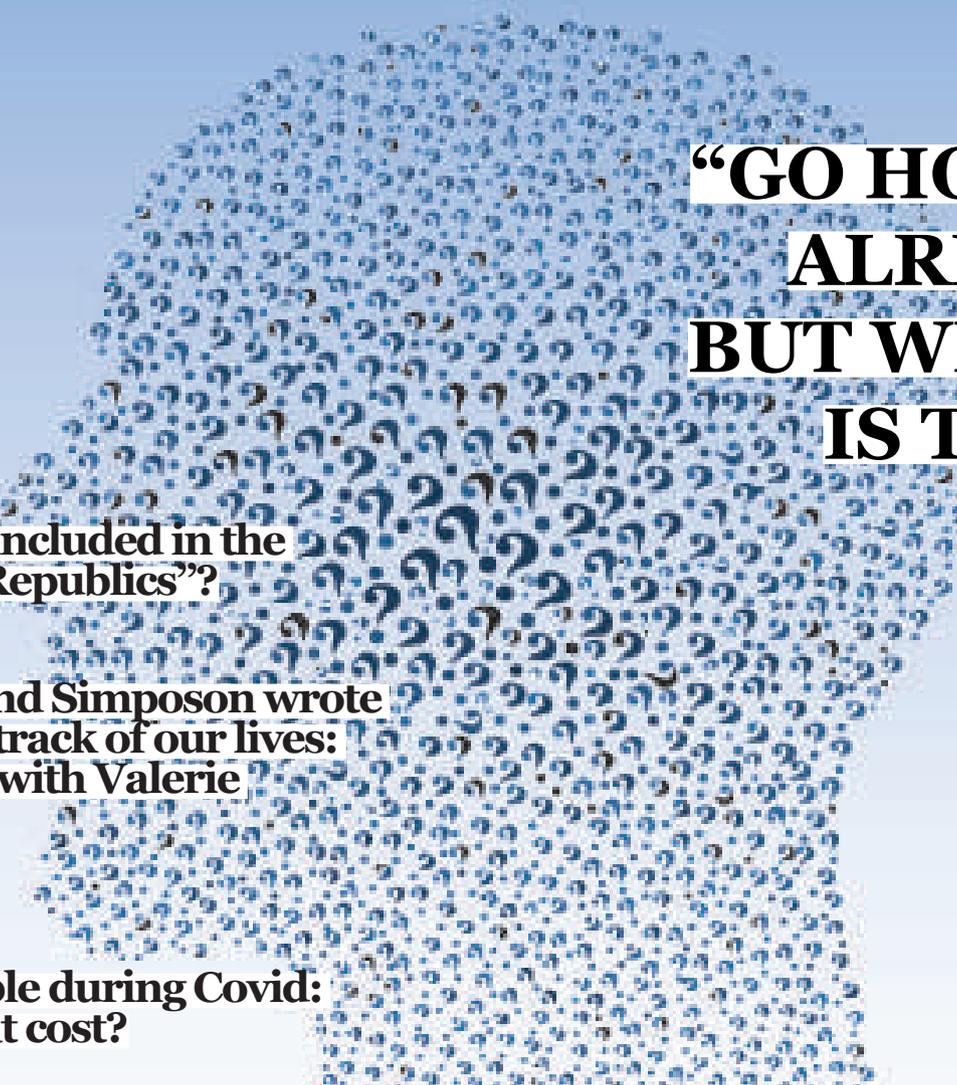


Political Science Magazine | *Politologisch Magazine*

DEBAT

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MARCH 2022



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ALRIGHT,
BUT WHERE
IS THAT?**

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**Who was included in the
‘People’s Republics’?**

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JAARGANG 35
VOLUME

EDITIE 2
ISSUE

**THIS YEAR
WE ARE CELEBRATING
OUR VIIIth LUSTRUM
ANNIVERSARY!**

*Stay tuned for all the events
we have planned!*



The Politics of Identity

In a world as diverse as ours, with eight billion people sharing one planet, there are bound to be cleavages and tensions. A stark difference between the societal position of men and women has existed since antiquity, carrying on to the present day. Countries interested by a large influx of immigrants, such as the United States, remain a place of racial conflict and structural biases, instead of maintaining their reputation as a so-called 'Melting pot'. All these factors are evermore present in the contemporary society and continue to shape individuals and their relations with the world. This is why this edition is dedicated to a theme which will resonate with many: the Politics of Identity.

DEBAT constantly strives for inclusion of all genders, races, and identities. This is why we aim to cover news and events from multiple regions of the world. In this edition, we proudly include articles ranging from the protests about vaccine regulations throughout Europe to how Singapore deals with a culturally diverse population under many aspects. Moreover, we had the chance to interview songwriter Valerie Simpson about her career. All these articles reflect the interests and voices of DEBAT's writers, and as always we strive to bring today's most relevant issues through the eyes of Political Science students.

Martina Sclaverano and Ada Haliloğlu
DEBAT's editors-in-chief

Identiteitspolitiek

In een wereld zo divers als de onze, met 8 miljard mensen, is er veel onenigheid en spanning. Sinds de oudheid bestaan er al verschillen tussen de socio-economische positie van mannen en vrouwen die tot de dag van vandaag te zien zijn. In landen die aantrekkelijk zijn voor immigranten, zoals de Verenigde Staten, zijn er veel raciale conflicten en structurele vooroordelen. Toch lijkt het veranderen van deze reputatie niet aan de orde. Deze problemen blijven centraal staan en zijn bepalend voor onze kijk op de maatschappij. Daarom staat deze editie in het teken van een thema dat velen zal aanspreken: Identiteitspolitiek.

DEBAT zet zich in voor inclusiviteit omtrent gender, etniciteit en identiteit. In onze berichtgeving proberen we nieuws vanuit verschillende streken en regio's te betrekken. Deze editie belicht uiteenlopende onderwerpen, van de vaccinatie protesten in Europa tot aan Singapore's kijk op culturele diversiteit. Daarnaast hebben we songwriter Valerie Simpson geïnterviewd over haar carrière. Alle artikelen reflecteren de interesses van DEBAT schrijvers en dragen ieder bij aan een studentenperspectief op de politieke vraagstukken van vandaag.

Martina Sclaverano and Ada Haliloğlu
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COVER

Designed by: Mira Kurtovic

CONTACT

SPIL, t.a.v. Commissioner of Internal Relations
Wassenaarsweg 52, SB03
2333 AK Leiden
Tel.: +31 (0) 70 527 38 72
committee.debat@spilplaats.nl
www.debatmagazine.nl

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RETROSPECT

In this column, we cover the most impactful news stories in the past months.

by *Lyuba Nicheva*

OMICRON:

FROM ALPHA TO OMEGA

The new variant of Covid-19, Omicron, was first found in South Africa. Now it has spread to more than 100 countries. After the new variant was identified, both Europe and North America imposed travel restrictions from and to South-African countries. That led to outrage from the people from Southern Africa, who considered the reactions more political than anything else. That is not the only reason that the people of Southern Africa are furious. The low export level of vaccines to Africa is one of the reasons that the Omicron variant was able to develop and spread in that region. The combination of a low immunity rate and the widespread of the virus is a good environment for the development of a potential new variant.

RUSSIA-UKRAINE: FURTHER TENSIONS AT THE BORDER

There is a tension at the border between Russia and Ukraine. The close relations between NATO and Ukraine, and signals of help coming from NATO, has prompted President Putin to talk of “appropriate retaliatory military-technical measures”. This tension is lengthy and resonates from the same troop movements in April 2021 which essentially is the subtle advancement of Russian troops into Ukrainian territory along the border with Russia. With the help of satellite pictures, Ukrainians are trying to prove that those movements have happened. Russia, on the other hand,

is denying these allegations. However, there is a serious threat of escalation at the borders, even though President Putin and Biden had a talk on this matter in December. The conversation resulted in the decision that a follow up dialogue is needed from both sides.

AFGHANISTAN: COULD OBSERVATION LEAD TO DEVASTATION?

Since the Taliban took over Afghanistan in August, changes swept the country. Two decades of Western influence vanished overnight. The last restrictions towards women banned them from travelling alone for long distances, over 72 km. In order to be able to travel, women should have a male relative accompanying them. That is only one of the many restrictions that the Talibans have imposed since coming to power, including the prohibition for women to attend schools and universities or work and the introduction of dress-codes. Those radical changes might lead to a “free fall” of the economy, according to a coordinator from the UN Emergency Relief. That comes with the recent devaluation of the Afghani currency. Martin Griffiths, the Under-Secretary General of Humanitarian Affairs, calls for action in order to help the Afghani population.

COP26: VACATION

In November, the COP26 took place in Glasgow. During the Paris Agreement, the 1.5°C raise of temperature was the limit countries decided to

aim for. Because the threat of raising temperatures was imminent, the talk was no longer in terms of “if it is going to happen”, but rather “when and how much”. Now there is only a 50% chance of achieving the goal of keeping rising temperatures to this minimum. It is more likely that until 2030, the world temperature will increase by more than 1.5°C. Therefore, the targets from the Paris Agreement are falling short. Only 23 countries made new commitments to limit further the use of coal. On the other hand, there is an increase in monitoring of progress since the Paris Agreement. There is a lot more to be done, but more meetings are scheduled. In 2022, a high-level ministerial meeting will take place, followed by a leaders summit in 2023.

BARBADOS: LONG LIVE DAME SANDRA MASON

Barbados became the newest republic in the world, exactly 55 years after its independence. During the occasion the first elected President, Dame Sandra Mason, was sworn in and took the place of the Queen as the Head of State. For now the country will continue being part of the Commonwealth of Nations. Prince Charles attended the event and acknowledged the problematic history of slavery. Rihanna, a singer born in Barbados, has been an ambassador of Barbados since 2018 and during the ceremony was named a national hero.

