

AGORA

Palo Alto High School's foreign affairs magazine

The Battle Over Gaza

BY BEN HAWTHORNE

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The Apartheid Wall between the West Bank and Gaza features graffiti illustrating the Palestinian struggle for freedom. Photo courtesy of Laith Shakir.

See "Solving the Unsolvable: the Battle over Gaza" by Ben Hawthorne on page 11

From the Editors

Welcome to the latest issue of Agora! In this issue, we dive into the turmoil currently racking the Middle East. We feature articles analyzing the tragedy in Benghazi, the war over Gaza and the brewing conflict with Iran.

Not to be missed is special guest author and Paly alumnus Gregory Dunn's article on the benefits of supplying anti-aircraft weapons to Syrian rebels. We would like to thank Greg for writing for us, again!

In other exciting news, Agora is finally going online. Visit us at agora.palyvoice.com to read our all of our articles and archives.

We wish our readers good luck on their finals and a happy holidays. See you next year!

Ben Hawthorne and Josh Arfin
Editors-in-Chief

Submit to Agora

We want to hear your opinion! As a student publication, we hope to publish articles representing the entire range of diverse political opinions from the student body. We welcome submissions from anyone interested in foreign affairs. *Agora* also welcomes student cartoons and drawings to supplement the licensed images in our magazine.

Contact palyjofa@gmail.com for more information.

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President Must Update Second-Term Foreign Policy

As our dear readers most likely know, Barack H. Obama has been re-elected as President of the United States of America. While President Obama had a largely successful foreign policy in his first term, there are three issues, climate change, human rights and poverty, that Obama needs to address in his second term.

First, the United States needs to lead the world in combating climate change. In the wake of the colossal loss of life and property caused by Hurricane Sandy, whose strength was likely greatly amplified by a warmer ocean, it is surprising that the President has not made any attempts to fight climate change, but the reality is that Obama is still bending to the will of climate denialists in Congress. Despite the claims of many in Congress, the evidence for anthropogenic climate change is overwhelming: 97 percent of scientists agree that it is real and all long-term climate and ice core data that we have suggests that it is happening. The impact of climate change is also both cataclysmic and immediate: it has already increased the number and severity of hurricanes hitting our shores, caused the most destructive American drought since the 19th century and has increased the severity and frequency of flooding in coastal and riparian cities.^{1, 2}

Despite the pressing severity of climate change, the United States has almost completely ignored the problem at an international level. Though the President has made some progress towards combating climate change domestically, including setting higher fuel efficiency standards for vehicles and more dispensing more federal funds to alternative energy companies, he needs to do more at an international level, since climate change is a global problem. He can start by levying a domestic tax on carbon emissions. Such a tax would raise \$401 billion by the end of the decade and would cut emissions by over one billion tonnes of carbon dioxide.^{3, 4} It would also help set an example for the rest

1. "Evidence of Global Warming" Scottsbluff Star Herald. Kearney Hub, 4 Dec. 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

2. Eilperin, Juliet. "Flood Risk Will Rise with Climate Change, Experts Say." The Washington Post 1 Nov. 2012. n. pag. Print.

3. Komanoff, Charles. "CARBON TAX 5-SECTOR MODEL." Carbon Tax Center - Benefits. Carbon Tax Center, 24 Aug 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

4. Plumer, Brad. "Would a Carbon Tax Cut Emissions Drastically? Not on Its Own." WonkBlog The Washington Post, 20 Nov. 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

of the world that climate change should be combated.

The Obama administration must also try to establish a binding, international agreement to either limit carbon emissions or tax emissions. One of the primary reasons that international climate talks like the recent conference in Doha, Qatar have failed is because the United States is unwilling to take concerted action to end climate change, and developing nations, especially China, use America's heel dragging as their primary justification for not taking action against climate change. Standing up for climate change fighting measures, such as international carbon emissions treaties (à la the Kyoto Protocol), a global cap-and-trade market or agreements to levy carbon taxes in several countries, would instantly change the tone in interna-

The fact that we give South Africa, the 25th wealthiest country in the world, \$566 million in aid per year, is indefensible.

tional talks and take away China's excuse for ignoring the environment.

The United States also needs to stand up for human rights abroad. Although the President has done a decent job of standing up for political freedoms (see, for example, his support for pro-democracy protesters in Libya and Egypt), his record on defending minority rights, especially those of women and LGBTQ people, is spottier. The President and his administration need to condemn discrimination whenever it occurs and regardless of whether it happens to our allies or enemies. *Agora* recommends that the President consider cutting or lower aid to countries that discriminate against women, minorities or LGBTQ people, especially if said countries have no strategic value to the United States.

Finally, we must work harder to eradicate the twin scourges of poverty and disease. Although we already generously give to developing countries and those in poverty worldwide through USAID, we need to do more.

Furthermore, we need to rethink our foreign aid policy. Currently, most humanitarian aid is what is responsive aid, which refers to our tendency to only send aid in reaction to

humanitarian crises instead of attempting to prevent them. Almost no Americans worked on building stronger, earthquake-proof houses to replace the weak cinder-block shacks that many Haitians lived in before the devastating 2010 earthquake there, even though massive amounts of American aid flowed into the country after the earthquake. The main ways that we can make our aid policy more preemptive of crises is in our policies to combat hunger and disease. Instead of just sending food to famine-stricken countries, we need to send irrigation experts, fertilizer and genetically modified drought-resistant crops. Similarly, we should increase our investment in cheap disease prevention programs, like malaria nets, condoms and sex education, so that we do not have to pay for much more expensive treatment programs later.

While it makes sense to increase our commitment to development and decreasing poverty worldwide, we must expect other nations to pitch in as

well. The fact that we give South Africa, the 25th wealthiest country in the world, \$566 million in aid per year, is indefensible. Many wealthier developing nations, particularly the rising superpowers of the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China), give little foreign aid, which we need to change.

An easy way to restrict aid to countries that do not need it and to prod countries that do not give enough aid to give more would be to update the definition of developing country, which has not changed since WWII, to exclude wealthy rising powers like China and Brazil, who clearly no longer fall into the "developing" category and ought to face the same expectation of aiding the poor that developed countries do.

In his first term, Obama's foreign policy focused largely on America's image and on defeating threats to America's security. While these are both noble goals, they pale in importance to the impact of climate change and global poverty, both of which affect far more people far more severely than American security policy ever will. If the President focuses his second term on these long-term issues, he will have a lasting legacy.

**Do you have any thoughts on something in this issue?
Email palyjofa@gmail.com to submit a letter to the editor.**



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Bringing Bond Back

The American intelligence service must utilize human intelligence to stay relevant

By Ben Hawthorne

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

When CIA agents first received reports that the American consulate in Benghazi was under attack, their first reaction was to ask what forces they could send in to help. Within 25 minutes of being notified of the attack, the CIA was able to deploy a Predator reconnaissance drone to monitor the compound. How was the CIA able to deploy this drone within less than an hour, while it took the fastest conventional military forces over three hours to deploy to Libya? The answer is that drone was already in the air, conducting a surveillance operation in Libyan airspace, so it was easy to divert the aircraft to the scene of the attack.

The fact that the CIA maintains constant drone surveillance in a neutral country such as Libya should come as no surprise; the American intelligence community has maintained vigilant surveillance of the entire world since the beginning of the Cold War.

The United States has used aerial and satellite surveillance (i.e. image intelligence, or IMINT) extensively since the beginning of the Cold War, although aerial surveillance did not take off until the development of the U-2, a spy plane capable of flying above Soviet anti-aircraft missiles, in 1957. U.S. aircraft and satellites initially monitored only the U.S.S.R., although the United States began to turn its surveillance to other countries in the 1960s, including both adversaries, like Cuba, and neutral nations, like Egypt.¹ After the Cold War, the development of unmanned reconnaissance drones, which have significantly lower costs than manned aircraft and lack the risks associated with having a pilot who can be killed or captured, led to a surveillance explosion. The United States has used reconnaissance drones in every conflict since the mid-1990s.² It currently operates drones in numerous countries, including perceived threats such as Iran and neutral nations like Libya, and has satellite surveillance of many more.^{3,4}

1. Hosenball, Mark. "CIA Officials in Libya Made Key Decisions during Benghazi Attacks." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, 01 Mar. 2012. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

2. Friedman, Norman. *The Fifty-year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute, 2000. Print.

3. Babbin, Jed. "Iran's New RQ-170." *The Spectacle Blog* *The American Spectator*, 12 Sept. 2011.

4. Crock, Lezi. "Spies That Fly: A Time Line of UAVs." PBS. Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Nov. 2002. Web.

The problems associated with this approach have become increasingly evident since the Cold War. The main problem with image intelligence is that it is both very easy to fool and to hide from. All one needs to do to hide from aerial reconnaissance is go inside, underground or even under a tarp. For example, in the 1998 Kosovo War, the Serbs were able to conceal all of their anti-aircraft missile sites and even most of the Serbian Army by hiding them in crude underground bunkers. Despite NATO usage of sophisticated radar-finding technology, no anti-aircraft missiles or radars were ever discovered by NATO forces. The Serbian Army was also

The myriad problems of aerospace surveillance and cyber intelligence may make the United States' prospects for acquiring adequate intelligence about our enemies seem hopeless.

able to fool NATO forces into attacking decoy vehicles. Although most of these decoys were of hilariously bad quality, such as using a broken car with a pipe sticking out of the windshield as a fake tank, they were able to fool NATO bombers into wasting millions of dollars worth of ordinance due to image intelligence's imprecision.⁵

Now that the Cold War has ended, IMINT has become even more obsolete. Its primary strength is in detecting enemy capabilities (e.g. by counting ships in a harbor or bombers at an airfield). Against terrorist organizations, whose main weapons are individuals in multiple different countries, it is nearly useless. Even the best drone camera cannot tell the difference between a terrorist and a civilian – as the numerous incidents of drones attacking unarmed civilians, including multiple wedding parties, show. While using a satellite to observe ship movements is easy, using one to snoop on terrorists' meetings is impossible. Besides causing civilian casual-

11 Dec. 2012.

5. Norton-Taylor, Richard. "How the Serb Army Escaped NATO." *The Guardian* [London] 8 May 2000: n. pag. *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 08 Mar. 2000. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

ties and wasting scarce resources, faulty image intelligence can lead to violent backlash against the U.S.' counterterrorism policies. Overwhelming majorities of Pakistanis and Yemenis are opposed to the use of drones, and the civilian casualties that misleading image intelligence causes inspires people to join terrorist organizations to retaliate against the United States or its allies.⁶

After the end of the Cold War, and with the advent of the Internet, the United States began to supplement the obsolete image intelligence with a new form of intelligence gathering: cyberwarfare. Cyber intelligence, which primarily consists of monitoring en-

emies' communications, is significantly more useful than IMINT. It can discover our enemies' intentions and capabilities while an attack is still being formulated. It is also useful against terrorists, since

most modern organizations, including terrorist groups, communicate via the Internet.

