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Letter from the Editor

To The Reader,

Welcome to our second annual edition of the Panoply Journal. Our think tank was founded on the ideas, time, and minds of Sigma Iota Rho, the alumni American Military University, and military veterans. With uncertainty along the path of our world's diplomatic future coupled with the current Covid-19 pandemic phenomenon, I felt it was imperative to emphasize the fair and impartial stance we maintain here at CIRIS of the thoughts and hard work of the researchers who contributed to this Journal.

For me, this Journal volume represents the researcher who dares to maintain their own mental alignment, holding steadfast to the concept of unbiased research, steering clear from what is deemed to be societal correctness. For those who have second-guessed their research for fear of scrutiny, we provide a platform where students and scholars can bring forth their research-supported papers for publication.

I would like to thank the researchers who submitted their papers for this volume, bringing forth a wide range of international topics, from democracy to human trafficking.

As we go into 2022, filled with political shifts, diplomatic and economic uncertainties, let us not forget to take care of each other and ourselves. Let us move forward in the spirit of optimism and hope.

Sincerely,

Dominique R. Batiste

Letter from the Board

With another year of COVID-19 politics being portrayed as the only threat to humanity, basic human rights and constitutional freedoms are being neglected. This development that is mainly taking place online, on social media, TV and other News Media outlets, instills a whole generation with a worldview that is far from realistic.

There are many regions on this globe that are being confronted with problems that are far worse than the COVID-19 virus. If the COVID-19 pandemic has shown one thing it is how the poorer nations have become poorer. Not only financially but also with regard to basic rights. Human trafficking, the usage of drones, the buildup of Russian troops on the border with the Ukraine, governments that govern without a proper formation as in the Netherlands, and the list goes on. Yet for some reason the COVID-19 pandemic has shown that dialogue is not something that we are capable of when it comes to global problems that we are facing. And we are facing a plethora of problems of which COVID-19 is just a minor one.

The gravity of the situation is this, the chances of you dying of a nuclear attack are by far greater percentage wise than that of dying of COVID-19. Yet we turn a blind eye to the nuclear arsenals out there and the new technologies that are being developed to use tactical nukes in new and smarter ways than before.

This year we are happy with the submitted papers that focus on topics that are still actual and very interesting. We hope that you enjoy another edition of our journal and look forward to working with you.

A special thanks to our leadership team, and their hard work this year despite the many odds.

The Board of Directors

Travis Hackney
Lindsay Ryan
Marleen Julien
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Geopolitics of Proliferation of Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Abstract

The paper looks at the effects of the increased proliferation of armed UAVs. It briefly elucidates the military history of UAVs, before examining the phenomenon of proliferation of these UAVs. It looks at how both states and non-state actors have been using these increasingly. It examines the impact of drones in contemporary warfare, particularly that of low-tech and low-cost drones which operate as loitering munitions. Finally, it looks at the larger geopolitical impact of the proliferation of drones. It describes how this phenomenon has strengthened the hand of certain states like Turkey and Iran, while weakening that of states like Saudi Arabia.

Introduction

The last decade has seen an immense proliferation of armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV's, also known as Drones). UAVs are no longer limited to their roles as surveillance and training pilots, but have been used as substitutes of manned aircrafts to carry out deadly attacks without the commensurate risk of loss or capture of a pilot. While in the initial years of this period saw the use of armed drones by state actors against non-state ones (particularly, terror groups) to eliminate high value targets that would otherwise be difficult to eliminate, recent years have seen them used by state armed forces against other states, as well as by non-state actors against state and other non-state actors. In other words, both the users as well as the context of uses has increased in the last few years.

This paper would examine the recent history of the proliferation of armed drones. It would see how states as well as non-state actors have been adapting towards using these according to the situations they find themselves in. Next, I would examine what effect it has on the outcomes of the conflicts in which they have been utilized, as well as the geopolitical ramifications of such use. Lastly, I would take a cursory look at some proposals to counter this trend of drone proliferation, and see if they have any merit.

History of armed UAVs

The history of modern UAVs can be traced back to the First World War. The invention can be credited to English inventor and engineer, Sir Archibald Montgomery Low, who developed the first powered drone aircraft. These were to be controlled through radio transmission, a principle that has in its most fundamental form remained unchanged to this day. The drones were extremely rudimentary, however, and had limited use. They were mostly used either for training purposes (as targets for other fighters or AA guns) or as flying bombs. (Blom, 2010)

It was not until the Vietnam war period that communication technology had advanced enough to allow the emergence of reconnaissance drones. One of the major reasons for the spurt in development was the shooting down of U-2 piloted by Gary Powers over the USSR. The Ryan Model 147 Lightning Bug was one of the first of its kinds, and it and the several variants it spawned were used extensively by the US armed forces to keep an eye on North Vietnam, China and North Korea. (Ehrhard, 2010) The details of the Soviet reconnaissance drone programs remain hidden, but it's suffice to say that they too developed similar drones.

Another innovative use of drones was by the Israeli forces in the 1973 war. The dense Egyptian and Syrian SAM batteries meant that it was a very hazardous environment for Israeli aircrafts. Clearing them out through manned fighters and bombers could have resulted in high casualties, which the Israelis could not afford. Instead, they used UAVs to lure the enemy SAM batteries to fire their missiles at them, and then took out the batteries with anti-radiation missiles. The Israelis also extensively used UAVs during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. UAVs were used

in an ISR (Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance) capacity, as well as decoys to lure Syrian SAM's. (Kreis, 1990)

The US armed forces also deployed ISR drones during the 1991 Gulf War. The RQ-2 Pioneer drone, jointly developed by US and Israel, flew over 300 combat reconnaissance missions during the conflict. (Pike, 2000). The famous Predator drone saw first usage during the Kosovo war, where it performed ISR roles for NATO forces. While many were shot down or were destroyed after technical failure, the lack of casualties meant that they were continued to be used extensively. (Becker, 1999) The armed version of the Predator (carrying Hellfire AGMs) was only introduced after 9/11 in the ensuing War on Terror. They were used extensively in the invasion of Afghanistan, as well as later. Predator drones were also used in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, as ISR drones, as decoys and for firing AGM's.

Drones have been used extensively in the War on Terror. They are considered an efficient and effective way to eliminate high value targets in environments where manned missions would not be possible. While the legality of drone usage in sovereign territories of other countries has been at best questionable, the lack of alternatives mean that it is unlikely that drone usage for this purpose would go away anytime soon.

Proliferation of drones

The last few years have seen a massive proliferation of drones. Drones are no longer the monopoly of strong and technologically developed states (like the US and Israel). A number of countries (like Turkey and Iran) have indigenously developed very effective drones, and have supplied it to their allies (both states as well as non-state actors). The result of this has been the increased use of drones for warfare, both in a conventional as well as unconventional capacity.

The conventional use of drones is by states, against other states and non-state actors. The Armenia-Azerbaijan war of 2021 demonstrates the effectiveness of these drones. Azerbaijani drones were able to lure the fire of hidden Armenian SAM's, making their locations known. It was advised to them by the Israelis, and is the same tactic used by Israelis in the 1973 war. (Dixon, 2020) Saudi Arabia has also deployed American drones against Houthis, in a search and destroy role. The use of Turkish drones by the GNA faction in Libya can be called both

conventional as well as unconventional, depending on if they are seen as the legitimate government of Libya or just another group in the Libyan Civil War. But the tactic is surely conventional, as they are used against Russian-supplied SAM batteries of the LNA to great effect. (Marson & Forest, 2021)

Unconventional use of drones is mostly by non-state actors, either against states or against other non-state actors. The non-state actors in question are unable to develop their own drones, and are reliant upon their state allies to procure them. In comparison to the drones used in conventional warfare, these drones are often much lower on the technological plane and cost much less.