DEAD END OF ABORTION DEBATES

Insight into conservative USA and Europe

by *Debora Hornanova*

The hot topic of abortions is not likely to subside in the near future. Even though there are two clearly defined stances on the issue of legalizing abortions, pro-life and pro-choice, their contrasting nature only highlights the unprobability of any compromise that satisfies both sides. Nevertheless, the main concerns should not be about the argumentation behind these views, though this enjoys the most public attention. The central question should rather challenge the propriety of imposing somebody's values upon others. Some may have an opinion that abortion is murder while others view it only as an act of exercising one's right. Nonetheless, forcing anybody to follow laws that they do not only despise but that also interfere with their decisions concerning their own body is surely not a solution to this ongoing discord.

USA: Possible overruling *Roe v. Wade*

In recent months, one of the most trending topics in the US has been the possible overruling of *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruling that allows women to get an abortion in their first trimester. Those who could not afford to travel to another country for an abortion or had non life-threatening pregnancies were forced to illegally terminate their pregnancies. This often included dangerous "back-alley" abortions that had taken lives of thousands of women every year.

Nonetheless, the option to return to



such days is becoming a possibility of today. Presently, the conservative majority of justices in the Supreme Court (remainder from the Trump presidency) might open the door for deciding the legality of abortion by each state. This would lead to banning or restricting abortions in twenty-six states. To get to a such result, the Court has to decide in favor of the nation's tightest restrictions on abortion – Mississippi abortion law. It bans most abortions after fifteen weeks of pregnancy with only exception of health problems of the

mother or fetus (not including pregnancies caused by rape or incest).

Nonetheless, there are two ironies that sprouted out in the shadow of restrictive abortion laws. The first one concerns the Mississippi state itself with Governor Bryant's claim that saving unborn children is worth fighting for. However, it contradicts Mississippi's ranking that clearly shows that saving people who are already born is not a priority considering their 50th place in healthcare out of all states. The second irony is the Republicans' questionable use of the catchphrase 'My Body, My Choice' about COVID vaccines and mask mandates. Besides the arguable suitability of using it in such a way, using the motto of reproductive movements that you are strongly against for your own objectives brings about awkwardness in the air.

Tensions inside of Polish borders: protests and regulations

Generally, countries in Europe allow abortion on request. Though there are some countries that do not. A year ago, Poland's conservative government imposed a near-total ban on abortions supported by the Catholic Church with whom it is strongly interconnected. Considering that vast majority of abortions are ought to be banned, the decision has resolved in number of protests.

In November, Poland's government



decided to clarify its abortion laws after doctors' fear of breaking them had most likely resulted in a mother's death that sparked protests. Currently, the government wants to take a step further of monitoring pregnancies for the sake of digitalisation by setting up a register of pregnancies to report miscarriages coming into effect in January 2022. As expected, women's rights activists were not pleased with this and have organized online protests. In December, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has issued a decision strongly urging Poland to adopt procedures for access to lawful abortion care and information. It was predated by the failure of the Polish authorities to comply with several judgments concerning human rights violations of those seeking abortions.

Other side of Europe: Illegal and banned abortions

Germany is not as liberal as one might think regarding abortions. German criminal law makes abortion illegal and the sentence could be carried up to three years. The excep-

tion is only available during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy and has to include mandatory counselling. Nevertheless, trouble does not end there. The topic of abortion is not a part of the standard curriculum for gynecologists in Germany and doctors are forbidden from advertising information about abortion. There is thus a prominent shortage of doctors trained to perform abortions. Nevertheless, pandemic has opened the access for safe virtual abortion consultations that were mainly used because of the lack of child care options rather than COVID-19 or quarantine cases during the pandemic.

Another country in which it was illegal to get an abortion was San Marino. This majority Catholic state has only recently, in September 2021, allowed abortions in some circumstances. The black sheeps of the European family are Malta and Andorra being the only countries in Europe that ban abortions altogether with no exceptions. Monaco allows abortion in only special circumstances.

Conclusion: No baby steps towards a perfect solution

The debates and studies involving morality and permissibility of abortion are abundant. Just an example could be an essay written by Anton Tupa who reacted to different works defining the difference between letting die and killing a fetus referring to diverse types of abortion methods using analogies. However, in the end, an abortion is still an act of termination of one's life in its very early stage of development. Arguing whether this life is more or less worthy or permissible to kill simply because of the length of its existence sounds only as a way of making some room for negotiation. For example, having a boundary of weeks when it is allowed to abort the baby gives some sense of control for the other side of the argument with the contrasting view.

Nonetheless, the more negotiation room is created due to specific conditions, the more space for disagreements appears. Since neither side is willing to let go, it seems that this cycle will be never-ending. But again, coming back to the main question concerning abortions: Should it be allowed others to uphold their values upon everybody else? Women who are determined to have an abortion are not likely to change their mind only because the fetus undergo more months of development. Even though there is no perfect solution, getting rid of safe abortions due to restrictions and bans does not make a lot of sense. Regardless, the lives of fetuses are not the only ones at stake. Only the women who are pregnant are the ones who carry the baby and are entitled to give birth and take care of the matters after birth once abortion does not take place.

SCHIZO POLITIEK

Een Korte introductie tot Kapitalisme en Schizofrenie

door *Kasper Heijink*

In de Jaren '60 en '70 waren de Franse filosofen Gilles Deleuze en Félix Guattari (D & G) bezig met het schrijven van hun magnum opus, waarin zij een nieuwe filosofie voorstelden. Hierin bouwden zij verder op het eerdere werk van onder andere Spinoza, Nietzsche, Marx en Freud & Lacan. Maar wie waren D & G, en wat was hun filosofie?

Deleuze en Guattari

Deleuze was een Franse filosoof die actief was in de tweede helft van de 20ste eeuw. Alhoewel hij zichzelf een marxist en anti-kapitalist noemde, verwierp hij de historische dialectiek en het idee dat de geschiedenis zou eindigen met een communistische utopie. Dat maakt dat sommige communisten, zoals Slavoj Žižek en Alain Badiou, hem niet als marxisten durven classificeren. De Australische professor en Deleuze-kenner Paul Patton plaatst hem daarom in de liberale filosofie naast John Locke en J. S. Mill.

Guattari was een Franse psychoanalyticus en student van Jacques Lacan. Hij ontmoette Gilles Deleuze na de Parijse studentenopstand in 1968. Samen schreven zij in 1972 *Anti-Oedipus*, het eerste deel van *Kapitalisme en Schizofrenie*. Dit boek werd in 1980 gevolgd door *Duizend Plateaus*.

Kapitalisme en Schizofrenie

Kapitalisme en Schizofrenie zijn twee dingen die in eerste instantie niet veel met elkaar te maken lijken te hebben, maar volgens D & G is de connectie makkelijk gemaakt. Zij beginnen hun serie met een kritiek op de klassieke Freudiaanse & Lacaniaanse psychoanalyse, vandaar de titel van het eerste boek *Anti-Oedipus*.

De schrijvers verwerpen idee dat alle problemen van de mens familie gerelateerd zijn. Eerder zorgt het stromen van kapitaal voor de huidige problemen. Volgens D & G leert het kapitalisme samen met hiërarchische structuren de mens dat verlangen het ontbreken van iets is. D & G zeggen eerder dat verlangen een productieve kracht is die de mens kan gebruiken.

Het doel van de mens moet dan ook het zijn zich te bevrijden van de ketenen die het kapitalisme heeft geplaatst op zijn verlangen. De manier om dit te doen is: een beetje schizofreen worden. Een schizofreen kan denken dat hij geen maag heeft, en dat deze alsof door magie door de dokter wordt geplaatst wanneer hij gaat eten. Dit grensoverschrijdend denken tussen bijvoorbeeld het sociale en fysieke is de enige manier om het kapitalisme voor te blijven. Natuurlijk heeft dit denken ook implicaties voor de politieke sfeer.

Veelheden, minderheden en rizooms Voor D & G is de mens meer dan één. Waar vorige filosofen de mens een individu maakten, vindt Deleuze dat het anders zit. Volgens Deleuze is de mens een veelheid, bestaande uit verscheidende onderdelen. Politieke revolutie zal dan ook niet komen uit een minderheid met gemeenschappelijke eigenschappen zoals zwart, queer, etc, maar eerder uit groepen zonder enige gemeenschappelijke eigenschappen. Volgens D & G moeten alle hiërarchieën op zijn kop gegooid worden en vervangen worden "rizomatische" structuren waar geen begin of einde aan is en niks in hokjes is op te delen. Het woord rizoom of wortelstok komt uit de biologie, en is een type wortel waar een nieuwe plant uit kan groeien. Anders dan een boom is een rizoom dus een veelheid en oneindig. Een dergelijke sociale structuur is volgens D & G dé oplossing en dé manier van verzet tegen het moderne systeem.

Volgens Michel Foucault is *Anti-Oedipus* "een inleiding tot het nonfascistische leven". D & G hebben in recente tijd niet alleen van rechtse filosofen zoals Jordan Peterson kritiek gehad voor hun postmoderne wereldbeeld, sommige communisten moeten ook niks van hen hebben. Ondanks dit alles zijn hun geschriften ook in deze tijd relevant, en de implicaties van hun theorie zijn heel interessant.

A DANGEROUS QUEST FOR NUMBERS

Assessing the age of migrant children

by *Cassia Buonadonna*

Until Ahmed fled Afghanistan in 2015, he never considered his age to be a pressing matter. Birthday parties were unfamiliar to him and at school age was not a prevailing indicator to divide students. This was the case until he arrived in the EU, where medical reports stated Ahmed should be 19. Incorrect, the refugee responded, since his parents had always told him he was born one year before the millennium.

So how do these cases of uncertainty in age assessment emerge? According to international law, migrant children are granted higher levels of protection and a distinct treatment when it comes to their application for asylum. Most notably, minors are not required to stay in their country of arrival but may choose freely, while many adult refugees face problems with the Dublin agreement. Aside from legal significance, the political resistance to migration flows is largely based on exploitation of the system – demanding instruments to fight so called ‘fortune seekers.’