Unfortunately, cyber intelligence is also deeply flawed. Our enemies can avoid it by either encrypting their messages, or, even easier, by not communicating online at all. Osama bin Laden, for example, used a messenger to communicate, which allowed him to avoid detection by the United States for a decade.⁷ Cyber intelligence can also violate people's privacy rights. The Cyber Intelligence and Sharing Act (CISPA), a cybersecurity bill being debated in the Senate, for example, will allow Federal agencies to request access to people's personal information on the internet without a warrant and for companies to share people's private information with the government.⁸ Finally, cyber intelligence is easy to mislead. Since detecting online surveillance

6. Dowd, Alan W. "The Brewing Backlash against the Drone War." *The American Interest* 19 Jan. 2012: n. pag. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

7. Finn, Peter, and And Anne E. Kornblut. "Al-Qaeda Couriers Provided Trail That Led to Bin Laden." *Washington Post* [Washington, D.C.] 2 May 2011: n. pag. *Washington Post*. *The Washington Post*, 03 May 2011. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

8. McCullagh, Declan. "How CISPA Would Affect You (faq)." *CNET News*. CBS Interactive, 27 Apr. 2012. Web. 27 Nov. 2012.



U.S. Air Force

is often easy,⁹ enemies can intentionally spew misinformation on Internet forums or in email communications to mislead us.

The myriad problems of aerospace surveillance and cyber intelligence may make the U.S.' prospects for acquiring adequate intelligence about our enemies seem hopeless. However, we need not despair, for there is one form of intelligence that can (and has) produced reliable results: human intelligence. Human intelligence, which is a polite term for the type of spying that James Bond does, is as old as espionage itself. Indeed, spying and espionage are often considered synonyms, even today, and with good reason: spying is effective. Spies can penetrate enemy organizations, including terrorist groups, up to very high levels, allowing the United States to gain intricate knowledge of our enemies' plans, capabilities and organizational structure. While spies can be vulnerable to misinformation, this can only be the case if they are discovered, which is unlikely.¹⁰

Spies have been used repeatedly with great success. The Soviets, who generally relied more on human intelligence than the we

did, had a much more successful intelligence program than the U.S. The Soviets were able to gain access to and copy the plans for numerous pieces of American technology, including the atomic bomb. America was never able to do the same to the Soviet Union.¹¹

Spies have also been extremely useful in counterterrorism. A Saudi agent embedded in al-Qaeda was able to foil a bomb plot last year that would have downed several airliners and killed hundreds of people. This Saudi agent embedded in al-Qaeda has been able to prevent several terrorist plots, including the 2009 attempted Christmas day airline bombing in Detroit and a 2010 plot to mail letter-bombs to several Chicago addresses.¹²

There are several common objections to the use of human intelligence. The most common is its danger: human intelligence is much more dangerous than cyber or image intelligence. It is far easier for a terrorist to kill a spy in Pakistan than a drone operator in Nevada. However, the benefits provided by human intelligence far outweigh its danger, especially when one considers the huge amount of lives that spies can save by foiling terrorist plots. Another objection to the use of human intelligence is its difficulty. There

11. *ibid* 2

12. Miller, Greg "CIA Unraveled Bomb Plot from within." Washington Post [Washington, D.C.] 8 May 2012. n. pag Washington Post. The Washington Post, 09 May 2012. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

A dummy tank used by the Serbian Army to fool NATO bombers during the Kosovo War. The effectiveness of crude dummies like this one against sophisticated aircraft demonstrates the inferiority of aerial reconnaissance.

are very few people in the United States who speak Urdu (the official language of Pakistan), for example, and few of them are interested in working for the CIA. We can get around this barrier by both recruiting spies from the countries they are supposed to spy on (e.g. using Iranian defectors or Iranians as spies against Iran) or by training Americans in the language and culture of the group that they are supposed to infiltrate. The latter is already being used, in the form of STARTALK, the State Department's strategic language training program, which has already taught many people strategic languages like Urdu and Farsi.

While aerospace and cyber intelligence are both still useful, the U.S. needs to invest significantly more resources in human intelligence programs. Some of the money we invest in spy satellites and drones could be better spent on training espionage agents to infiltrate terrorist organizations and foreign governments. If we invest in our human intelligence capabilities, we can hopefully prevent another tragedy like Benghazi.

9. Pierce, David. "Telecomix Hackers Helping Syrians Detect and Avoid Government Surveillance online." The Verge. N.p., 26 Dec. 2011. Web. 25 Nov. 2012.

10. U.S.A. U.S. Army. U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. The Effectiveness of Human Intelligence in Operation Uphold Democracy. By Martin I. Urquhart. Fort Leavenworth: n.p., 1996. Web. 27 Nov. 2012.

Reconciliation Made Responsible

Post-genocide actions succeed when aimed at reconciliation not retribution

By Jessica Feinberg
ASSISTANT EDITOR



Conflicts between groups have existed since humans first walked the earth. A natural preference for the familiar has often led to a dislike of anything unfamiliar, whether that is religious belief or skin color. These divides have often erupted into violent conflicts, and within the past century there have been numerous instances of genocide. Many people have paid attention to the methods used to defeat genocide, but the effectiveness of many methods is questionable.

By examining three separate instances of genocide and their attempted or successful resolutions in the past eighty years, we can reach a promising direction. The tragedies of the Holocaust, Apartheid in South Africa and the Rwandan Genocide suggest that, since genocide and violent segregation are the result of long periods of conflict and tension between (usually ethnic) groups, they can only be overcome when administrators of the post-genocide effort reveal the basis for the conflict, analyze the tension between groups and clarify the basis for conflict. Any attempt of overcoming genocide in a stricken

country should prioritize healing the victims over punishing the perpetrators.

The Holocaust

The Holocaust turned humanity on its head. Anti-Semitic feeling had reached the extraordinary point when neighbor turned on neighbor and Nazi policy made Jews fiscally responsible for damages to property and the economy caused by anti-Semitic violence.

Although other socially hated groups, such as Roma and male homosexuals, were also murdered in gas chambers, most victims of the Holocaust (6 million of 13 million) were Jews. An interesting passage from the Encyclopedia Britannica entry on the Holocaust notes that, in part due to the weakness of the German hold of Denmark but majorly because Danes had integrated Jews into their culture, most Danish Jews were able to escape the majority of the Holocaust's destructive influence.¹ Members of the Einsatzgruppen (German for "task forces", the Einsatzgrup-

1. "Holocaust (European History): Introduction." Encyclopedia Britannica Online. Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012. Web. 27 Apr. 2012.

Nazi leaders on trial for war crimes including genocide in Nuremberg, Germany, circa 1945.

pen were SS death squads of 100 men for whom systematic murder was an organizational policy) participated in mass shootings in which Jewish families were routinely murdered outside their hometowns.

However, this mildly uncontrolled process was soon replaced by the carefully thought out, well-planned extermination centers: concentration camps. The Nazis organized and promoted these camps, and the support for them was broad.

Apartheid in South Africa

Support was also apparent for apartheid, which found a solid foundation amidst the populace of South Africa. Many Boers were Calvinist, a religion that emphasizes the importance of fate and determinism, and thus believed God had preordained apartheid's existence and its presence was therefore irrefutable. However, the National Party, or the political party that instituted apartheid,

faced explosive opposition that erupted into violence on multiple occasions. A demonstration in Sharpeville in 1960 became a source of martyrdom and outrage for many South Africans, and people in the world community, after police gunned down sixty-nine protesters in cold blood. The Sharpeville massacre stirred up anti-apartheid feelings across South Africa and prompted even more demonstrations, protests and strikes. For example, the 1976 protests by high school students in Soweto resulted in the deaths of around 175 people. The students felt that forced instruction in Afrikaans for half of the time was unjust, and their demonstration ended with hospitals overflowed with wounded children.

Clashes continued between Boers and South Africans in Soweto, and the inhumane deaths of so many young people in South Africa outraged the international community. Nelson Mandela formed the ANC, which was the political party devoted to the end of apartheid and led the majority of opposition resistance to the hated policy. The blood and rage led to President P.W. Botha's 1985 declaration of a state of emergency, giving extensive power to police and military forces to control the political crises. Interrogation and torture became commonplace and South Africa's became infamous and despised the world over. After a later addition to the declaration that included permission to censor, South Africans engaged in bloody fighting amongst themselves. Eventually, under severe pressure from the international community and domestic figures such as Nelson Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk ended apartheid and lifted the state of emergency. However, the intense discrimination and segregation

The intense discrimination and segregation the South African community faced made even the abolishment of apartheid unsatisfactory for the victims of injustices

the South African community faced made even the abolishment of apartheid unsatisfactory for the families of victims of apartheid-induced violence and for the thousands who suffered injustices at apartheid's hand.²

Rwanda

As they were in apartheid, the injustices suffered during the Rwandan genocide furthered the prevalence of resistance to it. The availability of weapons, the Interahamwe (a paramilitary Hutu group that advocated violence and hatred towards Tutsis) and political inactivity primarily furthered the injustices

2. Moyers, Bill. "Facing the Truth with Bill Moyers." PBS. Public Affairs Television, Inc., 30 Mar. 1999. Web. 19 Nov. 2012.

of the Rwandan genocide. Propaganda and biased articles, especially those published in a Hutu journal *Kangura*, incited hatred and violence against the Tutsis. This widely distributed, hateful journal glorified violence and used stereotypes and exaggeration of past injustices to dehumanize the Tutsis. Rwandans prepared for massive killing, and members of Hutu militias were able to gain access to assault rifles. Machetes and grenades were not regulated by the government and became the

choice weapons for many Hutus and Tutsis, machetes in particular due to the cheap cost of importation.

The hatred permeated every level of Rwandan life, from violence against neighbors to radical, murderous talks in the government. Youth wings of murderous militias called Interahamwe caused incredible damage through their violent, thoughtless actions, and the majority of the media either promoted or ignored the violence ripping apart the country. The Interahamwe did not limit their violence to members of the opposing militia but murdered Tutsi men, women and children as well as Hutus who were po-

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By Order Provincial Secretary

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Op Las Provinsiale Sekretaris

A sign from apartheid-era South Africa that illustrates the structural racism against blacks.

litically moderate.³ The international community saw the violence and pulled their ambassadors, diplomats and civilians out of the country but did not intervene. Massacres of refugees hiding in churches and schools were common, and bloodthirsty people slaughtered innocent people, sometimes even members of their own ethnic group when they saw humanitarianism as betrayal. Like the Nazis to the Jews, the Hutus attempted to exterminate the Tutsis and eradicate their existence.

Post-Genocide Responses

After the Holocaust, Allied powers put the Nazis on trial. The Nuremberg Trials were influential and successful in some ways but did not achieve a fully humanistic goal. The Trials punished the highest-ranking officials in the Holocaust, since the sheer number of participants would render true punishment of everyone contributing to the genocide impossible. The military tribunals tried the major war criminals first, and doctors, judges, Einsatzgruppen and ministries, among others, later. The purpose of the trials was to punish the leaders of the Holocaust, although some key players in the genocide –

3. "Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda." Human Rights Watch. Human Rights Watch, Mar. 1999. Web. 27 Apr. 2012.

namely, Heinrich Himmler (a leading Nazi who orchestrated the extermination camps, formed the Einsatzgruppen and strengthened the SS) and Hitler – had already committed suicide by the time the trials began. The trials were a clear statement by the international community that genocide is unacceptable, and led to the establishment of the International Criminal Court fifty years later.