The most prolific recent users of unconventional drone warfare have been the Houthis. They have managed to wrest control of much of Yemen, and have been successful in resisting the Saudi-led coalition's efforts to drive them back. Part of their resistance has been to strike at the heart of Saudi mainland through low-tech drones (sourced primarily from Iran, their main state backer). The drones they use have been designed to carry high explosives, and explode when near their targets. The ability to loiter makes them superior to cruise missiles. The Saudi Air Defenses have so far proved incapable of detecting and destroying them before they could reach their targets.

Another very important non-state actor to use drones is the Hezbollah, who incidentally were the first non-state actor to use them against a state. In 2004, Hezbollah used an Iranian made drone to surveille upon Israeli cities and installations. (Plaw & Santoro, 2017) Since then, Hezbollah has used drones extensively against Israel, and while these drones haven't been too much of a threat due to Israel's interception capabilities, they certainly have caused their fair share of panic and terror among the Israelis.

Impact of drone proliferation

The recent proliferation of drones, both in conventional and unconventional usage, has several impacts. In conventional usage, it reduces the cost that states might endure when fighting against other states or non-state actors. It is true that drones could be shot down (and probably more likely to be shot down, due to flying lower and at lesser speeds), but the cost attributed to it

is much lower. Drones are cheaper than fighter jets, and the human cost is completely eliminated. The risk of capture of a pilot, which could prove a huge morale boost for the opposing side, is also completely eliminated.

Costs of conflict act as barriers to conflict; the higher the cost, the more unlikely it is for conflicts to start and sustain. Lower costs mean that states are more prone to get into conflicts and sustain them. One of the major reasons for states to end wars is a protracted cost (financial and human), leading to domestic pressure. Since drone warfare diminishes the first kind and completely eliminates the other, the domestic pressure to end wars would reduce.

Since the proliferation has mostly been to states that are otherwise lacking in the technological front, it could act as an equalizer in inter-state conflicts. In wars among states that deploy drones and those that do not, drones could prove to be the edge required to tilt the balance of conflict on their side. Skilled use of drones also requires certain tactics and strategy, and this opens up space for new military innovations. The military leadership would need to rethink how wars are to be fought and include drones in their calculations. Naturally, those states whose military leadership failed to adapt would be left behind.

However, the much larger impact would be through the unconventional use of drones. The proliferation of combat drones among non-state actors is the big story of the last few years. These drones are a massive upgrade over the offensive capabilities that they hitherto possessed, and brought them further along to parity with the state actors. While the drones that non-state actors use are much less technologically advanced compared to that used by states, the innovative ways in which non-state actors deploy these drones play to their strengths and extract the most amount of utility out of them.

The use of drones as loitering munition against the critical civil and military infrastructure of states poses a challenge, since it has very little cost (in terms of drones intercepted) but very high benefits (in terms of value of infrastructure destroyed). States would thus need to aim to have a very high rate of interception or concede the upper hand to their opponents. While Israel has been fairly successful in this, countries like Saudi Arabia have lagged behind and paid the price.

Larger Geopolitical impact of drone proliferation

So far, I have looked at what the effect of drone proliferation would be among conflicts between states, among states and non-state actors and even among non-state actors. As a result of these effects, some states gain an upper hand over others due to the strategy they chose. This is by no means permanent, as a revision of strategy is always possible in the medium to long term. However, this section is a survey of how proliferation of drones has affected the larger geopolitics in the present (and likely to do so in the near future).

States which rely on supporting non-state actors in other countries to serve their agenda have benefitted from these developments. The most important example of this is Iran, which has proxy actors in most other countries in the Middle East to advance their interests. (Lane, 2021) Iran has armed these proxy actors with rudimentary but highly effective drones, and as a result of this the proxies have been able to gain an upper hand in the conflicts of the region. Since most of these proxy actors are locked in combat against the states that Iran competes with in the region, Iran's position vis-à-vis these states has improved.

Another such state which has benefitted from the proliferation of drones is Turkey. While Turkey is not considered to be as much of a geopolitical heavyweight as Iran, in recent years Turkey has been making its moves in arming non-state actors which it thinks would advance its interests. The most successful such group was the Government of National Accord (GNA) in Libya, which actually gained UN recognition as the legitimate government of Libya. In the latter phase of the Libyan civil war when the GNA was locked in battle with the Russian-backed Libyan National Army (LNA) of Gen Haftar, Turkish drones were used to devastating effects against the LNA.

Conversely, countries like Saudi Arabia, which lack an indigenous arms industry that can design and manufacture such drones, would lag in the competition. While these countries can purchase drones from advanced countries (which Saudi Arabia has indeed done), the prohibitive cost of these advanced drones mean that they cannot be supplied to allied non-state actors or used in unconventional ways. The real reason that gives unconventional drones their edge is their disposability (which again comes thanks to their low technology and ease of manufacture).

Sophisticated drones don't have this edge and are just one more arrow in the quiver of the conventional military forces.

On the other hand, such countries could (and some already have) become victims of attacks by low-technology drones used by non-state actors. Saudi Arabia has been under several such attacks by Houthis, the most high profile of which was the one carried out against Aramco facilities on 14th September 2019. (Al Jazeera, 2019) While the exact culprit behind the said attack remains unclear, with the US pointing the blame at Iran, the conclusion remains the same. Iranian drones have been targeting Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Air Defenses have been clearly falling short.

Conclusion

The proliferation of armed drones seen over the last few years would have a paradigm-shifting effect on the future of conventional and unconventional warfare. Specifically, it has strengthened the hands of those states that have developed highly effective but very affordable low-technology drones, and have supplied them to their allied states as well as non-state actors. Countries like Turkey and Iran have clearly benefited from these developments, while other countries like Saudi Arabia have seen their positions weakened. It remains to be seen whether this would create greater geopolitical developments, or would coming technological developments from more advanced countries blunt the effectiveness of these crude drones. However, what is clear either way is that warfare is only going to get more and more complex, with states coming under increasing challenge from non-state actors, who would be supplied by other states.

Soumyadeep Bidyanta

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Tunisia Post-Revolution: What is Preventing its Democracy

Abstract

Ten years have passed since Tunisians overthrew an authoritarian regime controlled by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Corruption and an oppressive police force led to the self-immolation and death of Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street merchant in 2011, quickly igniting waves of protests and becoming the catalyst for the Arab Spring. These protests which quickly encompassed the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) called for democratic reform within their respective governments, but Tunisia remains the only state to succeed, holding democratic elections from 2011 onward and ratifying a new constitution in 2014. Despite these measures, democratization remains slow to develop. What explains Tunisia's lack of democratic progress since the revolution? This paper examines Tunisia's impediment to a fully developed democracy, which will argue weak institutional reform as the cause for corruption to persist. To offer a comparison, this paper will highlight Chile's rapid democratic transition from a violent dictatorship under Augusto Pinochet, where corruption levels plummeted after thorough institutional reform. Chile also possesses a Constitutional Court, an independent judicial body whose significance is affirming the constitutionality of proposed laws and decisions made by

executive powers. Disagreements among parties within Tunisian Parliament have prevented this institution, which contributes to Tunisia's democratic prevention as there is no third-party oversight on constitutional matters to ensure civil liberties provided by the constitution are adhered to.

Introduction

On December 17, 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street merchant from Sidi Bouzid had his fruit scales confiscated by local police forces for working without a permit and being unable to pay a bribe to continue working that day. After allegedly being slapped by a policewoman and her insulting his deceased father, Bouazizi went to file a complaint, but the governor refused to speak with him.[1] What transpired next would gain international media attention and remain an unforgettable moment in Tunisian history. Mohamed Bouazizi, fed up with police brutality, set himself alight after dousing himself in gasoline, dying from his wounds two weeks later. Ali Bouazizi, Mohamed's cousin, was able to film this self-immolation and the reaction of the locals, which quickly circulated itself on the internet.[2] Uprisings across the Arab World ensued, culminating in widespread protests and violent suppression from security forces throughout the region; yet, Tunisia persevered and overthrew an authoritarian regime, allowing for a democratic transition.