However, ensuring a just asylum system should not go hand in hand with harsh and inaccurate tests. As of today, a large number of EU countries still abide by The Greulich and Pyle Atlas: a century-old index documenting the bone growth of white children. Sub-

jecting unaccompanied migrants to the X-rays necessary to complete this cross examination raises questions about safeguarding their bodily autonomy as well as the margin of error in the result, especially with regard to non-white ethnicities. The outcome only verifies someone’s biological age, not their chronological age. Additionally, the study of sexual characteristics that is still active in some states defies ethical standards and is highly invasive of children’s privacy.

“Whereas violations of age assessment create a dangerous asylum system, a complete lack thereof does not ensure safety either.”

Last year the Committee on the Rights of the Child examined the case of a 17-year-old Guinean teenager who arrived in Almería. Despite his confrontation with the Red Cross at sea – where the young migrant clarified being a minor – Spanish authorities registered him as a 21-year-old without further investigation. 52 days of detainment followed in a center for foreign adult nationals and even after retrieving his birth certificate the boy was not recognized as underage,

leaving him without legal defense.

A paradox arises: if both neglecting and exercising age assessment have been proven to be problematic, what is the solution?

Practice shows that it is difficult to create a perfect system, but this should not stop EU states from seeking necessary improvements. England leads the way by focusing on a holistic approach rather than intrusive medical investigations. Indeed, the UNHCR suggests that “in most cases, age can properly be established via a personal interview and other available documentary evidence.” Yet the degree to which these hearings are conducted fairly also differs.

In Switzerland there is often one migration official assisting the asylum seeker, in contrast to Italy where the presence of a cultural mediator, a lawyer and an interpreter is required. Overall, an understanding environment reaps the most fruitful and honest accounts as it takes the child’s vulnerability and national background into consideration. Ideally, each measure in the age assessment process would contribute to this. Because regardless of whether it is ‘Ahmed: 17 years old’ or ‘Ahmed: 19 years old,’ migrant children remain more than a mere number to their name.

ASHFORD AND SIMPSON WROTE THE SOUNDTRACK OF OUR LIVES

Interview with Valerie Simpson

by *Dayant Ramkalup*

Nickolas Ashford (1941-2011) and Valerie Simpson wrote and produced dozens of hits that were played by many radio stations during the late 1960s and 1970s. The songs composed by Ashford and Simpson gave colour to American society: Ain't No Mountain High Enough, Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing, You're All I Need to Get By, Let's Go Get Stoned, Remember Me, It's My House, I'm Every Woman and California Soul.

The lyrics of the songs are based on hope, love, romance, respect, sincerity, and tolerance. In a deeply divided and racist United States during the 1960s, the songs supplied strength and inspiration to move toward a more righteous and equal society. To this day, the songs are played gray by radio station and the lyrics are still relevant.

Our DEBAT writer Dayant Ramkalup spoke to the legendary Valerie Simpson about her career and the impact music had on society.

You can find the full transcript of the interview on our website www.debatmagazine.nl.



Dear Ms. Simpson, first it is an honour to interview you. I was looking at your music catalogue today and it is unimaginable how many famous songs you and your husband have written.

The songs are pure, authentic and timeless. [...] I'm curious, what was your first introduction to music?

"I grew up in the Bronx, and my grandmother was a minister there. My grandmother introduced me to the Gospel tradition. The Gospel formed my first contact with music. By the

way, nobody taught me to play the piano; I listened carefully to the sounds and played them. I played by ear."

What artists did you listen to when you were young?

"I loved listening to Nina Simone, especially because she sang and played the piano. Nina Simone was unique, she sounded like no one else. I listened to many artists, but Nina Simone was special to me. Later I became a major fan of Aretha Franklin. Aretha, like Nina Simone, could sing beautifully and play the piano."

The songs of Nina Simone and Aretha Franklin are indeed beautiful. Their music holds a message.

"Absolutely. Wonderful messages. So, I was incredibly impressed with them because they could also play the piano, in addition to their singing. I studied them and watched their performances. When I became a songwriter, I got to know Nina Simone personally and we became good friends. Aretha Franklin, by the way, was also a good friend.

“I was lucky to get to know my idols personally.”

Nick and Valerie met at Harlem’s White Rock Baptist Church in 1964. Valerie sang in the choir. Nick Ashford, a dancer from Michigan, wandered around New York and hoped to make it there. Unfortunately, things didn’t work out for Nick, and he ran out of money. He was homeless and sleeping on a street bench in Bryant Park. He attended White Rock Baptist Church because he always got a plate of food there. In addition, gospel music offered him strength and inspiration. Thus, he met Valerie Simpson. Together they began to write music. Romantic love did not come until many years later, but once love was there, it was solid as a rock.

This was of course followed by your gigantic success with the songs you wrote for Marvin Gaye and Tammi Terrell; Ain’t No Mountain High Enough, You’re All I Need To Get By, Your Precious Love and Ain’t Nothing Like the Real Thing.

“Yes, it is. We sent the demos to Motown and Harvey Fuqua and Johnny Bristol produced them. At one point we asked Berry if we could produce the songs ourselves. Berry found it difficult to take this task away from Harvey and Johnny and therefore said; whoever produces the song Ain’t Nothing Like the Real Thing the best, will get the credits of producing. We tried extremely hard and finally Berry loved our production and so we started producing. This was in line with Berry’s idea of competition makes for success.”

Did Berry Gordy Jr. give you all the freedom? Or were there certain rules that you had to follow when composing?

“He really gave us all the freedom. They didn’t bother us. They didn’t even change anything about our

productions. Berry trusted us, he believed in us. Nick once attended a quality-control meeting about our written song ‘You Are All I Need to Get By’. In that meeting, they would criticize the song and ultimately determine if it would be released. Nick was incredibly nervous. After the master was played, Berry said, “We’re not even going to vote on this, this is going to be released.” We were so glad after that meeting.”

Which production are you most proud of? Or is that impossible to say?

“They are all my children. Each song has its own qualities. For every state of mind there is a different matching song. Ain’t No Mountain High Enough and I’m Every Woman are the best known.”

My personal favourite is Reach Out and Touch Somebody’s Hand because of the message.

“Yes, I’m glad we wrote it. The song holds wisdom for all of us regardless of the time. Diana Ross sang it great, and Aretha once again gave it a special beautiful twist. I happened to be in a church last Sunday, and the minister knew I was in the audience, and spontaneously the choir started singing ‘Reach Out and Touch’. It was beautiful.”

I’ve always been interested in the stories behind the songs, also the time context. We must not forget that many of your songs were released at a special time in the United States. Polarization, racism and division prevailed. I personally think Motown has broken down racial barriers. How do you look back on this?

“The great thing is that all those songs transcended the races. We’ve made songs for everyone regardless

of race. That’s the beauty of music; it’s for everyone. But certainly, in the southern states, racism was rampant. In the audience, white people sat on one side, and black people on the other. But the music eventually brought us together. That was the strength of Motown; it brought people together through the music.”

In 1978, Nick and Valerie wrote I’m Every Woman for Chaka Khan. It was Nick who wrote the lyrics. Nick came up with the line; ‘I’m Every Woman’ and then couldn’t come up with any lyrics, so Valerie teasingly encouraged him to look for his female instinct. Nick wrote the entire lyrics after a while, and it became an unofficial anthem for women everywhere in the world. In the 1990s, Whitney Houston covered the song.

You have seen so much, you have worked with the greatest on earth, you have made history and you have paved the way for so many. What is your advice to the younger generation? What are the lessons we can learn?

“Be yourself. Your gift is yours. Always try to work hard and radiate your own values.

Don’t give up too soon, learn to deal with criticism. And enjoy the process. That is particularly important.”

Thank you so much for the interview and thank you for writing the soundtrack of our lives.

WILL JUSTICE BE SERVED?

The failure to effectively prosecute the perpetrators of the genocide against the Yazidis

by *Johanna Welk*

The genocide against the Yazidis happened several years ago. Yet, many perpetrators are still to face prosecution. The Yazidis are an ethnic and religious group that largely resided in north-western Iraq. They have been persecuted for centuries. In 2014, ISIS invaded the Sinjar region and seized territory. They intended to wipe out the Yazidi minority and gave them an ultimatum to either “convert or die.” It is estimated that 3000 Yazidis were killed and 6000 captured. Around 3000 are still missing to this day. Many of the captured Yazidis were women and children who were then enslaved, raped, and sterilized to ensure that the group would eventually be completely eradicated. This is considered the start of the genocide. Up to 400,000 Yazidis were affected by ISIS crimes and had to flee the region.

“Many are still suffering from the consequences today.”

In May 2021, Karim Asad Ahmad Kahn, Head of the United Nations Investigative Team to Promote Accountability for Crimes Committed by Da’esh/ Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (UNITAD), confirmed to the UN Security Council that there is sufficient evidence that ISIS committed a genocide against the Yazidis. Still, little at-

tention has been paid to the aftermath of the genocide, and the perpetrators have only been put on trial in very few countries. However, more recently, there have been new developments regarding the trials against the ISIS members involved in the genocide.

The first ISIS fighter was officially convicted of genocide in Germany in late November. Earlier, other former members were convicted of crimes against humanity but not genocide. Taha al-Jumailly was convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity among other charges, and sentenced to life by a German court. He is specifically accused of enslaving a 5-year-old girl and her mother, tying the 5-year-old up outside as a punishment, and letting her die of thirst. Al-Jumailly is neither a German citizen nor did he commit the crimes he was convicted for within Germany. Still, German courts were able to prosecute him. This was made possible due to the principle of universal jurisdiction. It allows national courts to prosecute anyone for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

His wife, Jennifer W., was also convicted for standing by while the Yazidi girl they had enslaved was dying. She was convicted for assisting in attempted murder and crimes against humanity as well as other charges and

sentenced to 10 years in prison. Apart from Jennifer W., multiple other German ISIS members were convicted of crimes against humanity in 2021.