However, the Nuremberg Trials failed for several reasons. Primarily, the victors of World War II conducted the trials to punish actions that were not considered crimes. The *ex post facto* nature of the trials makes their rulings of questionable validity. The Chief Justice Harlan Stone likened the Nuremberg Trials to a lynching, and claimed the “pretense” of running a court fraudulent. Before

apartheid and to assisting in rehabilitation. Through the TRC, families of victims could meet the perpetrators of their crimes. The granting of amnesty to truth-tellers is a more complicated issue. The main aim of the TRC was not to punish the participants in apartheid but to prevent it from happening again. The purpose of the protections granted to truth-tellers was to expose what happened during apartheid.

However, an important clarification must be made. Contrary to popular belief, very few people who came forward with the truth received amnesty. In fact, according to South African History Online, an educational website, of the 7,112 applicants who petitioned for amnesty, only 849 received it.³ The possibility of receiving amnesty was key in achieving the truthful confession of thousands of

believed that teaching such a hot subject in classrooms full of both Hutus and Tutsis would be dangerous and possibly inciting violence.⁵ Conflict and tension remains between Hutus and Tutsis, and people often discover government records to be erased or missing. Since it only aimed to punish the perpetrators of the genocide instead of trying to heal the country, the Tribunal missed an opportunity to prevent a similar atrocity from happening again by eliminating the hatred and misconceptions that caused the genocide in the first place.

Through examination of these ethnic clashes, we can see that we impose criminal tribunals and reconciliation commissions in order to prevent an atrocious expression of hatred and racism, but in focusing on a sole expression of these feelings they neglect to

International bodies must make prevention of future genocide by promoting healing measures a priority over punishing the perpetrators of the atrocities.

the trials began, Winston Churchill acknowledged that the perpetrators of the Holocaust were following orders and called the trials the “cold blooded execution of soldiers who fought for their country.”¹ Furthermore, the families of the victims and survivors were relatively neglected throughout the duration of the trials and even after. The focus was not on healing but on revenge, and as such the trials ultimately failed to address the core issue – the hatred that caused the genocide in the first place.

Dissimilarly, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa avoided for the most part the problems of victor’s justice and secrecy surrounding the trial. The TRC helped the victims and families of the violent end of apartheid, but came under fire for the amnesty they granted to those who came forward with the truth. The hearings were public, allowing the TRC and hearings to have transparency and public accessibility. Furthermore, anyone could be charged for participating in crimes against humanity during apartheid, including people serving in the contemporary government.²

Although the issue faced in Nuremberg of victor’s justice remained, as it cannot be fully eradicated, the TRC strove for impartiality and for the most part succeeded. The TRC also dedicated time and resources to helping victims achieve acceptance of the

perpetrators of violence during the apartheid and its fall, as only by truthfulness could amnesty be even considered. Exposing the truth was instrumental in helping the thousands affected by apartheid to heal.⁴

To gain further understanding, we can contrast the healing ability of the TRC in South Africa with the failure of The International War Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in helping Rwanda heal from its genocide. The tribunal was well-meaning but mismanaged. The death penalty sentence permissible in the tribunal was controversial and stirred up a continuous debate over the legality of sentencing someone to die for crimes involving sentencing others to die. This controversy diminished the sanctity of the proceedings. Unfortunately, the UN only held several trials, involving high-ranking government members and the armed forces. Rwanda itself was responsible for the jurisdiction of the thousands who participated in the genocide at a local level.

Furthermore, the administrators of the Rwandan post-genocidal actions did little to help the victims and families of victims heal and move on from the horror of the genocide. In fact, Rwandan history was a taboo subject in schools for fourteen years after the end of the genocide, as government officials

address the central issue. A country that has undergone genocide or something similarly horrific must make healing its number one priority. While genocide is a terrible crime, international bodies must make prevention of future genocide by promoting healing measures a priority over punishing the perpetrators of the atrocities. Ideally, a program attempting to deal with genocide should focus on exposing the truth of inter-ethnic tension and caring for the victims. We should not allow perpetrators of genocide to walk free, but we should give priority to the health of those who have already suffered at the hands of genocide and hatred.

The Nuremberg Trials were ultimately not as successful as they should have been at healing Europe. Benefits came from the trials, such as an International Criminal Court and the establishment of genocide as a crime against humanity, but the Trials used *ex post facto* laws to achieve their punishments. We should make the major function of any healing program to aid the victims of oppression and genocide, and we should value rehabilitation above revocation. Therefore, we should ensure that the main function of any commission designed to deal with the aftereffects of genocide is to decrease intergroup tension, examine the occurrences during and reasons behind the genocide and above all to aid in the healing of those who suffered.

1. Pati, Roza. “The International Military Tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo.” *Due Process and International Terrorism*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2009. 125. Print.

2. Gallagher, Michael. “The Birth and Death of Apartheid.” *BBC News*. BBC, 17 June 2002. Web. 28 Apr. 2012.

3. “Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).” *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) | South African History Online*. South African History Online. Web. 06 May 2012.

4. Slovo, Gillian. “Making History: South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission | OpenDemocracy.” *Open Security: Reconciliation and Conflict*. OpenDemocracy Limited, 5 Dec. 2002. Web. 08 Oct. 2012.

5. Straus, Scott, and Lars Waldorf. “Teaching History in Post-Genocide Rwanda.”

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Solving the Unsolvable

Concerted American efforts are necessary to end the battle over Gaza

By Ben Hawthorne
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

It's that wonderful time of year again: another conflict between Israel and Gaza has rolled around. Thankfully, this war, dubbed "Operation Pillar of Defense" by Israel, was over quickly, snuffed out by a ceasefire two weeks after the conflict broke out. Of course, determining the date the conflict broke out, like everything else related to the Israel-Palestine conflict, is tricky and partisan. Most observers place the start for the conflict on November 8, when militants from Popular Resistance Committees (PRC) fired on an Israeli vehicle. Israeli soldiers killed a 12-year old in the crossfire, which provoked

retaliation from Hamas (who are not affiliated with the PRCs), who fired an anti-tank missile at an Israeli force.¹ Israel fired back with tanks and jets, and the rest is history: Israel and Gaza became embroiled in a conflict of airstrikes and rockets, killing Hamas' military leader and over 100 others, until Egypt brokered a vague and tenuous ceasefire on November 21.²

1. Wright, Robert. "Who Started the Israel-Gaza Conflict?" The Atlantic. Atlantic Monthly Group, 16 Nov. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

2. "Topic: Gaza Strip." New York Times. N.p., 10 Dec. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

Since the purpose of our aid is to defend Israel, we should focus aid on actual defensive weapons.

Analysis

Although this conflict may appear to be nothing more than the latest installment in the half-decade long war between Israel and Gaza, there are two things that make Operation Pillar of Defense unique: the context of the post-Arab Spring Middle East and the changing role of Iran.

Although Israel and Gaza have fought many wars before, this is the first one to occur after the Arab Spring. Although the Arab Spring caused successful democratic revolutions in only a few countries, it showed dictators in the Middle East that they could no longer totally ignore public opinion. Since public sentiment in the region is anti-Israel, this wave of democracy led to a shift against Israel by many Middle Eastern countries.

The country whose position has shifted most dramatically is Egypt. The Egyptian Revolution replaced Hosni Mubarak, who supported peace with Israel, with Mohamed Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, a group that supports Hamas. Morsi took the Brotherhood's support for Hamas with him into office by withdrawing the Egyptian ambassador to Israel and issuing statements condemning Israel and expressing support for Hamas. Egypt also partially opened its border with Gaza, which weakens Israel's embargo of Gaza.¹ While it is unlikely that the Muslim Brotherhood's Egypt breaks its peace treaty with Israel because of the high cost and futility of fighting a war with the Middle East's strongest military power, Egypt's new support for Hamas weakens Israel's negotiating position vis a vis Hamas and necessitates greater caution from the Israel to prevent Egypt from drifting even further away from Israel. Egypt's successful brokering of the ceasefire also legitimates Brotherhood control of Egypt, and may increase Egypt's status in the region, making it a potential leader for the Sunni-majority states of the region in an alliance, either diplomatic or informal, against Shia Iran.

Iran's role in this conflict has also changed dramatically. Although much has been made of the long-range Fajr-5 rockets, capable of striking Israel's major population centers of Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, that Iran provided to Hamas, it is important to remember that Hamas' role in this conflict has actually decreased. Hamas is becoming more isolated



An Israeli Iron Dome defense missile fires.

from Iran, since Iran is making demands on Hamas that Hamas deems excessive, so Iran is turning to non-governmental terrorist organizations to do its bidding in Gaza. The PRC, an Iranian proxy, and the previous Gaza conflict was started by Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), another Iranian proxy, for example, started this conflict. Although Iran has prodded Hamas to attack Israel repeatedly over the past year, Hamas refused, claiming that it had to rebuild and rearm before it could begin fighting again.² Since Hamas, the governing party in Gaza, is more responsible to the Gazan people than non-governmental terrorists, this shift in Iranian aid is worrying.

Solutions

The obvious solution to the conflict is for both sides to agree to a long-term ceasefire and split the region into two states: Israel and Palestine. This is in the interests of both parties. Gaza would benefit from representation in international rule-making bodies, a platform from which to prosecute Israeli war crimes (the International Criminal Court), more protection from violence for its citizens and the myriad diplomatic and aid-related benefits associated with being able to conduct

formal diplomacy with other countries. Israel would no longer have to waste resources and lives on futile conflicts with Gaza, which have brought Israel nothing but international condemnation, animosity from its neighbors and violent retaliation from Palestinians.

Unfortunately, hoping for a long-term ceasefire is little more than naive idealism. Israel's current president, Benjamin Netanyahu, is a staunch hawk who, while supporting a two-state solution on paper, opposes most measures that would need to be taken to make it a reality. Worse, polls predict that Netanyahu will win re-election this January.³ This is due to the general incompetence of his opponents and favorable demographic trends: the Ultra-Orthodox, who tend to support hawkish candidates for Knesset (the Israeli parliament) and oppose the creation of a Palestinian state, are projected to comprise 25 percent of the Israeli population in 2034 (up from 10 percent today) due to their high birth rates.⁴ Gazans, too, are unwilling to end the conflict. At a victory rally on December 8, Khaled Meshal, Hamas' political leader, declared that "Palestine is ours. There will be no concession on any inch of the land," and stated that "there is no legitimacy for Israel."⁵ Since the two combatants are unlikely to ever agree to a long-term truce, other countries, especially the United States, must take actions to lessen the impact of the conflict and decrease the likelihood of it recurring.

First, the United States must rethink its military aid to Israel. Since the purpose of this aid is to defend Israel, we should focus aid on actual defensive weapons. We ought to spend most of our military aid to Israel on anti-missile defenses like Iron Dome and the Nautilus Tactical High Energy Laser (THEL) instead of on offensive weapons like strike fighters and attack helicopters. The Iron Dome missile system received widespread acclaim in this most recent conflict for shooting down 87 percent of missiles that it engaged.⁶ THEL has shown even greater success. It has demonstrated a success rate of nearly 100 percent in tests, despite costing just \$3,000 per shot, a fraction of Iron Dome's cost of \$40,000 per interceptor missile.^{7, 8}

For those who insist that the best defense for Israel is a good offense, it should be remembered that the Israel-Gaza conflict has not been ended, or even diminished in intensity, by Israel's bombing. Indeed, it appears that Israeli strikes against Gaza, particularly

3. Sachs, Natan B. "Bibi Can't Lose." *Foreign Policy*. N.p., 30 Nov. 2012. Web. 09 Dec. 2012.

4. Ephron, Dan. "Israel's Ultra-Orthodox Problem." *The Daily Beast*. Newsweek/Daily Beast, 02 Jan. 2012. Web. 09 Dec. 2012.