Tunisia was critical in inspiring the Arab Spring protests across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region and successfully overthrowing President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's authoritarian regime in 2011. Following the revolution, the government ratified a new constitution in 2014, solidifying a democratic future for Tunisians. Despite such monumental successes, Tunisia remains plagued with several leadership changes, stagnant socioeconomic growth, high unemployment rates, oppression from security forces, and rises in extremism, leading many to believe Tunisia was more stable under authoritarian rule.[3] The importance for governmental reforms remains paramount for MENA states as new waves of protests across the

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[1] Lageman, Thessa. *"Mohamed Bouazizi: Was the Arab Spring Worth Dying For?"* Al-Jazeera News – Human Rights. 3 Jan 2016.
[2] Ibid Lageman, Thessa. Al-Jazeera
[3] Slimi, Moncef. *"Tunisians are Disappointed, 10 Years After the Arab Spring"* Deutsche Welle News. 18 Dec. 2020.

region resurfaced in 2018, mirroring the Arab Spring.[4] Tunisia is among the states involved in this "second Arab Spring" which certainly highlights the stagnant democratic transition since Ben Ali's overthrow. If democracy cannot succeed in Tunisia, a state that has already adopted the necessary framework for democratization, it remains highly unlikely such reform can occur elsewhere in the MENA region.

This paper will examine Tunisia's democratic delay from the ratification of its constitution to present day, measuring corruption levels as an indication for why democratization remains a difficult endeavor for Tunisian society. Institutional reform is integral to a transitioning government, and Tunisia's weak institutional reform enables corruption to persist, preventing democratic growth. To offer a comparative analysis, Chile's democratization is examined to explain how institutional reform and possessing a Constitutional Court are imperative to ensuring civil liberties are protected and corruption levels decline during a transitional period. Tunisia's lack of such a jurisdictional framework has allowed for the inverse to occur, with corruption levels higher than they were under the previous authoritarian regime.

Existing Research for Slow Democratization

Democratization has occurred in all parts of the world, most notably during and after the Cold War, where between 1974 and 1990, roughly 30 countries democratized, doubling the total amount of democracies worldwide.[5] This "third wave" of democracy first began with Spain, Greece, and Portugal shifting to democratization and joining the European Community (now European Union) with Turkey, Poland, Hungary, and former Czechoslovakia formally beginning democratic transitions in the 1990s in hopes of joining the EC as well.[6] Despite such progress, several states have experienced lapses in democratic reform, where a reversion to former authoritarian practices has prevented states' hopes of liberalized economies, and democratization never came to fruition. Scholarly research has offered several explanations as to the causes for

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[4] Muasher, Marwan. *"Is this the Arab Spring 2.0?"* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 30 Oct 2019.
[5] Huntington, Samuel P. *"Democracy's Third Wave"* Journal of Democracy. Vol 2 No. 2. Pg. 12. Spring 1991.
[6] Ibid Huntington, Samuel P. Pg. 14. 1991.

setbacks following a democratic transition, such as weak socio economic reform, increased foreign investment in authoritarian regimes, as well as increased right-wing populism, which has infiltrated even the strongest of the world's liberal economies and governments.

Socioeconomic Impacts Halting Democratization

Barbara Geddes states, with respect to socioeconomic reform following democratic transition, "regime or government change can increase the likelihood of economic liberalization because it breaks the link between incumbents and the main beneficiaries of statist policies by installing a new set of incumbents."[7] While, under normal circumstances, it seems clear these newly transitioned regimes would be willing to quickly implement economic reforms which are democratic in nature, but there are instances where new democracies have not developed ways to address income inequalities and stagnant economies. Geddes further goes on to claim, "failure to pay attention to the interests of government officials and members of ruling parties has distorted ideas about the costs of economic liberalization and consequently led to inaccurate predictions about when it would be accomplished."[8]

By not focusing on political ambitions of government officials, further delays in democratization could occur as their policies could benefit themselves rather than acting on the interests of the people responsible for electing them. Further critical when examining successful democratic transition is ensuring civil liberties are granted and protected, particularly as it relates to women and marginalized groups in society.

Wang et al.'s piece on women's rights in democratic transitions argues the significance of gender equality in order for democracy to truly succeed from a former authoritarian regime by stating, "the expansion of civil liberties and reduction of state repression enhance citizens' capacity to voice opposition, organize movements, and challenge the regime,"[9] and also claim, "when half of the population [women] increasingly gain the rights to move, voice demands,

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[7] Geddes, Barbara. *"The Politics of Economic Liberalization"* Latin American Research Review. Vol 30, Issue 2. Pg. 197. (1995).
[8] Ibid Geddes, Barbara.
[9] Wang, Yi-Ting et al. *"Women's Rights in Democratic Transitions: A Global Sequence Analysis 1900-2012"* European Journal of Political Research. Pg. 737. Nov 2017.

discuss, and hold material and immaterial assets, the calculation of repression cost is significantly changed."[10] The authors' piece depicts the importance of gender equality as it relates to democratic regime change, since participation from women in politics has been instrumental in maintaining democratic success. While their article indicates a rise in women's civil liberties across many of the Arab Spring states, the authors' data stops at 2012[11] and does not reflect the downward trend that has occurred in the region recently, certainly overshadowing many of the rights granted to them.

With respect to women's rights in present day Tunisia, the issue of equality still remains prevalent for Tunisian women in both urban and rural parts of the country. For example, a draft law concerning increased individual freedoms and inheritance for women was placed before Tunisian Parliament in 2018 and has since received significant opposition from Islamists in the Ennahda party and its coalition allies, further delaying a vote from happening.[12] These Islamist views were reiterated in August of 2020 with President Kais Saied stating, "the Koranic text is clear and allows for no interpretation – the principle of inheritance in Islam is not based on formal equality but rather on justice and equity."[13] Due to the Islamist's notion of inheritance and equality not conforming to what is stated in the Qur'an, and President Saied's affirmation of such claims, it remains highly unlikely the advancements in gender equality being heavily sought after by Tunisian women will be achieved[14]; thus, remaining an impediment to democratic progress.

What makes Tunisia a unique outlier in this trend is it remains the only Arab state to successfully overthrow the authoritarian regime and implement a constitution based on democratic principles. Notwithstanding rights and liberties as well as democratic elections being prevalent in Tunisian society, women's rights remain disproportionate to their male counterparts. According to a 2020 Global Gender Gap report done by the World Economic Forum, Tunisia's ranking dropped from 90th to 124th out of 153 countries on its gender equality from 2006 to 2020.[15] Additional downward trends for Tunisian women's rights include unemployment rates

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[10] Ibid Wang et al. Pg 749.
[11] Ibid Wang et al.
[12] Zayat, Iman. *"Tunisia Marks Long Struggle for Women's Rights"* The Arab Weekly. 15 Aug 2020.
[13] Zayat, Iman. *"Tunisian President Rejects Gender Equality in Inheritance"* The Arab Weekly. 18 Aug 2020.
[14] Ibid Zayat, Iman. 12 Aug 2020.
[15] Verheijen, Antonius. *"Is the Status of Women in Tunisian Society Endangered?"* World Bank. Blog. 23 Dec 2020.

doubling for men (higher percentages in rural areas), only 23.3% of new housing loans being granted to women, and despite 67% of Tunisian higher education graduates being women, only 24.6% are employed.[16] With persistent inequalities as significant as this during a democratic transition, lack of socioeconomic reform could certainly account for Tunisia's slowly developing democracy.