While the genocide and its long-lasting consequences seem almost forgotten today, there are initiatives to help the people affected. Nobel Peace Prize recipient and survivor of the genocide Nadia Murad founded Nadia’s Initiative to rebuild the Sinjar region and achieve justice for the victims of the atrocities. Considering the genocide against the Yazidis took place seven years ago, the lack of prosecution is especially striking. By 2016, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic had already called for a referral to the International Criminal Court by the UN Security Council multiple times. This has so far been unsuccessful due to a veto by Syria’s close ally Russia. Human rights lawyer Amal Clooney, a member of the legal team representing the 5-year-old’s mother during the trial against al-Jumailly, called for a more focused worldwide effort to prosecute those who committed this genocide.

A collective international prosecution is yet to happen, and even individual countries have done little to hold the perpetrators of the genocide accountable.

ARISTOCRAT, PARTY ANIMAL, AND THE KEYS TO NUMBER 10

How elite social clubs provide an education few ever receive

by *Jelle F. Kooij*

Demokratía by definition alludes to rule by the people, but in today's societies, are universities really giving everyone a fair chance at becoming members of the political institutions that have so much influence over our lives? If you were not able to guess by the definition what Demokratía means in English, you might be one of many people who did not take Ancient Greek in their primary years of education. Yet, a select few individuals attending elite universities would have had no problem reading the Ancient Greek word.

Demokratía is the Ancient Greek word for democracy and you do not have to be a particularly bright student to have had an education that would allow you to read it without any trouble. In the last century, Western societies have gone through great pains to give every individual the right and capability to rise to the top of political institutions, but at some elite universities the old system of who-knows-who is still alive and well.

The Bullingdon Club is one of Oxford University's many drinking clubs, known for their wild drinking nights which involve restaurants being completely destroyed by the end of the evening. The point of the club is to show little regard for authority and being wealthy enough to not have

to suffer any consequences. The image of the Bullingdon is not the one that young undergraduates might boast about on their CV. Although having only a select few members each year, the Bullingdon has been around for more than 200 years, providing a platform where young ambitious political elites gain the connections that will provide a helping hand as they rise to the top of political institutions. Current UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson and former Prime Minister David Cameron were both members of the Bullingdon.

Oxford University does not oversee the Bullingdon Club and some of its colleges have even gone so far as to ban club members from dining around their college or join societies. But with 19% of British members of Parliament graduating from either Oxford or Cambridge, it does make one question if the university environment, from which members of these clubs come from, does not gatekeep the channels of a political career?

The UK is not the only country where such clubs and societies exist at elite political universities. In the United States, clubs and societies at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton can all boast of having Presidents and other top members of government as alumni. In the Netherlands Leiden



As meritocracy has become the new basis of acceptance at universities, these clubs and societies such as the Bullingdon are just one of the ways in which elites gatekeep the access to political life. These clubs and societies, while not directly involved in politics, provide a type of education few are able to receive at university. The connections made through these clubs serve to benefit their members as secretive clubs have done for centuries. Meritocracy does not matter in an environment where who you know is more important than what you can do. While public politics is about attracting the most people to vote for you, private politics is about attracting the right people to put in a good word.

While most people will not be able to read Demokratía, it is precisely the people that can who have the least interest in keeping true to its values.

POLITICAL SCIENCE WORLDWIDE

by *Lyuba Nicheva & Martina Sclaverano*

Gender-affinity voting in legislative elections under open-list proportional representation rules: the legislative elections in Chile in 2017

The author of the article, Ariel Becerra-Chavez, aims to identify the “determinants of gender affinity voting” and “whether gender affinity voting differently impacted left and rightwing candidates’ vote shares”. The support of leftwing parties towards women candidates is somewhat higher, even though the results are not considered substantive. There is a correlation between women voters voting specifically for women. However, the more women are represented in office, the less symbolic the voting for women becomes. In this case, gender-affinity voting is not as strong, and more people vote for women not because of the need for representation in office, but because of their political and electoral agenda. Research during the 2005 presidential elections in Chile confirmed the occurrence of gender affinity voting and its effect when the first female president was elected.

Contemporary Politics

Youth Mobilization, Power Reproduction and Cambodia’s Authoritarian Turn

Cambodia has been ruled by a hegemonic authoritarian regime since 1991, and the author Astrid Noren-Nilsson explores how youth-focused mass organizations contribute to authoritarian resilience and innovation in Cambodia. There has been a widespread use of youth organizations by the ruling elite as a political instrument. At a first glance, it seems the youth is being empowered, but then it could be seen as the “gatekeepers of youth”. For now, the youth participation model is the dominant way of keeping conflicts to a minimum. However, there is a chance that there might be a change eventually. First of all, as long as the youth has memories of their life prior to the regime, there might be some resistance to the CPP’s (Cambodian Party) programmes. Second, the current generation of CPP elite chose the model and the use of youth organizations, but that might change with the upcoming generations of elites. And finally, because the efforts of sustaining the current system might prove to be too high. The youth initiatives have a large amount of demands that have to be met by the civil servants, which takes too much time and resources.

Contemporary Southeast Asia

Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Support for Islamist Parties in the Middle East and North Africa

The authors of the article Anwar Mhjane and Gregory W. Saxton look into the correlation between support for gender equality and support for Islamist parties. The targeted area of the study is the MENA region where this discussion is relevant. Their results show that the relationship is negative, therefore “gender egalitarian individuals” are more likely to oppose Islamist parties. That is because of the association between religion and the oppression of women. According to the authors, however, there is still need for representation of religious groups on the political scene, such as Islamist ones, in order to maintain democracy. Further research on the topic outside of the Arab Muslim world is necessary. If, however, there isn’t a particular association between women’s oppression and Islamist parties, gender egalitarian voters will not be as skeptical. The examples given are of non-Arab, yet Muslim countries and parties that do not address conservative values related to gender: Malaysia and Indonesia.

Journal of Women, Politics & Policy

Robust electoral violence prevention: An example from Ghana

In many countries, political instability is also manifested through electoral violence. This phenomenon is of course directly linked to democratic backsliding and in general constitutes an infringement of the citizens' political rights. In this article, Bekoe and Burchard ask themselves whether this kind of violence can be prevented, and if so through which interventions. As a case study, they take the Ghanaian elections in 2016, which saw a peaceful and democratic change of president. Indeed, when President Addo defeated the incumbent, many scholars pointed to personal characteristics and reforms put in place by the government to explain the lack of electoral violence.

However, Bekoe and Burchard find that such violence can be prevented through the use of back channel negotiations to constantly monitor and resolve tensions as soon as they arise. This framework, which according to their research is effective, could be used to prevent electoral violence in the future and in many different political settings.

African Affairs

Australian foreign aid motivation for Tuvalu in efforts to cope with climate change 2015-2020

It is no secret that Tuvalu is one of the most endangered countries when it comes to climate change. The dangerous sea level rises and the small landmass and resources available to this tiny state have long been a cause of concern. Despite these issues, Tuvalu has been improving its response to climate change, but according to Hallatu and Indrayani the country still relies heavily on foreign aid.

In particular, Hallatu and Indrayani's article aims to explore Australia's role as an aid provider in the case of Tuvalu's environmental policy. The authors state that there is a discrepancy between the Australian government's environmental policies and messages, which tend to put a low commitment to this cause, and the great lengths the country goes to sponsor Tuvalu. Therefore, the authors conclude that this is a soft power tactic enacted by Australia to garner the support of other Pacific countries and extend its control within the region. Despite most of these countries being small, they can still bring benefits to the Australian national interests.

Journal of Social Political Sciences

FASHIONABLE DURING COVID - BUT AT WHAT COST?

How the pandemic affects workers in the garment industry

by *Julia Kratofil*

Long hours, low wages, risk of forced labour and human trafficking, sexual abuse, unsafe working conditions, delayed payment or no payment at all - this is the reality of factory workers that produce the clothes we wear. These harsh conditions have been exacerbated during the Covid-19 pandemic. Due to lockdowns, consumption around the world has dropped tremendously, leaving many companies at the brink of bankruptcy. The cost of survival was shifted to the subsidiaries and suppliers, leading to grave violations of labour rights and for which many companies don't take responsibility.

International clothing brands like H&M, Adidas or Inditex (owner of Zara, Bershka, Stradivarius, etc) cancelled orders even in cases when production was already completed or had begun. They refused to pay for their orders, the raw materials acquired by the supplier and the severance to workers that were laid off. This further aggravated working conditions, leading to even lower wages, the withholding of wages and layoffs without severance.

For most of these employees, their wages are the only thing standing between them and the depths of extreme poverty. Since they do not get any governmental protection, they are dependent on the severance benefits that they are legally

entitled to after dismissal. These are often denied by the parent companies. Experts estimate that the "pandemic-era severance theft across the global apparel supply chain very likely exceeds half a billion dollars".

Even after lockdowns ended, the lack of Covid-19 measures in factories led to many infections. Economic stress also increased the risk of gender-based violence, harassment or human trafficking at the workplace. Protests against these conditions are often struck down violently by the police. Union leaders and protesting workers have been intimidated and harassed, the pandemic often used as a "cover to crackdown on trade unions".

How are these issues regulated? International organizations like the UN, OECD and ILO have produced a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) framework for the conduct of responsible business. The catch? The guidelines and recommendations are self-regulatory and not legally binding. They cannot do more than urge MNEs to take responsibility "for their impacts on society", by assessing risks in their supply chains related to human rights and environment. The challenge is to balance "people, planet, profit". Since the start of the pandemic, fashion companies violate these guidelines through three main shortcomings in their business

conduct: the lack of sufficient safety and health measures at the workplace, the risk for human trafficking and abuse, and forced leave or unlawful termination of employment.

NGOs worldwide have called the companies to take responsibility, while researchers and IOs published advice on how to deal with the issue. Conducting socially responsible business would require the companies to adhere to the following: making sure Covid-19 health measures are followed, protecting against human trafficking and forced labour, being especially aware of the heightened risks for migrant workers, respecting contracts, saving jobs, and where not possible, ensuring social security after termination of employment.

