, through interviews with mostly young Arabs and along with various statistical data, the implications of social authoritarianism in the Arab world. He quotes Khaled Diab, an Egyptian social critic, who explains, “Egypt has a million Mubaraks.” In response to that statement an optimist might assert: Good thing there are 70 million Egyptians. The facts on the ground, though, as Whittaker documents, favor the pessimist.

Whittaker paints the “traditional” Arab family as

a “microcosm” of the repressive, patriarchal, and authoritarian Arab state. The author sees the emancipation of women and marginalized groups as critical to the development of healthy political systems in the Arab world. The author explores the realm of youthful, oppositional and forward facing Arab movements comprised of the nation’s thinkers, and finds society as much to blame for the area’s stagnation. As a journalist for the Guardian Whittaker spent much time exploring the obscurities of the Arab world, leading him away from many mistakes made by other authors.

In Whittaker’s view, that many Arabs have internalized traditional prejudices against racial minorities, homosexuals and women, adds to the challenge of social progress in the region. He rightfully, in a way uncommon of much western writing, criticizes various taboos in Arab society especially those related to prejudice and discrimination on the basis of skin color. This is a problem that many Arabs refuse to acknowledge. By addressing this phenomenon head on, Whittaker avoids repeating past analysis by other authors, making his book unique in comparison to similar works. Many western observers fail to recognize such prejudices as significant, even though they are present in practically all Middle Eastern societies.

While Whittaker’s perspective is worthwhile and ought to be recognized, he at times reaches for than he can carry. He does not explain how Arab anti-globalization sentiments are peculiar when compared to others in the Third World or Europe. Still he comes up short in proving why this situation has reverberated negatively and caused misery throughout Arab countries, while apparently disregarding other places. One sees flashes of xenophobia in studying widespread European anti-globalism and a great deal more xenophobia in Japan. Yet these places are not holdouts of authoritarianism.

Whittaker also ignores the role of foreign powers in backing up Arab regimes. Further, it would be insightful for Whittaker to have explored the Hobbesian view of “change” that one observes in many of

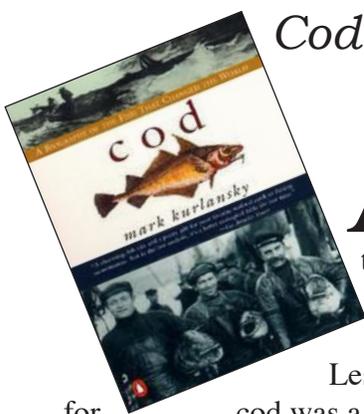
the Arab societies that have been subjected to war over the past several decades. He writes that the Arab society has been used by the native regimes to block the seeds of “progress,” specifically the tactics use of Islamists to counter leftists in the 1980s. Here Whittaker exposes his bias for the left, for he assumes that Arab leftists were by and large more open and less authoritarian than Islamists – which was not and is not always the case. Still, Whittaker is able to show that even leftists have at times collaborated with regimes, in a cycle of collaboration, cooptation and neutralization that has rendered Arab oppositions so frequently weak and feeble.

Though his general thesis does apply and relate to the people in Arab societies, the title of his book is misleading. It deals not at all with Iran, Turkey or any non-Arab society in the Middle East. It deals squarely with problems facing the Arab states. Despite this, *What's Really Wrong with the Middle East* offers a colorful, distinctive and well-informed take on subjects not often broached by western writers when considering the future of the region.

- Khalid Lum, *International Affairs* ‘12

Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World

By: Mark Kurlansky - Penguin, 1998 - 304 pgs.



As with so many of our natural resources, we are slowly coming to the realization that nature's bounty is not as limitless as we once so naively thought.

Less than a century ago, fishing for cod was a staple of the fishing industry.

While it was a grueling job, there was a lot of pride associated with the business. There was also great commercial interest in this easy-to-catch fish – my grandfather remembers when his mother would cook cod cakes because it was the most economic fish around. Now cod cakes are gone, and for a host of reasons so is the cod population. In his book, *Cod*, author Mark Kurlansky says, “There is no known formula to predict how many fish... are required to regenerate a population.” The collapse of the cod population means a changing migration in global fish populations; coupled with the warming of the oceans, this could have devastating consequences for a planet that is almost 70% ocean.

Kurlansky takes the rather unlikely topic of cod and turns it into a captivating narrative, while trusting the reader to have the capacity to understand this complex issue and the cultural implications it means for us all.

Cod takes readers to the beginning of this industry, back to the years when Vikings were exploring the

North Atlantic, and when cod was a source of protein for multitudes in Europe. Only after the author ties in religion, the discovery of America, and the two World Wars can the reader begin to understand that the history of this industry is tied to its employees. From the Basque people in Spain, to the fishermen of Canada and New England, the book points to the social significance of our fishermen. The natural history of our planet is tied to the political history of our civilization, a realization Kurlansky subtly guides the reader towards.

The story of the cod is not a tame one filled with simple buying and selling. Rather, Kurlansky takes readers into the ‘Cod Wars’ between Iceland and England, back to the establishment of the 200-mile nautical limit, classifying what is international waters, which defines countless policy decisions and conflicts around the world. *Cod* paints Iceland as an aggressive nation, boldly taking on the United Kingdom in order to defend the country's fishing rights.

Charming and passionate, this book takes the story of a devastated cod population and gives the reader hope that with some ingenuity, humanity can fix the problems it has created. An excellent blend of scientific fact and good old fashion storytelling, *Cod* demands the attention of the educated reader fishing for a pleasurable and insightful read.

- Noreen Leahy, *Environmental Studies* ‘13

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