Resurgence of Authoritarianism

An additional, and more impactful scholarly explanation for the inability for democratic transitions to succeed is the influence of reemerged authoritarian practices from governments. Authoritarian regimes remain resilient in the Middle East, which Yom and Al-Momani argue international factors being the underlying cause for authoritarian prominence.[17] The authors focused on Jordanian politics from the 1990s and 2000s, where significant amounts of military and developmental aid were provided to Jordan's monarchy by the United States in return for its establishment of a peace treaty with Israel in 1994. For the US, Jordanian-Israeli relations took precedence over Jordanian democratization to ensure American interests in this part of the Middle East were secured; thereby allowing an authoritarian regime to maintain power.[18] In spite of economic crises suffered by several Arab states during the 1990s and loosened restrictions on political rights due to civil unrest, the authors assert,

> "scholarly optimism dissipated by the end of the 1990s, though, as democratic reforms stuttered to a halt and ruling incumbents in numerous single-party republics and dynastic monarchies found themselves secure in the halfway house of 'liberalized autocracy' – it is not [democratic] decay but the durability of Arab authoritarianism that now commands theoretical attention."[19]

It would appear this pattern or trend of the late 1990s resurfaced in the 2010s and remains prevalent in the 2020s as Arab authoritarian regimes remain prominent due to the temporary

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[16] Ibid Verheijen, Antonius. Dec 2020.
[17] Yom, Sean L. and Al-Momani, Mohammad H. *"The International Dimensions of Authoritarian Regime Stability: Jordan in the Post-Cold War Era"* Arab Studies Quarterly. Vol 30, No. 1. (2008).
[18] Ibid Yom and Al-Momani. 2008
[19] Ibid Yom and Al-Momani. 2008

easing of repressive acts on civil society to appease the public while maintaining an authoritarian structure.[20]

Conversely, additional international factors such as sanctions also contribute to pro-authoritarian sentiment. While Jordan was able to procure capital investment and developmental aid from the United States and maintain its authoritarian regime, sanctions from international actors may also have an adverse effect on democratic sentiment. Scholars Grauvogel and von Soest argue sanctions, particularly comprehensive sanctions from stronger democratic states imposed on a weak authoritarian state can, "create a siege mentality and thereby trigger a 'rally-round-the-flag' effect," which enables authoritarian leaders to, "demonize external sanctions and use them as a legitimizing device, especially if their rule is based on strong legitimization strategies."[21] This can offer an explanation for democracy failing to gain momentum among government institutions throughout the MENA region, even among states where significant social reforms were implemented by authoritarian leaders, such as in Morocco[22] and Algeria.[23] External pressure applied from democratic, international actors to authoritarian states as a means to implement democracy could be deemed an attack on ideology and values, allowing authoritarian leaders to consolidate their power by gaining support for not succumbing to sanctions.

The potential economic stability under authoritarian regimes as opposed to democratic has become an additional reason for heightened authoritarian support. For example, while not necessarily supporting the actions of authoritarian dictators, there is an increasing trend in Latin America where, "many individuals, despite the loss of civil and political liberties and the violation of human rights suffered under some past military governments, have a positive opinion about these regimes," and furthermore, "when the evaluation of the last authoritarian government outperforms the evaluation of the present economic situation, individuals are less likely to support democracy – this effect is stronger for the old [people]."[24] Older generations

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[20] Ibid Yom and Al-Momani. 2008
[21] Grauvogel, Julia and von Soest, Christian. *"Claims to Legitimacy Count: Why Sanctions Fail to Instigate Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes"* European Journal of Political Research. GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies. Pg. 637. (2014).
[22] Sater, James N. *"Morocco's 'Arab' Spring"* Middle East Institute. 1 Oct 2011.
[23] Salhi, Hamoud. *"Is Algeria Immune from the Arab Spring?"* BBC World News. 27 Jul 2011.
[24] Duran, Ivan and Trillas, Francesc. *"Missing the Dictator? The Effect of the Image of Authoritarian Past on Support for Democracy in Latin America"* Social Science Quarterly. Southwestern Social Science Association. Vol 101, No. 2. Pg. 606. March 2020.

who lived during an authoritarian regime are more susceptible to supporting and favoring the regime they are most accustomed to; thus authoritarianism in many of these states being more sought after, especially if it brings greater economic security.[25] The same could be said about regimes in the MENA region which, even after the Arab Spring, were able to preserve power by offering small concessions to temporarily appease the public and continue to run their respective governments. While younger generations are more in favor of democratization, older generations typically hold the more powerful positions of government, which may also contribute to slowly developing democracies in post-authoritarian states across the world.

Right-Wing Populism Undermining Democracy

An additional explanation offered by scholars is democratic decline within well-established democracies across Europe and even in the United States. Within the European Union, Hungary emerges as the most significant case of democracy in crisis. Regarding the decline in democracy in East-Central Europe, "Western institutions have been transferred to ECE [East-Central Europe] without their sociocultural environments, that is, without the proper social embedment; hence sustainable democracies have not emerged in the ECE region."[26] The author argues the lack of "Europeanized" formal institutions implemented in these post-communist states allowed for the establishment of weaker democracies subject to authoritarian/autocratic tendencies, with Hungary falling in 2016 to 26th place out of 28 EU members in democratic rankings, and worse, has contributed to a, "considerable democratic deficit."[27] The lack of the established formal institutions and foreign investment among other democracies could be a likely reason for democracy's failure to take root elsewhere in the world, such as in Latin America, as well as in the MENA region, where authoritarian practices are continuing to take place despite democratic reforms.

Hungary remains an intriguing story as it has rapidly transformed into a totalitarian state, allowing Prime Minister Viktor Orban to pass legislation,

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[25] Ibid Duran and Trillas. 2020
[26] Agh, Attila. "The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe" *Problems of Post-Communism.* Taylor & Francis Group. 2016. Pg. 277
[27] Ibid Agh, Attila. 2016

"effectively removing any oversight and silencing any criticism of the Hungarian government – Orban can now rule by decree for an indefinite period of time," and he has additionally, "overseen the steady dismantling of the country's democratic institutions, eroding its press freedoms, undermining the education system, and limiting its power of the judiciary."[28]

Hungary is not alone in this wave of authoritarian sentiment and undermining of democratic processes, Poland is undergoing a similar attack on democratic institutions, with Italian and German populist parties following close behind.[29] What we are beginning to witness in Europe, where some of the most democratic institutions have been established in order to become a member of the European Union, could be causal for what is happening in other regions across the world, where authoritarianism may be viewed by leaders and even by the general public as a more favorable way to formulate and run a government. Democracy could be viewed as an ineffective governmental practice, and if it continues to be undermined in Europe, the motivation for the people of MENA states to push for democratic reform may not receive the same momentum it once had. Europeans protesting this democratic undermining are certainly becoming more widespread in these states, further adding to political instability, all while Russia and China continue to expand their influence in the region.[30]

This current wave of anti-democratic rhetoric could be seen by MENA states as a reason to distance themselves from wanting to pursue democratization, especially if such institutions are continuously undermined. Prior research has been able to offer explanations as to why these sorts of phenomena have been able to permeate among regime changes towards democracy, but there are still missing pieces to explain how countries who have revolted and overthrown governments to impose democratic change such as in Tunisia have been unable to maintain such success even a decade later. Tunisia remains the most unique among Arab states since reform began quickly after the revolution with a new constitution, yet the government has been unable to maintain democratization, and has since reverted to former authoritarian practices.

Weak Institutions Facilitate Persistent Corruption

[28] Serhan, Yasmeen. "The EU Watches as Hungary Kills Democracy" *The Atlantic.* 2 Apr 2020
[29] Ibid Serhan, Yasmeen. 2020
[30] Ibid Serhan, Yasmeen. 2020

Tunisian Corruption Levels

It is important to note democratization is a slow process. What makes the process more difficult for Tunisia lies within its institutional framework, where widespread levels of corruption among the government create a roadblock for democratic progression. Further troubling for Tunisia is the ways in which corruption has evolved from being exclusively among political elites to encompassing all sectors of government, with, "every day citizens engaging in and benefitting from corrupt practices – it is perceived to be even more pervasive today than it was under Ben Ali."[31] As a state undergoing a democratic transition, increased amounts of corruption certainly act as a constant impediment to progression.