Following the CSR framework is, as mentioned, voluntary as there is not yet private international law that binds MNEs across the world. However, this soft law is increasingly incorporated into legally binding documents such as free trade agreements or regional and national legislation, thereby transforming normative into legal obligations. To accelerate this development, consumer pressure is necessary to encourage companies and governments to produce effective and lasting change.

CAPITALISM AND IDENTITY

How the global capitalist order heightens the formation of identity politics

by *Damla Meşulam*

Undoubtedly, there has been a recent trend of increase in the popularity and spread of identity politics. Identity politics is how people marginalized by global capitalism create groups on the basis of shared identities and interests. These groups organize to promote their autonomy and strive for more rights and recognition.

Identity politics is rooted in the primordial need to be part of a group that reflects common characteristics and interests. These group attachments help one survive by providing a sense of recognition and security. Especially in the era of global capitalism, group attachments are vital for material survival in a predatory world with increasing competition.

Historically, it can be said that identity politics dates back to the colonial era, where racial and gender hierarchies prevailed. Interracial relationships were strictly prohibited, and political or economic rights were not extended to women. Moreover, the formation of the nation-state after the Industrial Revolution initiated the formation of modern national identities and sentiments of patriotism.

The myth of nationalism served to advance the interests of the nation-state, and provide an advantage in the scramble for colonies

and accumulation of wealth. Thus, the blending of identity politics with patriotism led people to perform extraordinary acts of destruction.

Contrastingly, contemporary identity politics is directed at subordinate groups with fragmented identities. This can be explained through the assumption that identity politics is especially necessary to lower status people, who are faced with a lack of recognition and respect in the socio-political arena. Therefore, these subordinate groups try to construct distinctive group identities to defend themselves against groups with identities that dominate the socio-political space.

In the capitalist world order, identity politics can also be thought of as the capitalist political-economic strategy of slicing up the commodity chain. As oppression is sliced into different segments from which a person can freely choose as if choosing from a basket of “commodities” of identity, each segment functions to assert the rights of one person against another.

The growth of capitalism fostered more globalization, thus resulting in free movement of people in increasing waves of migration - especially from the Global South to the North. However, instead of generating large collectivities bound together by com-

mon interests, capitalism fostered fragmented political identities. In a rapidly changing world, people (especially migrants) clung onto their racial, ethnic, religious identities to find comfort in their “groups.”

Instead of expanding the global proletariat, capitalism is breaking down working class formations of the old industrial order. Old mass production industries are being dismantled, resulting in a decrease of the number of blue collar workers. The old working class culture crumbles as the new capitalist order undermines unions and slashes the welfare state income, rendering workers incredibly vulnerable to the threat of mobile capital. This has the effect of augmenting the formation of fragmented identities and conflicts.

Finally, the political elites are taking advantage of the group divisions of identity politics. They capitalize on popular divisions and political cleavages to stoke the anger of the “losers” of globalization and capitalism. This can be seen in the recent trend of the rise of right-wing politicians like Le Pen in France, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Trump in the United States, Orban in Hungary, who capitalize on fragmented identities under the guise of promising to protect workers and be the voice of the people.

IN DEFENCE OF “WOKE TRADE”

Far from mere “virtue-signalling,” enshrining basic values into trade deals is a moral obligation for Western countries

by *Elliot Underhill*

Near the end of last year, an article in Axel-Springer’s Politico Europe was released with the title “How UK trade went woke.” It describes a phenomenon whereby values such as labour standards or gender equality have become conditions for other countries to meet if they want to strike a trade deal with Britain (or other Western countries). As the piece makes clear, many high-profile officials in Britain are worried by this so-called “wokeification” of trade. They need not worry.

Rather than needless barriers, or, as Baron Daniel Hannan of Kingsclere, Conservative Peer and Adviser to the UK Board of Trade describes them, “a massive virtue signal,” such stipulations are a wonderful tool in the arsenal of liberal democracy, a way for nations with progressive laws to wield their economic clout and make life easier for those under the yoke of unfair treatment by their own governments, all at little cost.

However, the viewpoint of this author is not endorsed by everyone, as the piece makes clear: prominent politicians in the UK’s

pro-market parties, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats, have raised concerns about this.

The aforementioned Baron Hannan of Kingsclere is not the only politician to question whether issues of social equity should be addressed with trade deals. Vince Cable, former leader of the Liberal Democrats, has described social issues in trade deals as “virtue signalling, [...] deeply unhelpful and actually blocking sensible trade agreements.” Ironically, a better example of this “virtue signalling” might be the path suggested by the opponents of “woke trade,” where issues such as gender equality, labour standards, and human rights are shunted to the Foreign Ministry rather than addressed in trade deals.

This is what the opponents of “woke trade” want to do: merely signal that they are virtuous, with the UK asking its diplomats to politely object to poor labour conditions or massive amounts of pollution rather than using its not-unsubstantial economic clout to push for the meaningful improvement of people’s lives abroad.

But it may be the case that this hypocrisy is reflective of a larger pattern.

Objections to the often-uncompromising attitudes of social progressives are not always unfair, but social conservatives worldwide have displayed a tendency to respond to a perceived overstep from the left with a strong crackdown from the right. Examples range from France, where the war on “wokisme” and a vaguely-defined “Islamism” has seen the Education Minister found a think tank to show how French Republican values are “at odds with wokeism;” to the United States, where fears of “critical race theory” in the classroom have led to reactionary changes in how history has taught and the banning of once-widely read children’s books.

“Fears of ‘wokeness’ are used to justify a conservative backlash that goes further than progressive change ever did.”



Indeed, the hubbub over “woke trade” seems to be more of the same: using fear of social change as an excuse to engage in trade negotiations without having to consider the difficult social questions that have featured in similar talks for a long time. For evidence of this, all one must do is glance at the quotes featured in the Politico article, where, even as climate change ravages communities around the world, “the environment” is lumped in with other questions of social consciousness as “woke,” despite the fact that environmental standards have been included in trade agreements for decades, stretching back to the 1990s.

Renaming “caring about non-economic issues in trade deals” to “woke trade” is merely a conservative attempt to roll back the positive changes that have been made to trade practices over decades, and redesignate all social liberal positions as posturing while doing so. It is also, for those who support liberal democracy and oppose autocracy, giving away a golden goose.

Persuading states to do what you want is not an easy task. Despite the efforts of many, there remains

no supranational authority or common agreement that can exercise control over the world’s many different sovereign states when they go rogue, oppressing their own populations or attacking one another.

“This is the problem of anarchy, and it has animated fierce debate and scholarship in the field of International Relations for longer than anyone reading this piece has been living.”

There is no easy solution to anarchy, but depending on who you believe, there are ways to mitigate its worst effects, ranging from balancing powers against each other to forcibly establishing a global hegemony, to aligning a harmony of state interests, and more. This article is not being published in a quarterly

journal and will thusly not present a novel way of dealing with anarchy. Rather, it will point out that economic leverage is a powerful tool for changing states’ behaviour. It is not an imperfect one, and it certainly does nothing to address the fundamental problem at anarchy’s heart, but it remains a way for states to seek key concessions, one that we should certainly not allow conservatives to throw away under the guise of combating “wokeness.”

In 2001, China was admitted to the World Trade Organisation under the now obviously false impression that exposure to trade would liberalise the nation’s political system. This author wonders if a better outcome vis-à-vis China’s internal political system could have come about had admission been a reward for that liberalisation rather than an assumed precondition.

WHO WAS INCLUDED IN THE “PEOPLE’S REPUBLICS”?

Role of women in the Soviet Union

by *Aleksandar Kaslyovski*

Women’s rights can be considered one of the earliest battlegrounds of identity politics. The battle for women’s suffrage has been fought in many different places and times and different states took a variety of approaches to dealing with the issue. So was with the 20th century superpowers: the United States of America (US) and the Soviet Union (USSR). Women in both countries found different paths towards their goal of equality. But while the feminist movements in the US and other Western countries relied on intensive campaigning, women’s suffrage in the Soviet Union was encouraged by the state. Why was that?

Socialism or pragmatism?

Socialist and feminist ideas often complemented each other. Figures such as Marx, Engels, and Lenin echoed that revolution cannot be achieved through the struggle of one of the sexes alone. However, the emancipation of women was as much brought about because of economic and demographic factors as ideological. After the birth of the Soviet Union from the ashes of the Russian Empire, the many famines and wars during the Tsarist regime led to labour shortages in the new state. A crisis exacerbated by the further devastation of the male population because of World War 2 not many years after. In order to compensate the gender imbalance, the Soviet Union underwent a cam-

paign to promote the participation of women in the workforce, including in traditionally “unfeminine” hard labour such as construction and factory work. Women were also encouraged and able to join political life, most joining local administrations. A contrast to their Western counterparts, whose role was seen as taking care of the house and children while their husbands work. The Soviet project was successful with peak 56% female employment in industry and 32% female representatives in the Soviet legislature, and many other Soviet aligned countries enacted similar reforms.



An unequal system

However, a glass ceiling had been erected as a result. Despite the great number of women working in industry, high paying managerial positions were still held mostly by men. The wage gap was immense, with women reportedly earning 1/3 of what their male coworkers were being paid. Despite modest success in the political scene, the number of women kept decreasing the higher you went up the Soviet governmental hierarchy

and their influence was almost non-existent in the highest echelons of power. Marriage in the USSR also followed patriarchal structures. Despite being expected to work full time, women in the Soviet Union were not rid of their role as housekeeper that trapped so many of their western counterparts. Doing the shopping, cleaning the house, raising the children, etc. were still seen as womanly responsibilities in the USSR.

Legacy

It’s safe to say that the Soviet experiment into women empowerment was a failure and their role in the state was barely different from what it was before. It gave and encouraged their right to work but failed to protect them from inequality that followed. That said, there have been some positive consequences. Today, many countries in Eastern Europe like North Macedonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia enjoy higher percentage of female to male researchers in STEM and the legacy of socialism can at least in part be thanked for that. But old habits die hard, and women in those countries are still paid less and do not hold as many high-ranking managerial positions as men.