5. Erlanger, Steven. "Leader of Hamas Delivers Defiant Speech at Anniversary Celebration." *The New York Times* 9 Dec. 2012: A11. Print.

6. Bagchi, Indrani, and Josy Joseph. "India Eyes Israel's Iron Dome to Counter Pak, Puppets." *The Times Of India*. N.p., 23 Nov. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

7. "Nautilus Tactical High Energy Laser." *Global Security*. Global Security, 21 July 2011. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

8. Farley, Robert. "The Cost Of Iron Dome." *The Daily Beast*. 20 Nov. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

1. Fleishman, Jeffrey, and Reem Abdellatif November 16. "Egypt Takes More Aggressive, and Less Neutral, Approach to Gaza." *Los Angeles Times*. Los Angeles Times, 16 Nov. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

2. Schanzer, Jonathan. "Iran's War in Gaza." *Foreign Policy*. N.p., 13 March 2012. Web. 09 Dec. 2012.

those that generate significant civilian casualties, tend to provoke retaliation from Hamas in the form of rocket attacks.⁹ Israeli bombing also tends to create Palestinian martyrs, who are inspired by Israeli killings to avenge the death of their friends or comrades. A study of suicide bombing data in Israel from 2001 to 2004 confirms this: Israeli attacks were followed by increased terrorist recruitment and thus by more suicide attacks and suicide attack casualties.¹⁰

Emphasizing the defensive aspect of its conflict with Gaza is also good politics for Israel. Focusing its strategy on protecting Israeli civilians instead of on retaliation against Gaza will lend legitimacy to Israel's claim that it is defending its citizens against terrorist aggression. This will help Israel regain the support (and possibly aid) of the European countries that recently scorned it by voting for recognizing Palestine in the UN.

Second, Israel's blockade of Gaza must end. The humanitarian costs of severely limiting food and medicine supplies to the impoverished Gaza strip are monstrous. The ban on importation of construction materials prevents Gaza from recovering from Israeli attacks and has left more than 20,000 homeless. Restrictions of food imports and fishing (Gaza's main food source) have left 75 percent of Gazans without access to adequate nutrition. Frequent power outages (a result of Israel's strict limitation on fuel imports into Gaza), restrictions on medicine importation and the inability of patients to leave Gaza to seek access to better treatment elsewhere has left most Gazans without access to basic healthcare services. In short, life in cramped, poor and starving Gaza greatly resembles conditions in the Jewish ghettos of old.¹¹

The blockade is also ruinous to the Gazan economy, as it limits entrance to Gaza to humanitarians and members of international organizations, bans or severely limits importation of economically necessary raw materials like fertilizer and building supplies and denies Gaza the ability to export goods.¹² As a result of this, 95 percent of Gaza's industry has shut down, around 40 percent of Gazans are unemployed and 70 percent are living on less than the international poverty line of one dollar a day.¹³ Though Israel has taken some steps to ease the impact of the blockade, such as increasing the number of trucks allowed into Gaza each day and allowing Gazans

access to imported food, none of these measures have been implemented, and there is no indication that Israel plans to implement them soon.¹⁴ The embargo is not even that effective at protecting Israelis: the vast majority of Gazan rockets, including some of the long-range rockets capable of striking Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, are homebuilt.¹⁵ If Israel wishes to prevent Gaza from acquiring foreign weapons, it should make its case to the UN for placing an arms embargo on Gaza.

Unfortunately, expecting Israel to end the blockade on its own is wishful thinking. Netanyahu has vowed to "stand firm on our

Unfortunately, hoping for a long-term ceasefire is little more than naive idealism.

policy of a naval blockade and of inspecting incoming ships."¹⁶ Since Israel will not stop the embargo, the United States needs to act. President Obama must denounce the blockade as unjust and unlawful, and make it clear that running the blockade is legal. Although Israel usually boards ships sailing for Gaza, it will likely think twice about boarding a U.S.-flagged vessel, for fear of retaliation. Besides just saving Palestinian lives, this will cement American support for freedom of navigation, and thus discourage other nations, particularly Iran, from setting up unjust blockades.

A more effective way of cutting off arms shipments to Hamas than blockading Gaza would be to target the arms shipments directly. Covert action against Iran, Hamas' arms dealer, should be expanded to target factories producing weapons for Hamas.

Of course, not all the blame for the conflict falls on Israel. Reading accounts of Palestinian civilians killed by Israeli forces makes it easy to forget that Hamas, PIJ and other Palestinian military organizations target civilians with their rockets and take human shields, both of which are war crimes.¹⁷ Stopping these offenses without making these terrorist organizations appear as martyrs, however, requires more finesse than simply bombing Gaza into oblivion.

One easy step towards peace in Gaza would be to disable Palestinian terrorist organizations through non-violent means. Penetrating terrorist organizations with saboteurs would not only enable Israel to limit the ability of Palestinian terrorists to kill Israelis, it would also cause organizations to split as trust eroded and terrorists started to fear that everyone in their organization was a spy. A good analogy would be the infiltration of American society by Soviet spies in the 1950s:

14. *ibid* 13, 14

15. Bronner, Ethan. "With Longer Reach, Rockets Bolster Hamas Arsenal." *The New York Times* 17 Nov. 2012: A1. Print.

16. Ravid, Barak. "Netanyahu: World Criticism Won't Stop Israel's Blockade of Gaza." *Haaretz* 1 June 2010. Print.

17. Dershowitz, Alan M. "Hamas' War Crimes." *Los Angeles Times* 10 Jan. 2009: n. pag. Print.

although spies did achieve some intelligence successes, such as stealing the plans for the atomic bomb, their main accomplishment was sparking the McCarthyist witch-hunt that caused people to turn on each other and targeted many high-profile Americans, including government officials.

An arguably more effective, yet shorter term solution would be to freeze the assets of Gazan terrorist groups. An asset freeze, or severing the link between a terrorist organization and its bank account, is able to disable its target by leaving it unable to pay its employees, purchase weaponry or carry out any

other operation that involves money (i.e. any operation). Although this would temporarily cripple the target, such an attack would be easy to detect and could not be repeated, since the target would necessarily take countermeasures such as moving their money from bank accounts to physical currency. Since assets freezes are one-time use only, the timing of an assets freeze must be judiciously chosen (e.g. before the target is set to launch a major offensive) to ensure that it works.

Diplomacy, both with Hamas and the UN, could also help end Hamas' war crimes. The United States could offer to oppose Gaza's bid for statehood at the UN less vehemently or to grant the country humanitarian aid in exchange for Gaza abiding by the laws of war and agreeing to let in inspectors to monitor for violations. Violations of international law could be punished by both retracting all aid or benefits given to Gaza and by imposing economic sanctions on Hamas or by increasing military aid to Israel. Though critics may contend that this would be "negotiating with terrorists," it is important to remember that Hamas is the current government of Gaza and that we have negotiated with both terrorist organizations, such as the Taliban,¹⁸ and states that have committed far worse crimes than Hamas, such as the U.S.S.R. and Maoist China, in the past. The United States could also propose a UN resolution calling for sending inspectors to Gaza to look for possible war crimes, such as use of human shields or white phosphorous munitions (an illegal type of weapon that burns its victims alive).

In short, Israel and Gaza are not, as many observers have claimed, doomed to a fate of unending war punctuated only by temporary ceasefires for rearming. There are several politically desirable actions, from targeting the weapons factories that supply Hamas to reforming our aid to Israel, which could greatly reduce the loss of life in this conflict. Failing to take action against this protracted crisis would be irresponsible.

18. Rogin, Josh. "Obama Official: Direct U.S.-Taliban Talks Ongoing." *Foreign Policy*. 1 May 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

9. Bishara, Marwan. "Mideast Redux: End the Cycle of Retaliation." *Al-Jazeera*. *Al-Jazeera*, 17 Nov. 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

10. Kaplan, Edward H., Alex Mintz, Shaul Mishal, and Claudio Samban. "What Happened to Suicide Bombings in Israel? Insights from a Terror Stock Model." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2005): 225-35. Print.

11. United Nations. UNISPAL. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Occupied Palestinian Territory. *Locked In: The Humanitarian Impact of Two Years of Blockade on the Gaza Strip*. N.p.: n.p., 2009. Print.

12. *Unraveling the Closure of Gaza: What has and hasn't changed since the Cabinet decision and what are the implications?* N.p.: Gisha Legal Center for Freedom of Movement, 2010. *Gisha.org*. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

13. *ibid* 13

A Case for Supplying Anti-Aircraft Missiles to the Free Syrian Army

By Gregory Dunn
GUEST WRITER



Afghan Mujahideen stand over a downed Soviet helicopter. U.S.-supplied anti-aircraft missiles allowed the Afghans to defeat the U.S.S.R., and they can allow the Syrian rebels to triumph.

Syria is a country in turmoil-- a rebellion that began as a component of the Arab Spring has devolved into a bloody civil war. The war in Syria has become a quagmire, with the government unable to quell rebel forces and the Syrian people unable to effectively combat the technology of the Syrian army. Despite their technology, the Syrian ground forces are largely stalled — they lack morale and supplies, and are wrecked by defections. However, the Syrian Air Force, primarily using retrofitted trainers, MiG-23s and Mi-24s, are still effective and inflicting significant casualties. Although a lack of replacement parts will eventually stall this effort, there is no indication that Syria's Air Forces will cease to be effective any time soon. This leaves them free to inflict civilian casualties, perhaps best symbolized by MiG-23s strafing breadlines.¹ Besides being a humanitarian disaster, the instability in Syria could spill over to an increasingly faltering Iraq, our key ally Israel or our nuclear weapons in Turkey. It is in the interest of the United States to hasten the end of this conflict, and hopefully aid stability in the region over the long term.

To solve this problem, there have been Syrian calls for a no-fly zone. But, besides some unconfirmed tabloid reports, there is no sign action has been taken: a no-fly zone is unlikely to happen in the near future. This problem is compounded by sophisticated Syrian anti-air capabilities that would require

a long and costly war to defeat. Finally, a no-fly zone would anger and alienate Russia and China, the only nations with the capability and motivation to challenge U.S. hegemony.

Although the perils of action are clear, action is both possible and necessary. It is in our interest to have the war conclude as soon as possible with the Free Syrian Army (FSA) victorious for several reasons. First, the FSA is largely secular, meaning that there is less of a risk of jihadist infiltration, the greatest threat to Western interests today. Second, they are affiliated with the Syrian National Coalition, a widespread coalition of anti-Assad organizations.² Furthermore, the FSA has a stake in the future of Syria because they are largely composed of army defectors. This means that they are less likely to engage in terrorism because they are going to become the state of Syria. Finally, the FSA's secular nature minimizes the chance of terrorists acquiring the weapons, as most terrorism in the region is carried out under religious auspices.