To explain the increased rates of corruption since the fall of Ben Ali's authoritarian regime, Figure 1 (below) illustrates the corruption index with data from Transparency International, showing the upward trend of corruption Tunisia has faced since ratifying the constitution in 2014.[32]

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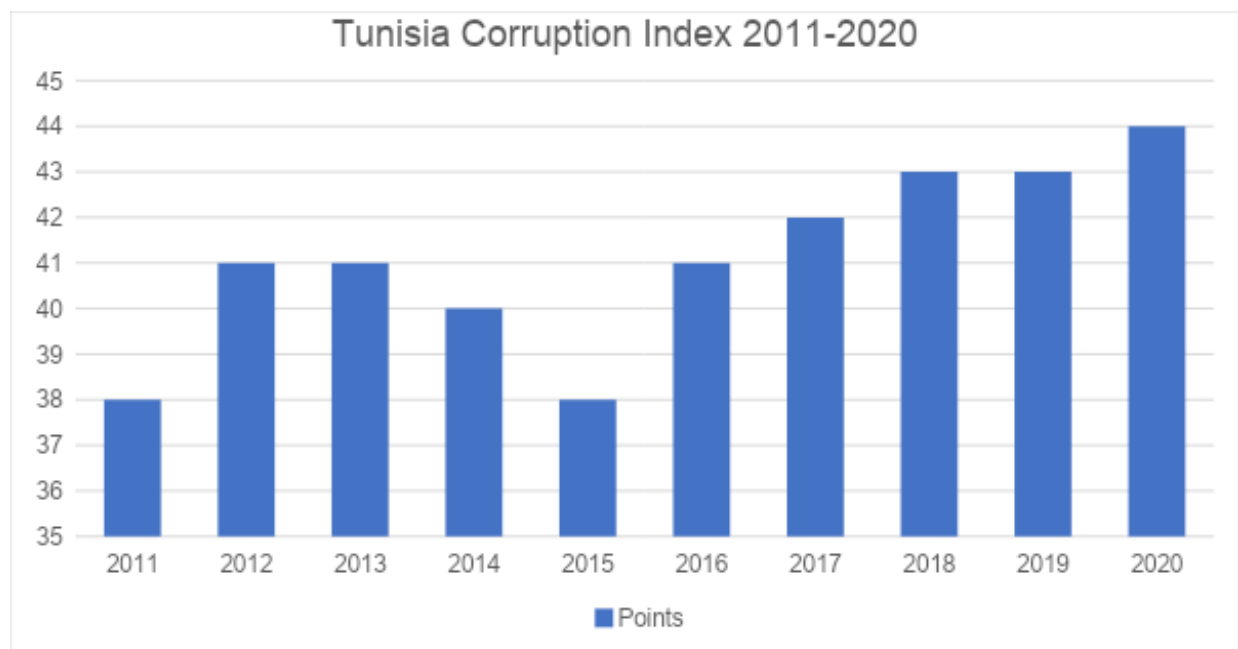
[31] Muasher, Marwan and Yerkes, Sarah. "Tunisia's Corruption Contagion: A Transition at Risk" *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.* 25 Oct 2017.
[32] Figure 1 – Data taken from Transparency International's Corruption Index (2011 – 2020).

While rates fell from 2011 to 2015 when the constitution became effective, corruption rates have since surpassed the levels from a decade ago.[33] A reasoning for persistent corruption even during democratic transition can be a result of Tunisia falling under the category of an *electoral democracy,* where participation in the electoral process is evident, but,

> "the weak institutional framework in the newly democratized countries also increases the opportunities of high-level corruption. The newly democratized countries are categorized as electoral democracies and they are more likely to score in the low end of 'free' category of nations as tracked by the Freedom House."[34]

Democratically held elections and a ratified constitution are certainly steps in the right direction, but they are not enough to sustain democratic growth since what is required in order for Tunisia to be considered a *fully-functioning democracy* is effective and sustainable institutional reform, as an electoral democracy does not reduce corruption levels within a country, according to Saha and Campbell.[35] For these reasons, it is imperative for the Tunisian government to invest in strengthening government institutions if it wished for democracy to succeed.

Case Study: The Constitutional Court

A key element of Tunisia's weak institutional framework rests on its lack of a Constitutional Court. The purpose of this independent judicial body is to oversee constitutional disputes and, in Tunisia's case, "regulate the separation of powers and protect citizens' rights,"[36] and additionally, "the Constitutional Court is critical to strengthening the government's ability to manage the country's deteriorating economy, especially in the absence of a governing coalition in parliament."[37] As it relates to corruption, Tunisia lacks additional participation in the Arab Convention Against Corruption due to not possessing a Constitutional Court, thus adding an additional barrier towards combating corruption domestically, and preventing democratic growth.[38]

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[33] Ibid – Figure 1, Transparency International
[34] Saha, Shrabani and Campbell, Neil. *"Studies of the Effect of Democracy on Corruption"* 36th Australian Conference of Economists – Economics of Corruption Session. Pg 7. Sep 2007.
[35] Ibid Saha and Campbell. Pg 4. 2007.
[36] Jouini, Jihen. *"Tunisia Needs a Constitutional Court as Soon as Possible"* Democracy Speaks. MENA. 05 Jan 2021.
[37] Ibid Jouini, Jihen. 2021.
[38] Ibid Jouini, Jihen. 2021.

It appears Tunisia's democratic halt will continue to endure, as President Kais Saied officially announced on April 5, 2021 he was refusing to sign a bill effectively establishing a Constitutional Court as he claimed the Court should have been established by 2016 according to the Tunisian Constitution, and did not want to support, "tailor-made laws."[39] This decision could be seen as a political move for President Saied to consolidate his power, as rulings from a Constitutional Court, "are necessary to confirm for the constitutionality of laws, amend the constitution or pursue impeachment of the president."[40] Without a judicial body such as this, the Tunisian court system would have no basis to intervene concerning the constitutionality of governmental decisions made by legislators and executive powers, allowing President Saied to act with impunity.

An additional controversial decision by President Saied, also in April of 2021, further distanced Tunisia from democratic progression by his announcement that security forces are now under his command, in addition to the military.[41] As it relates to security, the 2014 constitution was written under the assumption the prime minister, Hichem Mechichi, would be the head of security forces within Tunisia's Interior Ministry, and this decree by the president has thus created an already heated conflict between the two leaders.[42] Such disputes between government officials and/or their respective political parties is another contributing factor for why the lack of a Constitutional Court is harming democratic progress. Tunisia was supposed to have implemented the Court by 2015 to resolve such disputes within the government, yet decision making remains stagnant as politicians have been unable to come to a consensus on which judges to seat for this Court once established.[43]

A Constitutional Court itself would not reduce corruption in Tunisia, but due to the weak judiciary structure currently present, a Constitutional Court would ensure the separation of powers defined in the constitution are adhered to and cannot abuse their power, as such decisions could be deemed a violation of the Constitution. For additional oversight, the government attempted to implement a Supreme Judicial Council; however, according to Human Rights

[39] Author N/A. *"Tunisian Constitutional Court Bill Hits Constitutional Snag"* The Arab Weekly. 8 Apr 2021.
[40] Ibid The Arab Weekly 2021.
[41] Amara, Tarek. *"Tunisian President Draws Security Powers into Dispute with PM"* Reuters World News. 18 Apr 2021.
[42] Ibid Amara, Tarek. 2021.
[43] Ibid Amara, Tarek. 2021.

Watch, the Council, "does not guarantee the body's full independence from the executive – Tunisia needs stronger safeguards to guarantee the judicial independence that Tunisians have long been waiting for."[44] Without such reforms, Tunisian progression remains at a standstill.

Chile: From Dictatorship to Democratic Model

Chile is an excellent example of a former authoritarian state who overcame violent oppression to implement an effective institutional reform which reduced corruption rates and strengthened the economy. While slight constitutional reforms were first implemented in the 1980s, Chile's highest rates of growth and prosperity came following the fall of Augusto Pinochet in 1988, where Chile "recorded its highest average growth rates and the least volatility in a hundred years."[45] The first steps the Chilean government took towards strengthening institutions involved improving the education and judicial sectors of government while further implementing social security reforms put forth in the 1980s.[46] Furthermore, economic institutions were improved by liberalizing trade policies, reducing tariffs, and establishing free trade agreements with Latin America and Canada.[47] These were highly effective measures taken by the Chilean government as they rapidly improved Chile's economic standing.