“The struggle for equality shifts to a new battlefield.”

EUROPE'S NOVEMBER PROTESTS AGAINST COVID-19

by *Philip Hilen*



After nearly two years of COVID, the virus hit Europe hard during November of 2021. To combat this, various countries including the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria initiated measures to quell the rise of cases. In response to these new measures, various protests were organized in the aforementioned countries and others in order to dissuade their implementation.

During the weekend of November 19, following the violence that occurred in Rotterdam, where officers opened fire on the crowd, fireworks were fired at the police, and bicycles were lit on fire by rioters in the Hague. Seven individuals were arrested. Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte described the rioters as “criminals” while Rotterdam’s mayor described it as “an orgy of violence.”

The Dutch riots were a response to an initial three-week partial lockdown, which was transformed into a full lockdown after being announced at a press conference on December 18. The partial lockdown demanded that bars and restaurants must close at 20:00 as well as other restrictions. This was put in place after the Netherlands continued to break records for the number of daily cases between November 6 through to 24.

The imposition of COVID passes for various activities and tighter mask mandates led to tens of thou-

sands of protesters in the Belgian capital of Brussels. Tear gas and water cannons were employed by the police to break up the protest.

These measures were put in place after the World Health Organization (WHO) stated that it had been “very worried” about the rise of cases in November. Dr. Hans Kluge, the regional director of Europe, believed that by the time Spring arrived in 2022, half a million more Europeans would have died from the virus. “COVID-19 has become once again the number one cause of mortality in our region,” he told the BBC and insisted that more measures were needed including mandatory vaccination mandates.

Austria also saw thousands of protesters, though they were mostly peaceful with a few minor skirmishers with the police. United in anger against the government’s sweeping new vaccination mandate, Vienna saw an estimated 40,000 individuals partake in the protest. Many of those who participated were affiliated with far right groups, a recurring trend seen in other

parts of the Netherlands and Belgium. According to police officials, five people were arrested and others received violations as they did not wear masks or wore stars that Nazis forced Jews to wear during 1940s Germany.

Many in Austria are angry at the government for its imposition of more COVID restrictions. Starting November 22, individuals were barred from public, including both outdoors and indoors activities, if they failed to provide proof of vaccination. These recent demonstrations against European governments shows how controversial vaccinations have become.

Austria still has only vaccinated less than 75 percent of its population with other European countries including Belgium and the Netherlands in similar positions. Measures to increase the rate of vaccinations has only led to more opposition and will likely continue to do so in 2022.

Most countries have yet to impose such vaccination mandates and are hesitating after seeing the November riots. However, as the number of cases explode around the world due to the Omicron variant, governments will soon need to make a decision on how they are going to handle COVID-19 for 2022, whether that be a new lockdown, as seen in the Netherlands, or the implementation of mandatory vaccination as seen in Slovakia.

“GO HOME!” ALRIGHT, BUT WHERE IS THAT?

The contentious aspect of national identity for young migrants

by *Daria Aron*

Mass migration has become a global phenomenon that has been followed by xenophobia and discrimination against immigrants. Many immigrants can recount a moment in which they or a loved one experienced this discrimination. The issue becomes larger when discussing the effect on the identity of young immigrants.

This article will focus on economic migrants, those who have emigrated for economic reasons and not particularly due to a threat to their livelihood. Thus, refugees are not discussed. Additionally, this article does not claim to make monolithic statements applicable to all economic migrants, and the focus here is specifically on millennial or generation “z” immigrants.

The quest for national identity by many migrants begins with their being marked as the “other” in society. Adults are named immigrants by proxy, without much debate as to where their identity lies. This debate and contention are situated on the topic of young people’s identity. Within this group are individuals who moved across the world to new societies before they could even know their original one. Creating confusion and disconnect, many questions arise - do they take on the identity of their country of

residence or the one they were born in and whose parents are from? Does one hyphen their identity and what does that entail? A deciding factor is the level of integration in which they participate in their new country.

According to multiple scholars, the integration of immigrants into society has been described as one of the biggest challenges of this century. This has been particularly difficult as it encompasses identification with one’s country of residence while maintaining identification with one’s culture of origin. Depending on the politics of the country of residence, the latter point can be deemed less important - if that is the case, integration becomes borderline assimilation. When it comes to youths particularly, this interplays with the way in which individuals are continuously exposed to multiple cultures and what aspect of each culture they retain.

As mentioned, the socio-political context of every country regarding immigration significantly influences immigration. Some countries’ approaches to integration, such as Norway’s as mentioned by scholar Sarah Martiny, is more to encourage assimilation to a certain extent. This can lead to youths tending to internalise one culture and vocally identify with another.

Others, such as Canada’s, studied by Andrew Griffith at the Migration Policy Institute, is more multicultural, where pluralism and heterogeneity are embraced as a founding force of the country and where multiple cultural identities are respected as long as the basic practices of the state are maintained. In such societies, hyphenation (i.e. Russian-Canadian) and combination of identities is common and accepted. This, of course, can bring about more confusion.

Visual distinguishability is also a strong factor in deciding which country to represent more - whether a person looks more or less like the majority of the population of their country of residence. Immigrants from states where the population looks different from the present country of residence are more likely to be more visually distinguishable from others. In the cases where a country’s identity is also based on a specific visual appearance, this can generate incompatibility in the integration process due to discriminatory or racist elements.

Moreover, one’s identity does not only depend on the politics of the country of residence but of the country of origins as well, and more specifically, the way in which emigrants are treated in their country of origin. Where emi-



gration is common, those who come back can be seen as different from the rest since they have been exposed to a broader worldview. Additionally, exposure to that culture abroad is influential, as countries with larger diasporic cultures, such as India with a population of 18 million people, have a stronger hold on its community and culture abroad, engraining it within its members. Smaller cultural communities do not have the same power, and some cultures can completely dissipate once taken abroad.

Moreover, having family back “home” can become a motivational factor to to remain connected to that culture and part of identity. In spite of that, connections and relationships to people or places can be irreparably damaged due to distance and lack of time spent there. Although wanting to get a sense and feel of the culture and country of origin, they can feel disconnected from the current reality of it. Additionally, when individuals are exposed mostly to their diaspora culture, a disconnect can be

produced between what the culture they practised and what is actually custom in their home country. This can usher feelings of less importance to the original culture and identity and drift the individual to their other one and an overall identity crisis.

With several United Nations reports being published asserting that xenophobia is increasing globally, this sort of identity crisis is bound to increase as well. Statements such as “Go home!” or “Go back to where you came from” are not just hurtful declarations for some - they can immigrants to wonder where home is. Unsureness about identification with the current country of residence as well as the lack of connection leads to the feeling that people do not truly have a home. When one is told to “go home”, the blatant hate is recognised, however, one can also think “ok, but I do not know where that is”. The traditional sense of national identity escapes the reality for many of these individuals, and society must consider expanding past the need for a specific nation-

al identity in order to be validated.

This topic becomes more and more relevant as studies such as the Child and Young Migrants Study from the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs measures a 70% growth in the number of young people living in another country than the one they were born in. Since national identity is a concept still regarded as principal in a person’s identity, the way in which migration becomes a concept increasingly regular has and will continue to have a consequential effect on this identity. For this prime reason, it should be considered increasingly within the discussion about identity.

Ultimately, identity, including national identity, is left to the individual to define. The way in which the world becomes more globalised and migration more common will definitely have an effect on the way this issue progresses. The question is whether it will become more confusing or whether multiculturalism will become the new norm.

REFORM, POWER, AND CARDINAL SIN

How the latest Vatican Bank scandal is shaking up centuries of Church ideology

by *Georgia Canură* and *Jelle F. Kooij*

History of the Holy See and the Vatican Bank

To understand the Vatican Bank, one must first understand how it came about. For centuries the Pope of the Catholic Church was not only a religious leader but also served a Monarch over the Papal States. The Pope had his own military forces and regularly went to war with neighbouring Italian city states. Like every state, the Catholic Church needed money to finance its wars and activities within their territorial boundaries. At the time The Church used taxes from its citizens and indulgences which it sold to people as a pardon of their sins and guaranteed entry to Heaven.

Indulgences one might say were the Vatican's first banking scandal and led directly to the separation between the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church when in the 16th century Martin Luther objected to the Vatican's use of indulgences as a way of financing itself.

The Papal States would collapse when the Pope's army lost to the Italian nationalist in the 1870s and Italy unified under King Emmanuel II. The Vatican city-state as it is known today was created when the Pope and, at that time Prime Minister, Mussolini signed

the Lateran Treaty in 1929, which officially gave The Vatican as its own sovereign nation with the Pope as its monarch and Italy compensated the Pope for the loss of the Papal States a half century earlier. It would take until 1942 for the Vatican Bank to be established with the purpose of managing The Church's finances and "provide for the safekeeping and administration of movable and immovable property transferred or entrusted to it by physical or juridical persons and intended for works of religion or charity." But it remains a question if the Bank has kept to this original purpose.

Not your traditional bank, not your traditional Scandal

It did not take many years before the Vatican Bank to run into problems. The Vatican Bank does not operate like a traditional Western bank and more closely resembles a holding company. Through this structure the Vatican Bank has become one of the "best offshore banks in the world." In his book *God's Bankers*, Gerald Posner, highlights some of the ways the The Church has used the Vatican Bank to cover for war criminals, mafia families, and lavish lifestyles of clergy.

An example of one the most egregious ways the Vatican Bank made

money and protected criminals was during WWII. The Vatican used its neutrality status to continue banking operations with Germany and Italy, securing their money in the Vatican Bank to ensure that it could not be traced through Western Banks. The Vatican Bank also backed insurance companies in Italy which were directly profiting from the Holocaust.

The Church has used the Vatican Bank to keep hold over its influence around the world. While the Church preaches morality all over the world, its own institution is financing vice, cardinal sins, and crime. The latest scandal, in the eyes of many, sees The Church at a crossroad and Catholics around the world are hoping that this time the Pope will make lasting changes. But what is the latest Vatican Bank scandal and how has Pope Francis' promise of reform shaped its outcome?