A government must ensure stability, so a government is less likely to use air-to-air technology to provoke unrest. This strategy is also backed by lessons from the past. The CIA provided Stinger man-portable air-defense missiles (MANPADS) to Afghan rebels in the 1980s, which were highly effective against Soviet aircraft. Once the U.S.S.R. fell, Stinger recovery was highly successful, even though

2. El Gamal, Rania. "Syria's opposition groups strike unity deal against Assad." Reuters Newswire. 11 Nov. 2012. Web. 14 Nov. 2012.

the owners of those systems were not necessarily governmental entities. Ninety percent of missiles were recovered, and most non-recovered missiles are inoperable, according to private defense intelligence firm Jane's Defense.³ If anything, the FSA should be easier to deal with than the groups the CIA effectively dealt with in the past thanks to its goal of establishing a functioning government.

In order to implement this proposal, we should partner with Saudi Arabia to deliver MANPADS to the FSA. The Saudi partnership would serve us in several ways—by working through a local partner, the potential for blowback is decreased (since Saudi Arabia is less associated with U.S. imperialism), and the Saudis are willing and able to put up funds towards such a project. Furthermore, Saudi intelligence is already involved with supplying the FSA,⁴ making them logical partners in this enterprise. We should work with the FSA exclusively because the FSA is the most likely entity in the conflict to be involved with a government. In fact, the FSA has made statements indicating willingness to work to bring in the new regime.⁵ Also, the new government will face the goal of raising capital. In the past, Stingers-for-cash was an appealing deal for Afghan warlords, and will be to new Syrian leaders as well. Also, the FSA is unlikely to give arms to jihadis because such an action would hamper political positioning in a post-Assad vacuum, and as the future Syrian government, they would not want to risk the wrath of Israel, the likely target of malicious use of these systems.

Such a plan does not come without risks, but they are manageable. The risk of proliferation is checked by the FSA having an incentive to sell back Stingers, especially since the Syrian economy is currently "at 0"⁶. Further, this risk is checked by the FSA having ideological and geopolitical motives not to sell the arms to jihadis, as outlined above. Although it is sophomoric to pretend that a post-Assad government will be completely in line with U.S. interests, every day the war drags on, the FSA get more radical, as combatants turn to terror for funding and motivation. The risk of blowback is checked by the involvement of Saudi Arabia as well as by the fact that Russia has admitted to arming Syrians with missile systems—we are just reacting in kind.⁷

Syria is a humanitarian crisis that we can solve. We've used this strategy before with effective results. And once we've helped, we are left with a calm Syria in a neighborhood that desperately needs some peace and quiet.

3. Synovitz, Ron. "Kabul Confirms New Effort To Buy Back U.S.-Built Stinger Missiles." Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe. U.S.A., 31 Jan. 2005. Web. 07 Nov. 2012.

4. Reuters. "UPDATE 3-UN's Ban Says Syria Arms Suppliers Spreading Misery." Reuters Newswire. Reuters, 04 Sept. 2012. Web. 10 Sept. 2012.

5. *ibid* 1

6. *ibid* 1

7. Kramer, Andrew. "Russia Sending Missile Systems To Shield Syria." The New York Times. The New York Times, 16 June 2012. Web. 10 Sept. 2012.

1. Murhaf Jouejati, 9/6/12 Seminar at the Weatherhead center at Harvard University

Diaoyu Dispute Threatens Global Prosperity

A dispute over a group of miniscule islands threatens stability and prosperity in Asia

By Raymond Li
STAFF WRITER

In the past century, China, Taiwan and Japan have maintained a dynamic relationship characterized by periods of tension and peace. Among the most powerful countries in East Asia, it is no surprise to witness territorial rights conflicts, namely over the Diaoyu (or Senkaku, as referred to by the Japanese) Islands. Because the history and nature of this relationship is so complex, the optimal solution is to start afresh and split the Diaoyu islands between the three conflicting nations. This is the most objective solution possible, because doing so would eliminate the potential for any further conflict over the islands.

According to China's side of the story, Chinese fishermen discovered the Diaoyu Islands in the 14th century. For several hundred years, the islands were not a foreign policy issue. In 1895, Japan formally annexed the islands and the international community officially recognized the Japanese possession. At the end of World War II in 1945, however, the Japanese surrendered the Diaoyu Islands to the U.S. as part of a treaty. In 1972, however, the U.S. and Japan signed the

Okinawa Reversion treaty, which transferred the Diaoyu Islands back to the Japanese. The islands were then sold to private investors who opened fisheries on the Diaoyu Islands. Unfortunately, their business ventures did not last and the islands' few residents, travelled elsewhere.

Eventually, the discovery of oil near the islands increased the severity of the dispute, as well as the fact that the islands offer strategic advantages in terms of national security. Located just 120 miles north of Taiwan, 200 miles east of the Chinese mainland, and 200 miles southwest of Japan, the islands are a strategic location, as a naval base there would be able to control maritime traffic in the East China Sea. In other words, control of the Diaoyu Islands is key to controlling the East China Sea.

Recently, the conflict has grown more severe because the Japanese government decided to pay 2.05 billion Yen (\$26 million) for

three of archipelago's eight islands. In August 2012, a group of activists sailed to one of the islands and planted Chinese and Taiwanese flags as a sign of public protest. In response, the Japanese also displayed their flags on the islands as an act of defiance. Infuriated, both China and Japan have threatened to use mili-

This dispute must be resolved quickly because less trade between Asia's largest countries will devastate the world economy.

tary force to solve the dispute.

Adding to the complexity of this conflict is the fact that the three countries participate in a lucrative trading network that is key to Asia's stability. Responding to Japan's actions, many Chinese have refused to purchase Japanese products or invest in Japanese businesses. The Japanese decision to nationalize some of the islands also sparked intense protests and anti-Japanese riots throughout China. Chinese protestors also vandalized the Japanese embassy in Beijing and burned Japanese cars in the streets. The sheer magnitude of these protests is unprecedented, especially considering the economic ramifications that result.

However, anger over the dispute goes both ways. According to the Chicago Tribune, about a quarter of Japanese investors in China are rethinking their investment plans.¹ The tourism industry has also suffered, as many who planned to travel to China or Japan have cancelled their trips.

From an economic standpoint, the conflict must be resolved as quickly as possible. Poor trade relations between some of Asia's most powerful countries will result in devastating impacts on the world economy. If exports and imports dwindle in the Eastern hemisphere, the impacts would undoubtedly affect our lives in the United States, which depends heavily on Asian exports and imports.

In order to guard against this devastating impact, the United Nations must step in and act as the peacekeeping force of the world before it's too late. After all, the UN is one of the few organizations that has the power to keep negotiations between China, Japan, and Taiwan on a diplomatic level.



Protestors in Shenyang, China protest the Japanese decision to nationalize the disputed Diaoyu Islands. Violent anti-Japanese protests over the islands have swept China recently.

1. Kajimoto, Tetsushi, and Izumi Nakagawa. "Japanese Firms Say China Protests Affect Business Plans: Reuters Poll." Chicago Tribune. N.p., 21 Sept. 2012. Web. 11 Dec. 2012.

Time is Running Out to Bomb Iran

All other options for stopping Iran from getting the bomb have failed, and the time for a strike is running out

By Sidhanth Venkatasubramanian

STAFF WRITER

The last few years have witnessed an overwhelming onslaught of political, economic and cyber assaults on Iran on the part of the United States and her allies, especially Israel. However, the increases in the sanctions levied and cyber attacks perpetrated were marked by an increase in tensions rather than the successful admonishment of Tehran. Last October, the Obama administration formally accused groups with ties to the Iranian Government of plotting to assassinate the Saudi ambassador to the United States. While the issue failed to escalate, the rhetoric used by both sides in the aftermath drew attention to the growing disconnect between Washington and Tehran and the risk that it poses to American interests both in the Middle East and around the globe.

While Iran's nuclear programme has received nearly universal condemnation from the international community, including from its close ally Russia, there has been a general reluctance to pursue military action against Iran for fear of the terrorist backlash that Iran promises should any country attempt to replay the invasive aggression demonstrated by Operation Opera in 1984, when Israel launched an airstrike against an incomplete Iraqi nuclear site that they claimed had the potential to pose a threat to their national security. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu took a hard stance against such a belief, arguing that people who subscribed to such a worldview "set a new standard for human stupidity."

Indeed, it appears that opponents of military action against Iran have not come to terms with the threat that the nation could pose to the stability of the Middle East.¹ While it may be argued that the ramifications of such actions could be likened to the threats a nuclear armed Iran would pose, a strike against Iran would very likely improve the chances for the United States to recover in the long term.

The damage to the efforts to promote stability in the region over the course of the past 30 years caused by a nuclear-armed Iran is unfathomable. As Scott Sagan, a renowned expert on international security and weapons

of mass destruction, points out, Iran and Israel may devolve into a neo-Cold War that lacks the structural barriers that prevented nuclear war between the United States and the U.S.S.R., such as functional second-strike installations on both sides. Iran could also use its newfound military clout to restrict American actions in the Middle East, which could lead to a potential U.S.-backed arms race with Saudi Arabia in order to level the playing field once again.

All this would happen in a region known to be a haven for terrorists who lack the concept of rational self-defense, implying a lack of care for their own survival. The United States would have to make a positional shift from attempting to advance its interests in the Middle East to ensuring that they are not compromised.

The opponents of military action against Iran have not come to terms with the threat that the nation could pose to the stability of the Middle East.

If the sanctions and cyberattacks against Iran over the course of the past few years have shown us anything, it is that Tehran has grown resilient to the international community's peaceful efforts to stunt its nuclear ambitions. Although the Stuxnet worm, which managed to damage several Iranian centrifuges and slow down their enrichment, received media attention all over the world as a turning point in the struggle to detain Iran's nuclear efforts, a report published by the International Atomic Energy Agency in May 2011 revealed that Iranian nuclear activity had risen back to the same pre-Stuxnet levels. Iran is also now pursuing development of a closed computer network whose access is restricted to computers encoded by the Iranian Government in order to limit the ability of her enemies to follow up with further cyberattacks.

With regard to economic sanctions, the most recent reports from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) indicate that they have had a very limited effect on halting Iran's nuclear progress. Indeed, the UN

found in its comprehensive analysis on Iran's economic situation earlier this year that the common man in Iran bore the brunt of the economic sanctions, which did little more to the government than the empty threats of aggression that marked President Obama's first term. Indeed, recent intelligence has highlighted activity that is characteristic of a nation nearing completion of enrichment of weapons-grade uranium (Iran has been modifying its missiles to be able to carry nuclear warheads), drawing into question whether maintaining sanctions is a sustainable course of action.

On the other hand, a military strike against Iran's known nuclear enrichment facilities would be a quick and relatively painless solution to the issue. Although many critics have stated the possibility that the

United States and the IAEA are not aware of all of Iran's nuclear facilities and that such an attack would leave parts of the program still intact, increasing the resolve of the na-

tion to develop the bomb.

However, this is very unlikely given the track record of U.S./IAEA intelligence in the region from the past few years. The plans to build enrichment facilities at Natanz and Qom, Iran's two main nuclear centers, were discovered by United States intelligence just weeks into construction.² The concentration of Iran's nuclear resources and the difficulty that they face in setting up nuclear facilities makes it unlikely that a coordinated strike would leave much of the program intact.