The success at the economic level allowed Chile to address social issues which plagued Chileans during Pinochet's regime. The Human Development Index (HDI) for Chile dramatically improved, with real GDP growth of 5.6 percent annually from 1990 to 1998 as well as poverty and extreme poverty rates nearly cut in half.[48] Figure 2 (below) shows the plummeting rates of poverty as they relate to GDP growth.[49]

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[44] Author N/A. *"Tunisia: Law Falls Short on Judicial Independence"* Human Rights Watch: Middle East and North Africa. 2 June 2015.
[45] Aninat, Eduardo. *"Chile in the 1990s: Embracing Development Opportunities"* International Monetary Fund Finance & Development. Vol 37 No. 1. March 2000
[46] Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000
[47] Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000
[48] Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000
[49] Figure 2 - Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000. Data taken from MIDEPLAN, Central Bank of Chile, INE.

Chilean Poverty Rates (by percentage of the population)
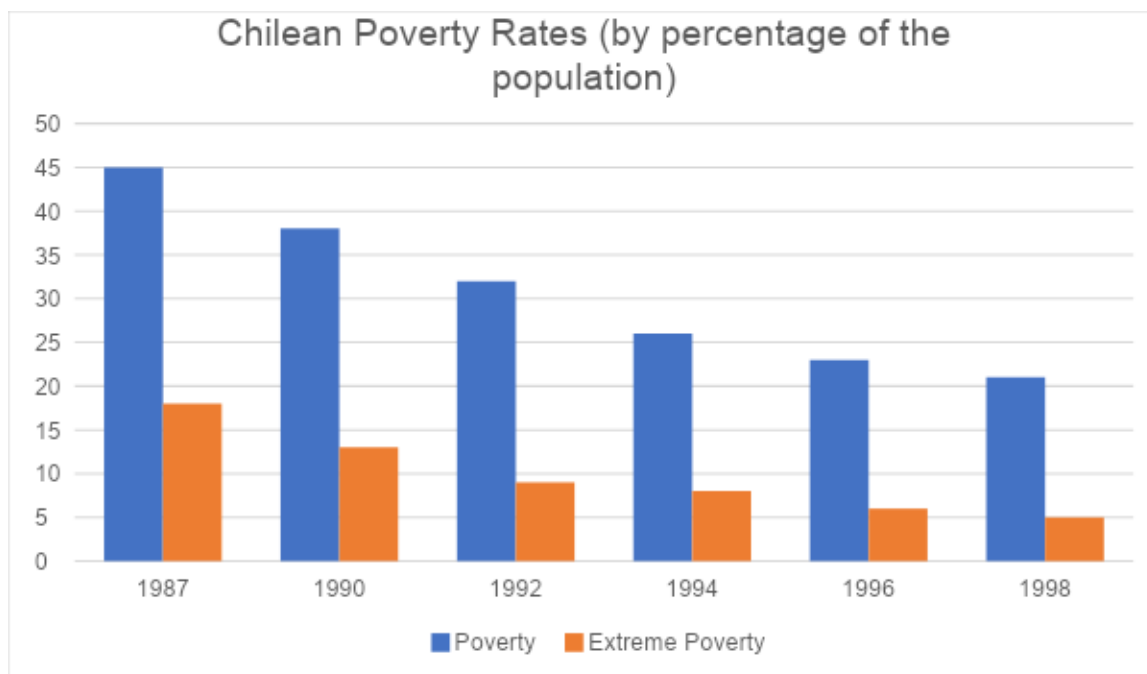
Latin America was severely affected by the Asian market crisis of 1999, but due to the strong reforms of Chile's economy throughout the 1990s, the market was able to recover fairly quickly in comparison to other Latin American countries.[50]

An additional measure of Chile's initial democratic success is the measures the Chilean government took to combat corruption following the fall of Pinochet. In order to be the regional model of democratic success Chileans believed they could be, legislators on both sides agreed to adopt an anti-corruption legislation package, which has allowed Chile to remain among the least corrupt countries in the world.[51] According to Transparency International, Chile in 2019 ranked 22nd in the world out of 182 countries for being the least corrupt, outranking the United States.[52] Despite political turmoil beginning in late 2019 surrounding protests of President Sebastian Pinera, Chile was deemed a "full democracy" by the Economist Intelligence Unit, ranking 21st in the world and 3rd among Latin American countries behind Uruguay and Costa Rica.[53] Chile's ability to persevere through economic and political turmoil could be a result of its effective

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[50] Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000
[51] Lopez, Jennifer. *"Corruption and its Effect on Economic Development in Chile, Mexico, and Brazil"* Governance: The Political Science Journal at UNLV. Vol 6, Article 4. 2019.
[52] Ibid Lopez, Jennifer UNLV 2019
[53] Author N/A. *"The Economist Upgrades Chile to "Full Democracy" on the 2019 Democracy Index"* Chile Reports: Investment. 6 Feb 2020.

institutional reform, as it has been able to remain not just a Latin American leader, but a world leader in upholding democratic principles.

Chile's Constitutional Tribunal (Court) was established in 1980, where it was most pivotal in its, "contribution to the political transition in Chile from an authoritarian regime to a democratic system," where it declared the Electoral Court's creation and the Bill of Political Parties of 1987 unconstitutional, indicating they violated due process, autonomy in political parties, and the right to political association.[54] From the onset of Chilean democratization, the Constitutional Tribunal was essential to providing judicial oversight on matters specifically pertinent to the constitution, ensuring political rights and civil liberties were protected. While a Constitutional Court does not prevent corruption itself, the framework for the Chilean Constitutional Tribunal allows for judicial review over rulings in Chilean high courts, amendments to the Constitution, and executive decrees by the President and Parliament which ensures there is no abuse of power among the separate branches of government.[55]

Conclusion

Tunisia certainly succeeded in initial phases of democratization with changes in the electoral process and a new constitution, but it mainly stops there. In order for democracy to prosper in Tunisia, institutional reform is necessary to ensure corruption rates decrease; thus, allowing for widespread economic prosperity, civil liberties and political rights, and a stronger judicial system to improve Tunisia's democratic standing. For Tunisia moving forward, it is imperative to establish a Constitutional Court; however, due to the rhetoric of President Saied, it appears unlikely one will be established until the next presidential election in 2024, granted Saied is unseated and a new president-elect favors an independent judicial body as well as other institutional reforms. Further research on the effectiveness of a Constitutional Court and how it relates to reducing corruption may be required to solidify the necessity of Tunisia to implement a judicial body such as this to ensure constitutional rights are not violated. The rift in Tunisian Parliament can only be fixed with a Constitutional Court or similar judicial body present, as it

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[54] Figueroa, Dante. *"Constitutional Review in Chile Revisited: A Revolution in the Making"* Duquesne Law Review Vol 51. Pg. 401-402. 2013.
[55] *Tribunal Constitucional Chile* Regarding Roles and Jurisdiction. English Version.

would resolve disputes among executives such as the president, prime minister, and other executives.[56] Therefore, it is imperative Tunisian government officials push to establish this judicial body immediately following President Saied's tenure, if possible.

While the circumstances are completely different between Chile and Tunisia following their respective regime changes towards a democratic system, Tunisia would benefit greatly following the same model Chile did in order to improve its economy. As previously stated, Chile was able to expand its economy through free trade agreements with Latin American partners and beyond, reducing tariffs, and liberalizing trade policies to reintegrate itself with world trade.[57] Tunisia's unemployment rates are higher in the years following Ben Ali's overthrow than they were before, and strengthening their economic institutions the way Chile had would significantly decrease the sustained unemployment rates Tunisia currently has.[58]

Socioeconomic reforms are vital to ensure democratic prosperity in Tunisia, as the current halt in democratization is bound to continue with the lack of institutional reform currently occurring since the end of the Tunisian revolution in 2011. Tunisia's importance in democratization is based on the fact it remains the only Arab Spring participant to do so. The ramifications of this study are important as democratic reform may not permeate to other parts of the Arab world if such success does not come to fruition in Tunisia.