Embezzlement and the bank's integrity today

January 2021 brought with it the prosecutions of three high officials of the Institute for the Works of the Religion (IOR), namely Angelo Caloia, the former president of the bank, and his two Italian lawyers who were consulting the bank at that time, Gabriele and Lamberto Liuzzo. Between 2002 and



The bank under Pope Francis

Pope Francis endorsed new laws for the Vatican Bank, supporting reforms that have helped the once-scandalous institution turn around. Pope Francis discussed dissolving the bank, technically known as the Institute for Works of Religion (IOR), soon after his coronation in 2013, but instead chose to continue the reforms begun by his predecessor Pope Benedict XVI. The new reforms taken by Pope Francis cover different issues of the bank and were spread over a period of six years.

First, he took action to control evident excessive expenditures, eliminating the €1,500 bonus given to Vatican personnel between papacies and removing the bank's five supervisory cardinals from their €25,000 yearly income. Second, he reinforced institutions by bringing in five management consulting companies to examine every facet of the administration. Third, he established a panel of secular legal and financial professionals to determine what must be done in situations of corruption. He also formed a second committee of independent financiers to examine the Vatican's whole financial portfolio. The two groups were urged to consider the unthinkable, even considering whether the bank should be shut down entirely. It remains to be seen if any of these reforms will have a lasting effect.

Located in a medieval tower that was once used as a prison, on your way to accessing the bank, there are no windows on the ground floors, and Swiss guards will inspect you while you walk through an additional security booth. There is an ATM machine in the wall beside the staffed reception area. "Inserito scidulam quaeso ut faciundam cognoscas rationem" is the Latin phrase that appears when you are asked to insert your card. The message is clear, the Church will protect you with centuries of fraternity even at the cost of the very people that uphold its walls.

2007, the individuals were accused of taking part in a scheme in which they embezzled money while arranging the sale of properties held by the bank and its real estate business in Italy. Essentially, they cheaply sold over 70 per cent of the bank's properties to themselves through questionable firms.

According to judicial records, at the outset of the inquiry, the men reportedly collected the difference between the real sale prices and the amount stated on the books separately and often. According to those records, some earnings were placed in a Rome bank account that was not included on the IOR's financial statements. They stand accused of stealing approximately 57 million euros by reporting a book value that was far smaller than the true sale price. During the trial, which began in

2018, they all denied wrongdoing. The former president of the Vatican bank was sentenced to nearly nine years in prison for embezzlement and money laundering, making him the highest ranked official of the state to be convicted of financial crimes.

Lamberto Liuzzo was sentenced to five years and two months in prison, while Gabriele Liuzzo received the same punishment as Caloia. Caloia resigned from every one of his positions following the trial, including the presidency of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, which manages the upkeep and restoration of Milan's famed Cathedral.

The three defendants were all prohibited from working in public office for the rest of their lives. However, they didn't show up for the sentencing.

TRIBALISM IN SINGAPORE

Threat to national survival?

by *Julia Kratofil*

*“We, the citizens of
Singapore,
Pledge ourselves as one
united people,
Regardless of race,
language or religion,
To build a
democratic society
Based on justice and equality
So as to achieve
happiness, prosperity,
And progress for our
nation.”*

With their national pledge, Singaporeans vow their loyalty to the nation, but more importantly, they promise to put ethnic differences aside. The pledge was part of major nation building efforts after the 1960s, when racial tensions sparked around the island. Today, the country prides itself of having overcome racial segregation and achieved social harmony. Nevertheless, racial privilege and tribalism prevail, and with it comes the threat of identity politics.

The Singaporean population is made up of many different social groups: Next to the Chinese majority, there are two major minorities of Indians and Malays, all of them speaking many different languages and

dialects and practicing different religions. From the beginning, politicians have declared racial harmony as the goal, seeing it as the precondition for progress. This is based on the idea that national unity builds support for the political system and creates loyalty to the state. Nation building initiatives are used by “governments around the world, which depend on the loyalty of their citizens”.

To pursue this goal of national unity, the government introduced a number of programs: English became the main language in schools; Racial quotas are used to distribute public housing, making sure that apartment blocks are mixed in ethnicity and preventing segregation; Parliament is made up of representatives from all different ethnic groups, mirroring the composition of society thanks to a complicated election system; the Head of State rotates among the three major ethnic groups. While not always popularly welcomed, it is undeniable that these projects have managed to keep ethnic tensions at bay. However, the question of whether they also succeeded in creating a national identity is up for debate.

As identity politics around the world surge, politicians in Singapore feel the threat to their so tediously nursed national harmony. According to Wong, former Minister of Culture, Community and Youth, the “empha-

sis on the culture of the self” has grown, thereby making societies less homogenous and leading people to fall back on tribalism instead of their national identities. This connectivity with local communities is called the “kampung spirit” in Singapore, derived from the Malay word for village. Wong admits that the social harmony will always be “on a knife edge” and needs careful attention. Identity politics are here seen as a grave threat to democratic politics, making it more difficult to achieve agreement between polarized groups. This could then easily lead to racial tensions, upending a period in which Singaporeans from different backgrounds lived together peacefully for many years.

In fighting this tribalist threat, politicians fall back on old strategies of emphasizing the importance of harmony and the common Singaporean values. For years, the state legitimized itself through economic growth and social progress in return for social control and limited political freedoms. On top of this came the creation of a shared identity based on Asian values. “We may be Chinese, Malay, Indian, Eurasian or any other race. But we are first and foremost Singaporeans”, Minister Wong claims in his speeches. But with identity politics on the rise and the insecurities of a post-Covid economy, the question arises: Will it be enough?

MERGERS, STATE AID AND SUSTAINABILITY

Can the EU's Competition Law lead to a greener Europe?

by *Georgia Canură*

The European economy has reached a crossroad. It is rebounding from a pandemic and has undertaken two critical transformations: moving toward net zero emissions and embracing digitalisation. What is more, the EU has to adapt to a world changing faster than ever before.

The EU is being pushed to consider open strategic autonomy because of geopolitical trends. The agenda entails determining both advantages and limitations of anti-competitive behaviours, such as a shortage of supply or unfair competition in the Single Market due to non-EU country subsidies. The European Union is debating where to focus efforts in order to lead innovation and technology on a global scale. Becoming a leader in learning how to deal with future challenges, the EU's long-term stability and prosperity are safeguarded from those who refuse to abide by the rules in a multilateral system founded on rules.

The EU's competition regulations are intended to provide companies with fair and equitable circumstances while also allowing for innovations, harmonized norms, and the growth of small firms. The European Commission has exclusive competences to oversee and analyze anti-competitive behaviors, mergers, and state aid to maintain equality of opportunity for EU enterprises, while also providing citizens with options and reasonable pricing.

Big corporations are prohibited from the use of their bargaining power to set terms that make it tough for their providers or consumers to conduct business with rivals. The Commission has the authority to sanction corporations for engaging in this activity, which results in increased costs and/or fewer options for customers.

Competition and new challenges

The European Commission issued a communication headlined "a competition policy fit for new challenges" in November 2021. The communication indicates numerous areas where a revised competition strategy may aid the European economy in overcoming the 21st Century difficulties. The communication highlights the EU's competition policy's importance in recovering from the COVID-19 crisis, in aiding the European green and digital transformation, and in improving the Single Market's resilience. This ambition will need unprecedented public and private investments, innovation, a well-functioning Single Market, and adequate and well-calibrated competition laws may contribute to its objectives.

According to the European Commission, competition policy is an effective tool for responding to emerging market difficulties and advancing the EU's larger policy goals. Competition law will be employed to promote two

of the EU's key policies: the environmental and digital transformations.

Established competition regulations, such as Article 101(1) TFEU might be used to enforce the Green Deal objectives, according to the Commission's Communication. Article 101(1) forbids any sort of agreements between companies, "which could prevent, restrict or distort competition". Agreements that would otherwise be illegal might be permissible if the anticompetitive outcomes of those deals are outweighed by environmental benefits, such as permitting the fabrication of a more sustainable product. In this spirit, the European Commission's new competition policy becomes accorded to the European Green Deal.

From state aid to net zero

State aid regulations will also be used to further EU policy goals. One of the Commission's policy objectives, for instance, is for the EU to be carbon neutral by 2050. To produce the desired outcome, the Commission will revise the present Energy and Environmental State Assistance Guidelines to enable Member States to employ state aid to foster revolutionary environmental technologies. The new guidelines are meant to make it quicker to adopt projects and initiatives that support the EU's emission reduction targets while also transitioning out businesses that are emissions-intensive.

THE BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF ECOTOURISM

A path towards development in developing countries

by *Luiza de Lacerda Toledo*

The quest for developing countries to diversify their economies and make the most out of their resources is an evident challenge, considering the growing complexity of globalization processes.

In many countries of the Global South, the rise of Ecotourism, that is, tourism practices developed by businesses that are claimed to be sustainable and not harmful for the environment and local populations became a growing trend in recent years.

Nonetheless, despite efforts to regulate and keep such practices controlled and with a positive impact, the benefits from it are hindered in many cases. That is due to the lack of surveillance or even lack of investments and incentives to keep such businesses in place. Countries would benefit from the development of stronger and broader ecotourism initiatives, both by public and private actors, not only by creating a new source of income but also by raising awareness of the importance of creating sustainable businesses.

Ecotourism in Latin America

Latin America is the world's region with the largest biodiversity, including 5 out of the top 10 most biodiverse countries globally. Brazil is ranked first in the list, with more than 5 different types of land, fauna, and flora belonging to each one.

Besides having the largest percentage of the Amazon Forest and 16th longest coastline in the world, the country also holds many hidden gems that would bring new sorts of income for the local population, if the right incentives were set in place.

Despite evident potential Brazil holds to develop sustainable tourist practices, in 2018 only 3.1 billion Brazilian reais (equivalent to around half a million euros) of the country's GDP was accounted for it. The lack of public investments and attention to the natural capacity is problematic and hinders Brazil's path towards a more environmentally friendly future.