This is not to say, however, that such a strike would remain an option for too long. Iran has been reported as being in the process of moving operations to more secure locations, such as the Qom facility, which enjoy protection in an environment immune from effective air strikes. If a well-coordinated strike is not planned and executed by the United States and Israel within some reason-

1. Determinants of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation, Dong-Joon Jo and Erik Gartzke, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 51, No. 1 (Feb., 2007), pp. 167-194

2. The Conundrum of Iran: Strengthening Moderates without Acquiescing to Belligerence, John Brennan *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 618, Terrorism: What the Next President Will Face (Jul. 2008), pp. 168-179



able time frame, it is very unlikely that any subsequent efforts to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons will be successful. At the moment, the vast majority of Iran's key facilities (at Arak, Natanz, Isfahan) are exposed and vulnerable to airstrikes. Qom, however, enjoys the protection of a mountain, making an effective airstrike difficult.

However, it is by no means self-sufficient, and the elimination of all the other sites would render the nation's nuclear efforts all but naught. Iran's commitment of resources to the facility at Qom, however, has reached a point where destruction of the facility would cripple Iran's nuclear program.

Another frequently cited objection to the program is the potential humanitarian damage that may come as a by-product of a strike. In an effort to use parts of its civilian population as human shields, Iran has set up several key facilities near densely populated areas. However, this too could be mitigated by an immediate strike. Although Qom is not an essential target for the United States at the moment, the ongoing Iranian effort to move its operations to that location could render that assumption invalid in weeks.³ Further-

more, Qom is located just on the outskirts of a city considered to be one of the most holy in Shia Islam. Should the United States wait until the point of having to attack Qom, which will be of dubious effectiveness in and of itself, it risks a terrorist lash back from the Shiite community, which has up to this date declined to officially sponsor terrorism. Stirring up a relatively peaceful Muslim sect would be disastrous for counter-terrorism efforts around the globe.

Despite Iran's claims of the impending destruction of Israel and the United States in the midst of a strike against its nuclear program, it is likely that both nations will be able to weather the attacks and that American interests around the world will be able to recover in a relatively short time frame. In the months leading up to the Gulf War, for example, President George H.W. Bush authorized an increase in the oil drilling in Alaska and the Gulf of Mexico that would have tided the country over in the face of skyrocketing oil prices supplied by the Middle East.

Although such a policy is certainly not sustainable in the long run, it would be effective just long enough to stop Iran's claimed

An anti-aircraft gunner watches the skies over the Natanz Nuclear Facility, one of Iran's main uranium enrichment centers. Despite the impenetrable appearance of Iran's facilities, American forces could easily overcome their defenses and destroy them.

effort to shut down the Strait of Hormuz, which would cut off the flow of vital petroleum to the West.

In summary, the potential effectiveness of a multilateral strike on Iran's key nuclear facilities decreases every day as Iran's economic independence (and thus growing resilience to the effect of international sanctions) and security for its installations increases.

There is not an indefinite period of time left for the United States to spearhead an attack to prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons. Soon, we will reach a point of no return, beyond which it will be impossible to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons. While there will be inevitable retaliation and military damage to American forces in the Middle East in the short term, this annoyance pales in comparison to the degree to which American interests would be compromised should Iran get the bomb.

³ Israel's Concerns and Iran's Nuclear Programme Ahmad Reza Babaei Economic and Political Weekly Vol. 43, No. 6

(Feb. 9, 2008), Published by: Economic and Political Weekly



Royal Navy

Don't Panic

Iranian missile boats are not as big a threat as they are painted as

By Ben Hawthorne

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Every few years, the naval brass fret about a new supposedly unbeatable threat to U.S. naval supremacy. In the late '90s, it was diesel-electric submarines. In the last decade, it was Chinese anti-shiping missiles. And right now, the fear of the moment is Iranian small craft. However, like most previous panics, this one is unwarranted.

It is useful to remember that this is not the first time the naval brass has panicked about small boats. Indeed, the fear that swarms of small, well armed boats will overwhelm and defeat large and expensive warships is almost as old as small military boats themselves.

Small warships first became a recognized threat with the invention of the torpedo in 1866. Because torpedoes always hit at or below the waterline, they significantly more deadly than shells, and the comparative light weight of torpedo launchers makes them suited for use aboard small vessels. This combination of extreme fire-power and small size made the development of the torpedo boat, a small warship armed with only with a few torpedoes, in 1876 a natural development.

The introduction of the torpedo boat created a panic in naval circles because it was believed that swarms of torpedo boats would allow tiny nations to lay waste to huge, expensive fleets, forever upsetting the balance of power at sea.

However, as famous naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan observed, these boats were akin to fire-ships in that they were effective at striking fear into the enemy but not very effective at sinking ships.¹ Torpedo boats suffered from the same fates as earlier small craft, plus some new ones: they were dangerous in open waters, had short ranges, could only engage enemy ships effectively at short ranges (at which point they would be ripped up by the low-caliber self-defense guns carried aboard most battleships of the era), and were too small to carry advanced aiming devices or range finders, a fault that doomed them to inaccuracy. Indeed, early torpedo boats were almost total failures: torpedoes boats in the Russo-Japanese war only sunk one ship, and she had already been rendered

crippled and immobile by battleship fire. Even the vastly improved torpedo boats in WWI still only sunk one cruiser in the entire war. The destroyer, originally built to defend fleets against the torpedo boat, had largely replaced the torpedo boat by WWI since destroyers were more seaworthy, had a longer range, carried better detection equipment and, most importantly, had guns and depth charges to provide adequate defenses against submarines, aircraft, and surface ships. This trend continued through WWII, where torpedo boats were hampered by increased fleet speeds (which denied torpedo boats the speed and agility advantage they had long relied on) and long-range patrol aircraft, which could detect and defeat torpedo boats before they even came close to an enemy fleet.

After WWII, small vessels again underwent a renaissance. The invention of the guided missile, coupled with the shrinking of electronics, particularly radar, gave rise to the missile boat, a type of fast, short range boat designed to sink larger ships with swarm tactics and then escape speedily. Some larger missile boats could even carry close in weapons systems (CIWS) to defend against enemy missiles and anti-aircraft missiles, which ought to have taken away the main liability of torpedo boats: their lack of defenses against enemy attacks. Initially, it looked as if missile boats were the huge threats that torpedo boats were supposed to be. This is illustrated by several events, especially the famous sinking of the Israeli frigate *Eilat* by an Egyptian Osa-class missile boat in 1967; the destruc-

1. Mahan, Alfred T. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. New York: Sagamore, 1957. Print.



Left: British torpedo boats patrol the English channel in WWII. The panic that vessels like these stirred resembles the current panic caused by Iranian missile boats. Above: Iranian missile boats, like the craft pictured above, do not pose as much of a threat as many think.

tion of four Pakistani ships, including a destroyer and two large merchant vessels, by Indian missile boats in 1971 and the sinking of five Syrian missile boats by six Israeli missile boats at the Battle of Latakia (the first battle between two fleets of missile boats) in 1973.

However, it must be borne in mind that in all three of these engagements, the losers were obsolete ships that lacked defensive countermeasures. The effectiveness of countermeasures, particularly CIWS guns and missiles, has been well demonstrated: the successful use of electronic countermeasures and chaff by the Israelis at Latakia and the effective use of CIWS missiles to defeat anti-ship missiles by the Royal Navy in the Falklands War provide two good examples. Finally, missile boats are still extraordinarily vulnerable to attacks from aircraft and surface ships. For example, NATO helicopters made short work of the Iraqi Navy's missile craft in the Gulf War, and the U.S. Navy destroyed three Iranian speedboats and one Iranian gunship with aircraft and ship launched missiles in Operation Praying Mantis while taking no casualties.

Further, American fleets are very well defended against swarm attacks. Consider the defenses that a missile boat must break through to strike an American fleet. First, the vessel must escape American combat air patrol, which can easily sink missile boats, as it did in the Gulf War, or shoot down incoming anti-ship missiles. Next, the vessel must dodge a hail of five-inch shells fired from defending U.S. destroyers and cruisers, which can easily disable the weaponry and electronics of an attacking missile boat. Third, the missile boat needs to avoid retaliation from American anti-ship missiles. When one considers that SM-2 anti-aircraft missiles, which are smaller than most anti-ship missiles, were able to cripple an Iranian missile boat in Operation Praying Mantis, the probability . Then, the missile boat would have to avoid gunfire from the numerous 25mm au-

tocannons onboard American destroyers and cruisers, each of which are capable of sinking smaller speedboats and disabling larger missile craft at short range. If the attacking vessel manages to break through this wall of defenses to fire its weaponry, the battle is not yet over. American warships possess multiple types of missile-defense missiles, namely the SM-2 and Enhanced Sea Sparrow Missile (ESSM). Although it is possible to overwhelm these defense systems by firing enough missiles, this is unlikely, since a single American Ticonderoga-class cruiser can carry 488 ESSMs, and multiple of these warships defend each U.S. Navy carrier. An incoming missile would then have to deal with passive countermeasures, such as electronic countermeasures like radar jamming and decoys such as chaff, which demonstrated their effectiveness in the Gulf War when they defended battleship *U.S.S. Wisconsin* from an Iraqi missile. Finally, the missile would have to break through the Phalanx CIWS guns (an autonomous anti-missile autocannon) defending the American ships.

So to recap: an attacking missile boat would have to break through six layers of offensive and defensive weaponry to hit an American warship. Furthermore, this does not even take into account how effective the missiles that Iran arms its vessels with are. Indeed, it seems that most nations drastically over-hype the capabilities of their missile systems. In 2006, for example, Hezbollah failed to sink Israeli corvette *INS Hanit* after hitting it with a C-802, a Chinese missile in use with the Iranian Navy. Despite the fact that the missile was advertised as being able to sink a 10,000 ton ship (the *Hanit* weighs 1,200 tons) and the fact that the missile hit the *Hanit*'s highly explosive aviation fuel storage tanks, the ship remained afloat.

So the threat posed by Iranian speedboats may not be so dire after all. However, the fact that Iranian speedboats could potentially

pose a threat means that the U.S. Navy must create a means by which to defeat this threat. A strategy for defeating Iranian missile boats must be both offensive and defensive: that is, the Navy must be able to both sink Iranian boats and defend itself against attacks by them.

The offensive aspect of fighting Iranian boats is mostly already taken care of. Combat air patrol can be expected to detect incoming Iranian craft and fire on them. However, because Iranian missile boats are small and fairly stealthy, they may be difficult to detect from high altitudes. Thus, it would be prudent to devote a small portion of a carrier's combat air patrol to low-altitude searches for Iranian boats. As the success of helicopter operations against Iraqi missile boats in the Gulf War demonstrates, helicopters can provide a valuable defense against missile boats. However, a helicopter is useless if it is not armed, so the Navy must have its anti-submarine and patrol helicopters carry some kind of light anti-ship missile such as the AGM-65 Maverick (which demonstrated its effectiveness against Iraqi missile boats in the Iran-Iraq War) while in the Persian Gulf. Further, surface ships can effectively defeat missile boats using their light guns and anti-aircraft missiles. However, surface ships are useless if they do not detect Iranian craft, so it must be ensured that all Navy ships are equipped with the very latest sensors, and that these sensors are always on.