Evan Ewards

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[56] Ibid The Arab Weekly. 2021
[57] Ibid International Monetary Fund 2000.
[58] World Bank Data. International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database. Data retrieved on January 29, 2021.

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How Can a Pandemic Interrupt Realism in International Diplomacy?

In this paper, I will be executing a literary review on Francis Beer and Robert Hariman's *Nature Plays Last: Realism, Post-Realism, Post Pandemic.* The primary argument associated with the literary review asks: How Can a Pandemic Interrupt Realism/ Post-Realism in International Diplomacy?

In this literary review, I will be taking on Beer and Hariman's approach on how the COVID-19 pandemic affected diplomatic relations and how it caused states to act under a realist theory viewpoint. In this piece, Beer and Hariman collaborate to take on the oldest international relations theory, which is realism, formulates a model, and shows how realist theory has been altered with the induction of the COVID-19 pandemic. Beer and Hariman's academic collaboration brings into perspective that not only do state and non-state actors play roles, but how external factors, such as natural occurrences or medical conditions, such as a virus, can off-center what we know today as realism theory and how it can be altered by non-human elements.

Initially, to set off this literary review, the reader must understand Beer and Hariman's post-realist model, which consists of the elements of competition, control, and critique. This model suggests how COVID-19 has temporarily altered the way in which states behave on the international stage in reference to diplomacy and the way in which they react domestically. This model further exposes the disruption to the oldest international relations theory applied to present-day disturbances, specifically applying COVID-19 as an undeniable variable. While the realist theory stands and maintains its relevance in diplomacy today, COVID-19, according to Beer and Hariman, can be applied as a background element that is so strong, it simply cannot be ignored, due to the way in which states have been forced to react to it.

Dr. Beer and Dr. Hariman present an argument in this academic work, suggesting that non-human factors can and rightfully should be identified as actors and should be treated with the same level of respect as state and non-state actors. With this level of respect applied, one should with the sustained understanding, remember that these non-human elements are incapable of intent or rational thought, yet are in such a key position that they cannot be ignored when referencing the changes in international diplomacy of today. These "non-human" elements are unpredictable, pose a reevaluation of the way in which states engage and determine diplomatic matters, and how something that has no particular objective can disrupt a state both internationally and domestically.

The authors' overall argument seeks to frame and present their concept of a Post-Realism Model broken into three categories: Competition, Control and Critique. In their argument, the authors address COVID-19 as a "force of nature" and that like Thucydides, the pandemic "today appears as a bio-storm, an unexpected natural disaster that will have to be factored into subsequent planning. Theoretically non-human actors are merely the material background to calculations of interest and power; they are not what realist theory is about" but are rather considered more to be a "blind spot". (Beer and Hariman, 2020).

In the Competitive element of the Post-Realist Model, the authors explain that this element is rather stream-lined and somewhat universal, referencing the strain and harshness of diplomatic interaction prior to the introduction of a non-human element. This can also be identified as normal multilateral and bilateral relations among countries. In the Control portion of the model, the author addresses it as encompassing the control, specifying an interest of control on itself, as a state. This reflects on the state's, as the authors reference *fortuna* and *virtu*, which in simpler terms, in reference to politics, is the state's virtue and standards of value. When Beer and Hariman referenced Machiavelli in these terms, *The Prince* came to mind, by which elements can easily be interchangeable from the Prince to the state, being that both are of purpose, rationale, and thought. In Machiavelli's *The Prince* (English Version) translated by W.K. Marriott, he writes that:

> And you have to understand this, that a prince, especially a new one, cannot observe all those things for which men are esteemed, being often forced, in order to maintain the state, to act contrary to fidelity, friendship, humanity, and religion.

Therefore, it is necessary for him to have a mind ready to turn itself accordingly as the winds and variations of fortune force it, yet, as I have said above, not to diverge from the good if he can avoid doing so, but, if compelled, then to know how to set about it. (Machiavelli, N., genius.com, n.d.).

In these terms, one can understand that the prince (the state) under such circumstances, should act in a virtuous manner, gaining the trust of the people, with the ability to turn aggressive, if need be, to defend its state (borders, national interest, economic structure, diplomatic reputation, etc.). In political realism, we understand that international relations theory is a rationally based theory, drawing on the need to secure national interests, diplomatic rapport, and military might. It is also understood that the state or leader must be willing and able to use its military might or diplomatic rapport, if need be, for the sake of the state and its national interests.

The final stage of the model, Critique, the authors draw from critical analysis of the states' first two portions of the model, which are Competition and Control. "Critique challenges transparency assumptions of conventional knowledge, the idea that the world is there simply to be seen through the analytical lens of currently accepted realism or any other single doctrine, and embraces multiple sources of information, interests, and perspectives." (Beer, 1993). While Beer continues to reference vigilance, perspectives, deliberations, and imaginations, these are all elements of, unlike COVID-19, are of a human nature. Humans are capable of rational thinking, deception, feelings, and intent, making them an important element of a realist theory.

The authors go on to suggest that Realist look at COVID-19 as a non-human element with no intention, but provide states with more relevance, just as much as a human being, having rational choice, but not able to think or feel, becoming more a of metaphorical vehicle to an actors' intentions or rationale to eventually control. While Beer and Hariman reference philosophers such as Hobbes, Clausewitz, and Machiavelli with realism-dominated concepts to international diplomacy, they point out that their own realist approach is framed with discord.

Outside of this piece, another author referenced Hobbes's *Leviathan* as "the law of nature, it is here argued that Hobbes gives us a perception of international relations which is not

always conflictual and comprises the adjustments of conflicting interests, leading to the possibility of alliances and cooperation in international relations." (Nuri Yurdusev, A., 2006).

While Nuri Yurdusev points out the conflicting interests and cooperation in international relations, he does not mention, in this piece referenced, that a review of outside factors may affect the way in which states adapt to nature and how it may affect their overall objective for dominance, power, or even to survive diplomatically. The very concept of a natural or non-human element changing the way states behave on diplomatic matters seems almost somewhat of a new element. But is this phenomenon known as COVID-19 a new concept of incorporating a natural element which can alter diplomatic relations?

In the past, natural disasters have been a factor into the way in which states have conducted diplomatic relations with each other, just as humanitarian crises in countries have formulated ways for countries, despite diplomatic instabilities, to seek and offer assistance.

With strained relations between the United States and Cuba since Fidel Castro became Prime Minister in 1959 and the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Diplomatic instability was further exacerbated with the United States Carter Administration neglecting to renew travel restrictions from Cuba, only for the Reagan Administration to reinstate the trade embargo in 1982. In 2004, the Bush Administration modified restrictions, allowing for classified research and film making under the Cuban Assets Control Regulations in 2004.

By the following year, the United States had to endure the destruction of Hurricane Katrina, in which over 90 countries offered assistance, including Cuba, despite strained diplomacy. According to a news article, "Both the White House and State Department spokesman this week downplayed the Cuban government's offer to send some 1,600 medics, field hospitals and 83 tons of medical supplies to ease the humanitarian disaster". (Murray, M., 2005).

In this situation, while the United States and Cuba have well-known historical disruptions in relations, the non-human element of a natural disaster brought forth Cuba's ability to look beyond diplomatic tensions and offer humanitarian assistance. Regardless, the United States refused, suggesting that the country was more than capable of handling its own domestic response to national disasters, despite accepting Germany's high-speed pumps to distribute flood

waters out of the New Orleans, Louisiana area, the Dutch providing construction experts to assist the Army Corps of Engineers with levee reconstruction, and Mexico's naval ships, amphibious vehicles, and mobile hospital, to name a few. (AP, 2005).

We can take from the United States' reaction to Cuba offering aid that while it seemed to be a true humanitarian effort on the part of Cuba, past conflicts between the two countries had a lingering effect on the United States' reaction to Cuba. With a sense of nationalistic principles and patriotic pride, the United States felt the need reinforce that it is the world's superpower by not accepting offers from Cuba, which is still considered to be a developing country. Another issue that likely played a factor to the lingering U.S.-Cuban relations was Cuba's bilateral relations with the Soviet Union, offering them into Cuban waters, which would have been a direct threat to the United States' interest and national security.