“And why then there is so little investment in ecotourism compared to other sorts of income?”

Sadly, as is the case in many developing countries, the economy became solely funded in exports of primary resources, which leaves little space for more social forms of economic development to take place. The Brazilian predatory agricultural sector dominates not only many of the political discussions but also the allocation of subsidies and other public resources.

Therefore, instead of promoting oth-

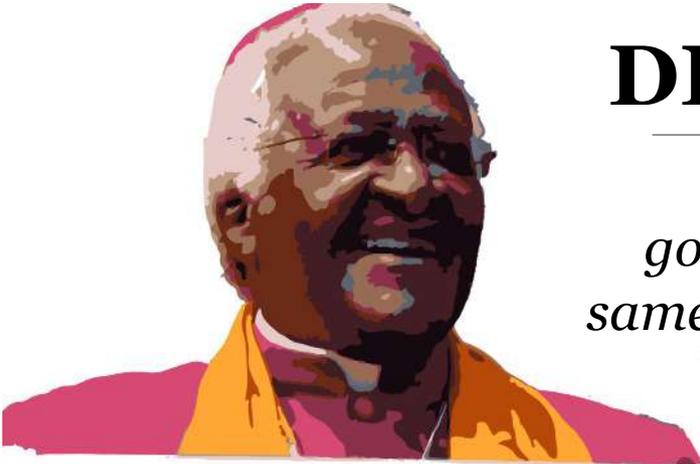
er infant industries and investing in local businesses that could benefit the local populations, especially in remote areas, the lack of political will makes it hard for ecotourism to become more popular in the country.

Such challenges are far from being restricted to Brazilian society. Other developing countries, including Kenya and Mexico, have also faced challenges when consolidating the expected measures necessary to promote eco-tourism within their countries. Hence, the need for further comprehensive policies and engagement of civil society to promote eco-tourism, as a sustainable way to increase income towards local communities is evident.

Next steps towards sustainable development?

With the increase in awareness of the importance of sustainable development as well as environmentally friendly economic practices, new opportunities might arise for ecotourism practices. Civil society engagement and the rise of new companies focused on sustainable businesses might cause a positive impact on the development of eco-tourism industries.

How this will develop is still yet to be seen, but the hope for a sustainable and more eco-friendly future remains.



DESMOND TUTU

“Doe een klein beetje goed, met al die kleine beetjes samen overspoelen we de wereld.”

by *Elena van der Klok*

Op 26 december 2021 kwam Desmond Tutu om het leven. De Zuid-Afrikaanse Tutu was één van de meest invloedrijke mensenrechtenactivisten in de wereld. Met zijn zelf verzonnen term “regenboognatie” wilde hij een hoopvolle toekomst schetsen waarin verschillende bevolkingsgroepen een eenheid zouden creëren na de periode van de apartheid. En zijn inspanningen tegen racisme en discriminatie werden beloond, want in 1984 won Tutu de Nobelprijs voor de Vrede.

Samen met God in zijn achterhoofd vocht Tutu tegen de apartheid. Dit was een uitdaging aangezien de overheid destijds beweerde dat volgens de Bijbel de witte bevolking superieur zou zijn aan de zwarte bevolking. Maar met behulp van de ubuntu-theologie snoerde Tutu de mond van de witte bevolking. De Aartsbisschop verzoende politiek en geloof, en inspireerde veel Zuid-Afrikaanse kerken om zich geweldloos te verzetten tegen het apartheidsregime.

Dat Tutu's idealen veel mensen heeft weten inspireren werd verder omarmd tijdens zijn uitvaartdienst. Tijdens de dienst werd hij door de President Ramaphosa beschreven als het morele kompas en het nationale geweten van Zuid-Afrika. Hij was volgens Ramaphosa een wereld icoon die op een vreedzame manier streed voor vrijheid, rechtvaardigheid en vrede. Tutu werd vooral herdacht als een anti-apartheidsstrijder. Toch zal Tutu

ook worden herdacht als iemand met een uitgesproken mening tegenover onrecht en onderdrukking wereldwijd.

Zo had Tutu onder andere veel kritiek tegenover geslachtsdiscriminatie. Als aanhanger van de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap was hij fel tegen discriminatie wegens seksuele geaardheid. Bovendien vergeleek hij ook de discriminatie tegenover de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap met de oppressie in de periode van de apartheid. In beide gevallen worden volgens de Aartsbisschop mensen gestraft voor iets waar ze niets aan kunnen doen. Daarnaast wist Tutu herhaaldelijk hoe hij zijn mening over de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap kon koppelen aan het geloof. Hij vertelde bijvoorbeeld tijdens een interview met de BBC in 2007 dat hij nooit een God zal aanbidden die homofob is. Jaren later impliceerde Tutu zelfs dat hij liever naar de hel zou gaan dan naar een homofobe hemel.

En naast het feit dat Tutu een loyale bondgenoot was van de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap was hij dit ook van de Palestijnse gemeenschap. Want tijdens het conflict tussen Israël en Palestina gaf hij zijn steun aan de Palestijnen. Dit kwam doordat Tutu in 2002 de Israëlische bezetting en het bijbehorende militaire regime met blote ogen zag. Hij was geschokt en vergeleek insgelijks de omstandigheden met dat van de periode van de apartheid. Zonder twijfel suggereerde Tutu daarom een internationale boycot

tegen de Joodse staat. De reden was simpel. Hij zag de wereldwijde druk om Zuid-Afrika economisch te isoleren als een cruciale factor voor het beëindigen van de apartheid. Dus net zoals de boycot de apartheid versloeg zou deze internationale boycot ook Israël kunnen verslaan. En ondanks veel kritiek omtrent zijn redevoering over deze situatie was Tutu vastberaden om het conflict tussen beide bevolkingsgroepen vredig af te sluiten.

Tot slot was Tutu een klimaatactivist. En ook hier suggereerde hij een wereldwijde boycot om de planeet te redden. Greta Thunberg, een zeer bekende Zweedse klimaatactiviste, herhaalde deze suggestie van Tutu na zijn dood. Daarbij koppelde Greta in 2019 in de Financial Times, net zoals Tutu dat altijd deed, de klimaatcrisis met de apartheid. Zo noemde ze de klimaatcrisis “de apartheid van onze tijd.”

En zelfs na zijn dood laat Tutu aan de wereld zien hoe belangrijk klimaatbescherming voor hem was. Hij heeft er namelijk voor gekozen om geresomeerd te worden.

Kortom, Desmond Tutu, als symbool tegen rassenscheiding en voor democratie, zal wereldwijd niet vergeten worden. Zijn positiviteit en doorzettingsvermogen zal men herinneren. En zijn idealen omtrent vrijheid, rechtvaardigheid en vrede zullen van generatie op generatie internationaal verspreid worden.

INSIDE JOB

The 2008 financial crisis through critical lenses

by *Luiza de Lacerda Toledo*

Understanding the root causes of the 2008 global financial crisis often seems to be a complex and tiring process to be done, but not impossible. More importantly, understanding through critical lenses who are the actors responsible for the disastrous outcome of the crisis and the problems with the globalized financial market is crucial for making sense of many issues society faces nowadays.

The 2010 documentary “Inside Job” directed by Charles Ferguson and narrated by Matt Damon, is a substantial piece about such a topic that has affected the lives of many globally. The narration of how the crisis came to be, illustrated by several examples of companies, individuals, and institutions involved in the process allows for an in-depth analysis of the events.

The strength of the documentary lies in its rich sources and participation of interviewees from different backgrounds that are involved in the process. Not only does it include the heads of banks and financial institutions from Western countries that have had a key role in the process, but also non-Western guests that share their experiences of the impact of the crisis. Such a range of speakers allows one to understand the different dimensions of the crisis and how it has been problematic both economically and socially.



The narration and build-up of the documentary expose the dramatic consequences of such actions, which had shocking consequences to different groups of society. On one hand, many bank directors, high-level politicians, and executives benefited from the outcomes of the crisis, making even more profit out of the situation.

On the other hand, lower and middle-class individuals who were trapped into the housing market bubble and/or had made investments in the financial sector found themselves deprived of all their possible gains. Such discrepancy shows that again, as seen many times in history, those with more leverage and political power can and will, in many instances, benefit from the work of the less advantaged ones.

Moreover, the criticisms of the path and shape the economic discipline

has taken in Western academia are also relevant for understanding how the scientific community can affect political decisions in the current society. Many scholars have been involved in flawed studies and policy-making processes inside the U.S. as well as many European and developing countries. This is exemplified in the documentary, with the presence of scholars from renowned Western academic institutions who share their insights and in many ways hypocrisy present in the system.

It is, of course, important to highlight that the production is focused on the impact of the crisis within Western institutions, as it was where the impact of the crisis became more evident firsthand. Nonetheless, also addressing the further impacts of this crisis, more extensively in developing countries would be beneficial for a round understanding of the consequences of such global crisis.

Overall, “Inside Job” is an attention-grabbing, critical documentary that exposes not only the causes of the crisis in a rich illustrative manner, but also the problems with the current economic and financial structures as well as academia in Western society. It is highly recommended for those interested in understanding what powers lie behind the tools of growth and supposed “success” present in the lives of many.

SAVE THE DATE

Elections, SPIL activities, and Dutch holidays

February 6

Costa Rica General
Election

February 8

Lustrum Borrel

February 11

Online Excursion to the
American Embassy

February 14

Thesis Writing
Workshop

February 24

Career Night

February 27

Belarus Referendum

March 3

Long-Trip Destination
Announcement Borrel

March 5

Committee Bonding
Day

March 7

SPIL x Efteling

March 9

Interfaculty Party
(InFaFe)

March 12

Turkmenistan
Presidential Elections

March 13

Colombia Legislative
Elections

March 14

Online Excursion to
the OPCW

March 15

Interim GA

March 15

Somalia Parliamentary
Elections

March 18

Board Game Night