The main area of concern regarding Iranian missile boats is defense. U.S. Navy vessels are equipped with highly advanced CIWS and electronic countermeasures, which ought to provide adequate defenses against Iranian boats. All Navy ships ought to be equipped with these CIWS guns and electronic countermeasures (ECM). Some ships that currently carry CIWS and ECM ought to carry more of it, particularly the *Arleigh Burke* flight IIa destroyers, which only carry one Phalanx gun, and ought to carry two to give them 365 degrees of protection. Finally, to prevent "swarm" attacks, in which vast numbers of small boats overwhelm larger ships by forcing the latter to expend all of their defensive weapons on endless waves of boats, the Navy needs to upgrade all ships to carry AESA radar, which can track more targets than current radars can. Further, U.S. warships ought to carry more ammunition for all of their weapons in order to not get overwhelmed by large numbers of enemies.

Thus, the supposedly lethal threat of Iranian speedboats may not be so scary after all. History has shown that small craft rarely live up to expectations, and this is no exception. The Navy currently has the means to defend itself against small craft attacks, and it can be expected to do so in the event of a conflict. It is probably now time for the naval brass to start looking for the next unbeatable threat to naval supremacy.

Gay-Away: Homophobic Legislation in Uganda

Members of Ugandan Parliament set to vote on bill criminalizing homosexuality as a capital offense

By Jessica Feinberg

ASSISTANT EDITOR

A bill that would legalize murder for homosexuality, that has been described as “state-sponsored genocide” by Reverend Canon Gideon Byamugisha, is set to become in Uganda this December. The proposal, by David Bahati (a member of the Ugandan Parliament), seeks to that seeks to expand the criminalization of homosexuality, as well as enumerate the punishment of offenses, despite international outcry. Ugandan homosexuals in the past have faced abuse and torture at the hands of police, according to a press release from Amnesty International, and often are victims of vandalism, death threats, blackmail, and “correctional rape,” in which homosexuals (usually lesbians) are forced into sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite gender in order to “cure” them of homosexuality.^{1, 2}

Under the bill, same-sex relations would be defined as one of two things, “aggravated homosexuality,” for which one would face the death penalty, or an “offense of homosexuality,” punishable by lifelong imprisonment. “Aggravated homosexuality” faces a severer sentence because it includes repeat offenders, as well as homosexual acts by authority figures, parents, or people who are HIV-positive (among others).

The bill also seeks to eliminate the possibility of homosexuals fleeing the country, for it mandates extradition back to Uganda for punishment for those who flee. The bill also attempts to restrict humanitarian aid to those individuals attacked by the bill, for it catalogues penalties for knowledge of homosexuals or support of LGBT rights by individuals, media organizations, companies, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This restriction of the actions of NGOs is especially harmful to the LGBT population in Uganda, as organizations classified as NGOs include the Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders, Mercy Corps, and most distressingly for Uganda, numerous organizations for refugees (including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S. Committee for Refugees, and Refugees International).

The bill is a continuation of a long legacy

1. Gettleman, Jeffrey. “American’s Role Seen in Uganda Anti-Gay Push.” *The New York Times*. 3 Jan. 2010. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

2. Rice, Xan. “Uganda Considers Death sentence for Gay Sex in Bill Before Parliament.” *The Guardian*. 29 Nov. 2010. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.



Kaytee Riek, Creative Commons

of human rights abuses regarding homosexuality by Uganda. It was drafted after an anti-homosexuality workshop in Uganda’s capital, Kampala, that featured several Americans, including Christian extremist Scott Lively, who vitriolically claims that both the Rwandan genocide and the Nazi Holocaust were the result of “militaristic male homosexuals”, and Don Schmierer, a board member of Exodus International (a Christian group that promotes the use of conversion therapy).³ The workshop furthered homophobic sentiments in Uganda, including fear of the threat of an “international gay agenda,” to which the Ugandan legislature felt it must respond.⁴ The Ugandan media has come under fire for outing suspected homosexuals, and Ugandan magazine *Rolling Stone* (unaffiliated with the American magazine of the same name) published a list of the names and addresses of Uganda’s “top” homosexuals, under a headline calling for Ugandans to “hang them.”⁵

3. Burroway, Jim. “Exodus Board Member Joins Nazi Revisionist At Uganda Conference.” *Box Turtle Bulletin* RSS, N.P. 24 Feb. 200. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

4. Kaoma, Kapya. “The U.S. Christian Right and the Attack on Gays in Africa.” *PublicEye.org* 2010. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

5. Walsh, Tom, David McKenzie and Faith Karimi. *Ugan-*

An anti-AIDS activist group called the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power protests the bill in New York City.

Ugandan officials continue to support its enactment with few reservations. One such reservation comes from James Buturo, Uganda’s Minister of Ethics and Integrity, who claimed Uganda thinks “a life sentence could be better because it gives room for the offenders to be rehabilitated. Killing them might not be helpful.”⁶ However, according to Ugandan Speaker of Parliament Rebecca Kadaga, the bill is still likely to pass, due to its “high demand,” and the committee chairman Stephen Tashobya stated he has already readied a working document “because [he] had a lot of responses during public hearings.”⁷

It’s good to know Uganda’s department of Ethics and Integrity values facilitating a

dan Tabloid Publishes New ‘Gay List’”. *CNN. Cables News Network*, 1 Nov. 2010. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

6. Biryabarema, Elias. “Uganda government softens proposed anti-gay law.” *Reuters*. 23 Dec. 2009. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

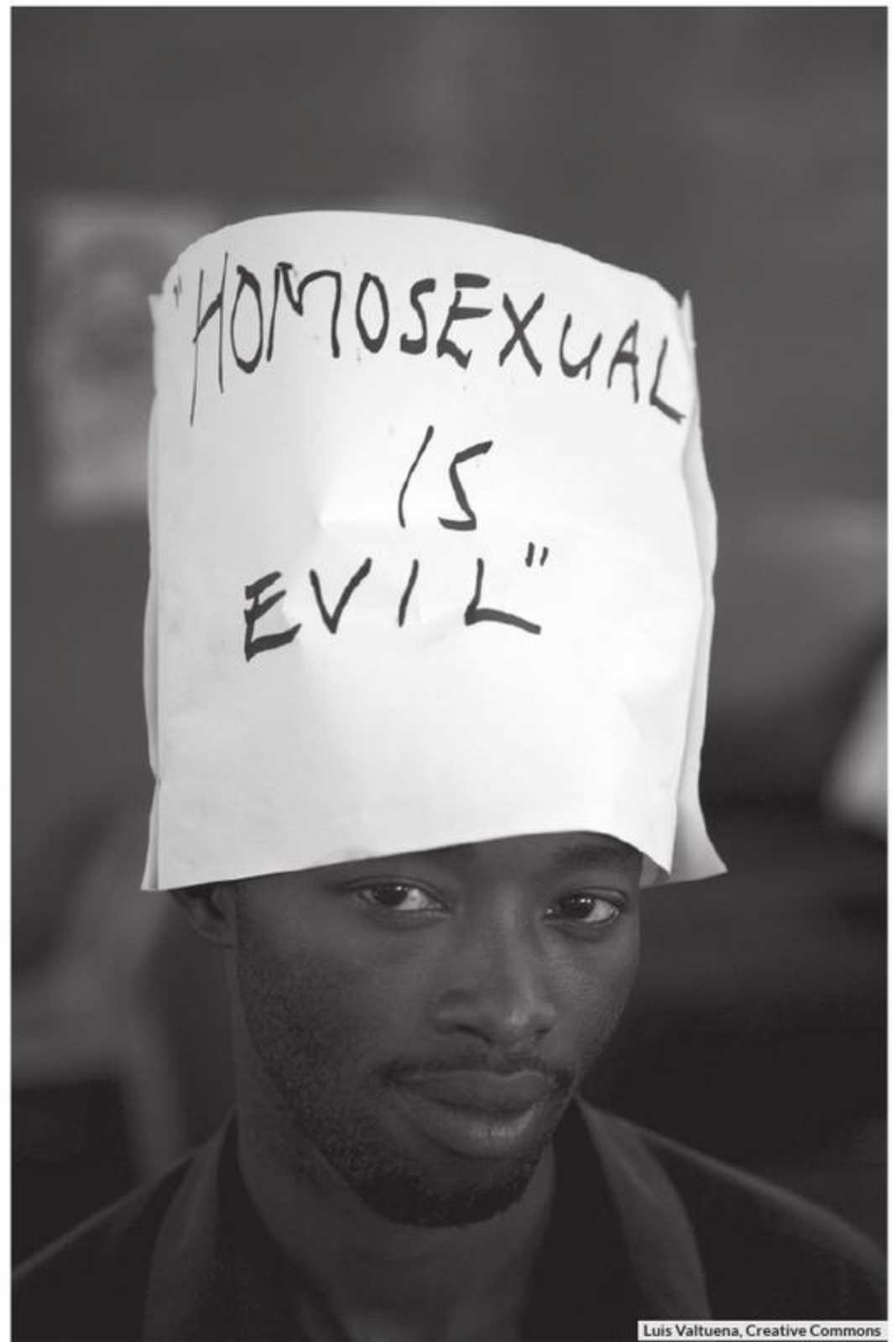
7. Naturinda, Sheila. “Kadaga Wants Anti-Gay Bill Tabled.” *Daily Monitor*. N.p., 16 Nov. 2012. Web. 27 Nov. 2012.

draconian cause over its ethics and integrity. Why would the Minister of Ethics and Integrity ever concern himself with such petty things as basic human rights? This proposal for the legalization of murder is a witch hunt, and they have the torches and pitchforks ready. Bahati, who proposed the bill, has ignored even these meager criticisms, and continues to push for its passage, while Uganda's Parliament speaker, Rebecca Kadaga, referred to the murderous bill as a "Christmas gift" to the Ugandan people.⁸

Fortunately, the bill has faced incensed internal and international outcry. Article 21 of the Ugandan constitution provides for "equality and freedom from discrimination," and states that "all persons are equal before and under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect and shall enjoy equal protection of the law." Ugandan activists have used this article to denounce the bill's constitutionality, and critics from around the world have pointed to the American representatives to the anti-homosexuality workshop in Kampala as

soluately horrible" and noted that his contribution to the conference involved only advising Ugandans on parenting skills.¹⁰

Other governmental and religious organizations have expressed severe concerns. The French government, numerous Canadian officials, and the United States have expressed opposition to this bill. Both the European Parliament and the Swedish government have threatened to disband aid programs to Uganda in the event the bill passes, as did the UK's Secretary of State for International



Luis Valtuena, Creative Commons

This proposal for the legalization of murder of homosexuals is a witch hunt, and Ugandans have the torches and pitchforks ready.

inciting the hatred that caused the bill.⁹ However, several participants in the workshop have condemned the legislation. Exodus International has officially condemned the bill, stating on their website that "every human life, regardless of sexual orientation, is of inestimable and equal worth to God... Exodus International has not supported and will not support any legislation that deprives others of life and dignity based on their sexual orientation or the expression of such within the confines of a consensual adult relationship." Further, its representative to the workshop, Don Schmierer, called the bill "horrible, ab-

8. Biryabarema, Elias. "Uganda says wants to pass anti-gay law as 'Christmas gift'". Reuters. 13 Nov. 2012. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

9. Van der Westhuizen, Christi. "UGANDA: Helping Hand For Homophobia From U.S. Christians". Inter Press Service. 11 Nov. 2009. Web. 17 Nov. 2012.

Development. Similarly, numerous religious officials have voiced their opposition, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Vatican.

Governments, international organizations, and individuals must continue to condemn and oppose this reprehensible legislation. In the words of Canon Gideon Byamugisha, the bill "would become state-legislated genocide." The atrocity and criminality of this bill should be evident to everyone, regardless of their political or religious beliefs. I hope that despite current controversy within the United States over allowing homosexuals to marry, the government will be able to agree that genocide based on sexual orientation is exceedingly atrocious

10. *ibid* 3

A Ugandan worshiper displays this homophobic message at a rally in a Kampala slum promoting the Anti-Homosexuality Bill .

and unacceptable. Bipartisan opposition is possible – of the four members of Congress to release statements condemning the bill, two were Democrats and two Republicans – and it is essential such unified resistance be achieved. It is of utmost importance that Ugandans identifying as LGBT are granted refugee status and their immigration into the United States is streamlined to prevent the horrific effects of a legislated genocide. The United States should also work with other countries, especially through the UN, to determine what action should be taken against the Ugandan government if the bill passes that does not affect innocent people suffering in the country - restricting certain forms of aid, especially humanitarian, would only undermine our interest in promoting human rights in the country. The United States must condemn and fight this horrendous crime against humanity.



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Puerto Ricans wave their flag at a rally supporting the referendum for statehood.

Hands Off Puerto Rico

Despite media hype, Puerto Ricans do not need or want statehood

By Elena Pinsker
STAFF WRITER

On November 6, 2012, most of the United States was worrying about who would be elected president. They were thinking about the future of the economy, the social changes that are taking place around us and the future of our foreign policy. What they were not thinking about was a 51st state.

Puerto Ricans, however, were. Because on November 6, a referendum on the status of Puerto Rico took place on the small island that hides beside Haiti and the Dominican Republic. A country dominated by Spanish-speakers, Puerto Rico's identity is so different from that of the United States that its people are represented separately in international events such as the Olympics and the World Cup. Classes are taught in Spanish and English is taught only as a second, albeit required, language in school.

Since the referendum, word has been circling around the United States that Puerto Ricans are desperate for statehood. However, a closer look at the voting results shows that this plea is not actually as widespread as it ought to be to justify a monumental change such as the addition of Puerto Rico to the Union. A much larger majority than what is shown by the current referendum should be reached before statehood is even considered as an option.

The first of two questions asked, "Do you think that Puerto Rico should continue to have its present form of territorial status?" Nearly 54 percent of the valid votes marked "No," while 46 percent marked "Yes." The

second question asked, "Regardless of your selection in the first question, please mark which of the following non-territorial options would you prefer."

The options provided were statehood, independence or a "Sovereign Free Associated State," through which Puerto Rico would no longer be a territory of the United States, but would agree with the United States as to the specifics of political involvement as an independent nation. While over 25 percent of the voters left this question blank, of those who did

answer, 61.15 percent chose statehood as the preferred option, leading many media outlets and politicians to incorrectly claim that Puerto Ricans are desperately vying for their territory to become a fully-fledged American state.

It is clear that the desire for this statehood is not ubiquitous. In a population of 3.7 million people, a difference of 138,231 voters should not decide the fate of the territory. A much larger majority ought to be reached before passing such a drastic measure.

Furthermore, Governor Luis Fortuno, a supporter of Puerto Rican statehood, was recently voted out of office and was replaced by Alejandro Garcia Padilla, a proponent of Puerto Rico's status remaining the way it currently is. This, coupled with such a small majority voting for statehood in the referendum, is not a clear-enough mandate for Puerto Rican statehood, and should not justify a change that would have negative impacts on both parties.

The economic effects of Puerto Rican statehood for the United States are also undesirable. The adoption of Puerto Rico's failing economy is simply unfeasible for the United States. In 2011, the unemployment rate in the territory was 18.5 percent.¹ Their GDP per capita would also make them the poorest state in the country, along with their median income of \$17,741.² Their debt is nearly \$57 billion, and their economy is currently shrinking.³ Put simply, the United States literally cannot afford to take on Puerto Rico's economic situation as a state.

Moreover, many corporations and businesses in Puerto Rico (or those who currently engage in business with Puerto Rico) would be subject to a tax increase, as these businesses would now be taxed as domestic businesses, with a current tax rate as high as 35 percent.⁴

Such corporate tax increases would be harmful to the already-damaged Puerto Rican economy. Both Governor Mitt Romney

1. United States. U.S. Census Bureau. American Fact Finder. SELECTED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS - 2011 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

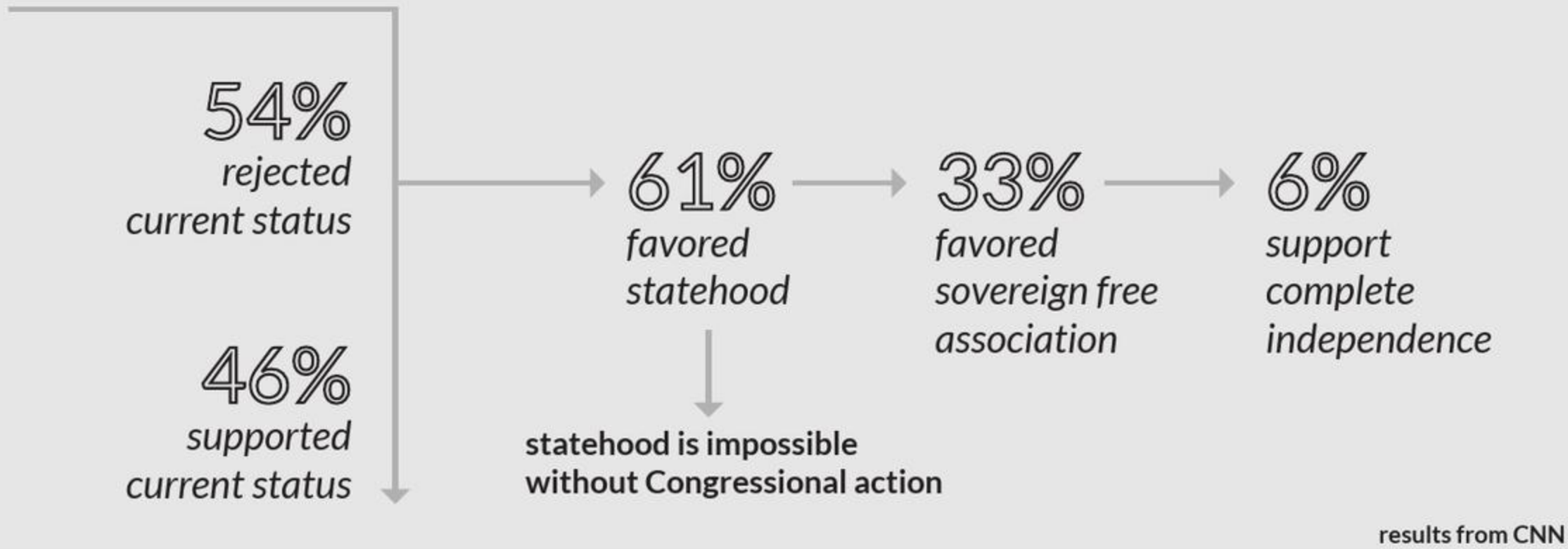
2. "Real Per Capita Gross Domestic Product by State." Real Per Capita Gross Domestic Product by State. Bureau of Business & Economic Research, 6 June 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

3. Miranda Sierra, María. "Puerto Rico Governor Enacts Measures to Eliminate Deficit." Caribbean Net News. N.p., 29 Jan. 2009. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

4. Horowitz, Daniel. "U.S. With Highest Corporate Tax Rate." RedState. N.p., 10 Oct. 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

A closer look at the voting shows that this plea for statehood is not actually as widespread as it ought to be to justify such a change.

In vote of Puerto Rico's current status as a U.S. Commonwealth,



and President Barack Obama expressed a desire to lower the corporate tax rate in order to stimulate job growth and boost the economy, and both parties agree that an excessive corporate tax rate would hurt the economy.⁵ It is beneficial to all businesses Puerto Rican businesses and to the United States economy as a whole to keep Puerto Rico as a territory.

With the poverty rate in Puerto Rico at 41.7 percent in 2011,⁶ it seems like Puerto Ricans cannot afford statehood either. Currently, Puerto Ricans do not pay federal income tax unless their source of income comes from companies based in the United States, yet many still receive benefits from federal welfare programs such as food stamps and Medicare (although their eligibility requirements differ).⁷ Under statehood, the taxes of every member of the work force would increase, which is not something many Puerto Ricans can currently afford.

Along with the economic impacts, there are cultural implications that must not be ignored. Puerto Rican culture is rich and unique. Although English is a required course in schools and Puerto Rico is technically a bilingual territory, 95 percent of the population speaks Spanish at home, with 80 percent say-

ing they speak English less than "very well."⁸ Language and culture are intrinsically linked, and in Puerto Rico, English is merely the second language. One may argue that Puerto Rico is, on paper, a bilingual territory, but the reality is that most Puerto Ricans do not feel comfortable speaking English.

The United States cannot afford to take on Puerto Rico's economic situation.

While it is true that culture differs between states in America, and it would be wrong to contend that the entirety of Puerto Rican culture would be lost in statehood, it would be equally untrue to say that their culture would remain what it is today.

Although the United States has no official language, speaking English is an economic necessity. If Puerto Rico were to become a state, this necessity would allow English to push its way into the territory, inevitably changing the identity and culture of many of its inhabitants. This, coupled with such a small majority voting for statehood in the referendum, is not a clear-enough mandate for Puerto Rican statehood, and should not justify a change that would have negative impacts on both parties.

Furthermore, language and culture are inherently related, and the addition of even more English to the territory would cause a

decline in the rich boricua culture of Puerto Rico.

The only way to avoid this type of cultural loss would be to make the United States closer to a bilingual country, similar to the manner in which Canada deals with the usage of French in Quebec, where nearly 95% of the population's mother tongue is French.

This, however, would be a costly move for the United States. Applying Quebec's model of bilingual government, or even a similar one, to the United States would yield an added cost of \$26.7 billion annually because of necessary projects like language training for federal employees, federal interpretation and translation services, and a bilingual bonus pay to federal workers.⁹ With our federal debt as high as it is now, we cannot justify an expense of this size.

This, coupled with such a small majority voting for statehood in the referendum, is not a clear-enough mandate for Puerto Rican statehood, and should not justify a change that would have negative impacts on both parties.

While it may be feasible in the future, the reality is that Puerto Rican statehood is not a viable option right now — neither for the United States nor Puerto Rico. With economic and cultural impacts bad for both parties, and without a clear desire for statehood from the territory itself, U.S. politicians should not be pushing for a change this drastic. For now, the 50 stars should remain in their place.

5. Marron, Donald. "US Corporate Tax Rates Must Come Down." *Christian Science Monitor* 21 Mar. 2012: n. pag. Print.

6. *ibid* 1

7. Soifer, Don. "Statehood for Puerto Rico and the Potential Fiscal Impact of Official Bilingualism for the United States." *Lexington Institute* (2010): n. pag. Web.

8. United States. U.S. Census Bureau. *American Fact Finder. SELECTED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS - 2011 Puerto Rico Community Survey 1-Year Estimates*. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

9. *ibid* 7



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