Ironically, within two months of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Cuba accepted United States disaster aid for their own natural disaster with Hurricane Wilma. U.S. State Department spokesperson Sean McCormack stated that "Doing a survey around the building here, I think in everybody's memory, this is the first time that they have accepted an offer of assistance," McCormack said. (McCormack, S., NYTimes, 2005).

With these two states, one insists on showing state superiority despite domestic natural disasters, which exposed a level of the United States and its vulnerabilities, effectively compromising what would be considered to be national interest and national security. On the other hand, Cuba extended an "olive branch" due to the natural disaster, overlooking previous bilateral disruptions and U.S.-imposed restrictions on its country. Cuba, realizing and acknowledging that it is a country that was in need of help, and would likely continue to need help from outside countries in response to natural disasters, went too far to set off a bank account so that countries could contribute to the case that Cuba faced any natural disasters in the future.

While this is in no way attempting to romanticize the country of Cuba, nor to reflect on the patriotic might of the United States. The overall objective is to reference two countries as an example, with diplomatic bilateral insecurities, and how a single non-human element caused not one of these countries, but both to react in a way that they would have otherwise avoided to do so.

Beer and Hariman point out other factors that could greatly affect a realist approach to international relations and diplomacy, such as economic changes that affect major corporations, and ultimately, the state's population and overall ability to govern successfully. Such situations included the price of crude oil dropping and economic infractions, crippling most economies globally. In the context of economic destabilization, not only the United States, but its competitors, both diplomatically and economically have suffered greatly from COVID-19's effect, such as extended lockdowns and closing of businesses.

There is an example pointed out of China and its militarization in the South China Sea. To support this claim, I was able to find a news article from 2020, that referenced China's aggressive military tactics in the South China Sea, despite being in the midst of applied diplomatic pressure from the United States regarding the spread of COVID-19 from an alleged lab in China. (Starr, B., Browne, R., 2020).

Having such a global upheaval of economic stability caused by China's decision to advance their military presence arguably poses a rational person to question why a state would engage in such behavior. With a deadly and disturbingly unknown pandemic growing, China was one of the first and strictest lockdowns executed in history. In my analysis, it is plausible to conclude that decisions by the Peoples' Republic of China, such as aggressive military maneuvers, were assumed to be in the best interest of the country to either defend itself, it's national interests, or to strategically prepare a military defense while under such tense international diplomatic pressure.

With such economic pressure, medical uncertainty, and death spreading globally due to the pandemic, China nor the rest of the world, were in positions to engage in new potential military engagements during the early stages of COVID-19. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 2020 showed a traditional decline in the price of crude oil in lieu of the upcoming Chinese New Year, in which China's demand continued to decrease ceremoniously. China's oil consumption took a massive dive of nearly 49% by the following month, due to the COVID pandemic and lockdowns, proving less use and need for oil. (BLS.gov, 2020).

While supply and demand were grossly offset due to the pandemic, it is probable for China to make strategic and aggressive moves in the South China Sea as a means of defense

based on diplomatic pressure, to assist in defense of its borders, or possibly to defend its fishing production interest during such a fragile state-mandated lockdown.

Despite international pressure, China maintained near silence on the matter, other than suggesting that the country-imposed lockdowns in the Hubei province, but otherwise, suffered no major issues associated with COVID-19. With this being explained we will have to revert back to the root cause, which was not China's military maneuvers, nor was it international pressure from other countries to conduct an investigation into the origin of the virus. The root cause for such disruption was the COVID-19 virus itself, a non-human element at the core of such disruption and tension between countries, especially in the eyes of the Peoples' Republic of China.

"The virus, like a state, is also a competitive actor. It has disturbed the existing international world order and is establishing a new order—isolation, quarantine, death. The virus has also disrupted epistemic habits, an example of catastrophic epistemology (Beer and Hariman, 2020). In contrast to human and state elements of the realist theory model, non-human elements, such as natural disasters, and diseases such as COVID-19, have had no need to rush for competition and have no purpose of control, other than to control and in some cases, destroy the host in which it is in contact with.

"Realism and its offshoots have been at the hegemonic center of international relations theorizing; post -realism includes what comes next. What comes next is of course, prefigured by what has come before", (pg. 6).

After reading and taking into consideration the realist theory model built by Beer and Hariman's academic contribution to realist theory and COVID-19, Erik Gartzke's piece The Capitalist Peace comes to mind. Gartske stated that, "The discovery that democracies seldom fight each other has led, quite reasonably, to the conclusion that democracy causes peace, at least within the community of liberal policies." (Gartzke, E., 2007).

John J. Mearsheimer's piece *Why We Will Soon Miss The Cold War*, points out that "If you believe (as the Realist school of international relations theory, to which I belong, believes) that the prospects for international peace are not markedly influenced by the domestic political

character of states-that it is the character of the state system, not the character of the individual units composing it, that drives states toward war." (pg. 2).

While Mearsheimer plays into states and the elements of war, based on realist theory, he does not take into consideration that external factors may also not only assist in the pursuit of power and diplomatic actions, but also how unexpected situations such as droughts, disease, and other natural disasters may have an effect to turn the tides to either peace or war for any states associated in these actions.

What may rouse the reader in the text of Gartzke's work, even though he references democracy causes peace, he does not point out how fragile peace is. Secondly, Beer and Hariman reference that realist theory should incorporate and recognize non-human factors, when it is the very element of non-human factors that make Gartzke's democratic peace fragile.

It is also ironic that the very peace that Gartzke references that reframes states from conflict, are the very same elements that are the easiest disrupted with non-human factors, such as COVID-19, the 2003 SARS outbreak, the Ebola outbreak, and the natural disasters of Hurricanes Katrina and Wilma.

There is an unnatural security among states that while there is stability and control within the state, so long as national interest and values are maintained, diplomatic relations shall stay stable. While the realist theory does not directly identify non-human factors into its model, there is a level of room for it to be introduced as not only a simple element, but possibly a determining factor on relations between states.

As suggested by this reading, nature, including natural disasters, pandemics, and other natural assurances in the world are direct elements to realist theory, although not directly recognized as such. If it were not for the 2003 Hurricane Katrina in the United States, there would have been no need for Cuba to offer humanitarian aid to the United States. With the United States ignoring the offer of aid from Cuba, but taking aid from other countries, the action served as an indirect reminder of the unresolved tensions between the two countries.

With the realization that its diplomatic rapport would potentially be at stake, the United States in return, provided aid to Cuba after the damage done by Hurricane Wilma months later. Not only could this gesture be taken as the United States showing its nation's might, but also a

way to remind other countries of its superpower status and how it was still relevant, despite domestic setbacks, such as Hurricane Katrina and other natural disasters that have come since.

On the other hand, Cuba showed a willingness to look past decades of diplomatic strain to offer humanitarian aid, which could be categorized as a sense of strength. In the case of the global COVID-19 pandemic, China in the early stages, was faced with numerous factors that may have caused it to react militarily. First there was the actual COVID-19 outbreak and pressure from the international stage to allow elements like the United Nations and the World Health Organization to come in and conduct investigations.

At the same time, coming out of the Chinese New Year, China was also faced with a lack of rebound in the oil industry and growing concerns for its fishing industry at that time. With such economic and diplomatic strain, including the lockdown and eventual protest from its own people, the Peoples' Republic of China decided to use its might through war-like tactics to secure its interests.

While we are not sure which interests were priority, it is plausible to assume that its economic status (oil and fishing industry being threatened) posed more of an immediate threat than a call from the World Health Organization to investigate a research lab.

Beer and Hariman's piece bring forth, not necessarily the unknown elements that can disrupt peace, but the elements that are normally not considered until they actually happen. These elements are usually not taken into consideration because of the lack of predictability and motive. There is no rational assumption that elements such as natural disasters and diseases have actual intent to interfere in diplomatic affairs, disrupt humanitarian efforts, or destroy a country's economic structure. Because the non-human element plays a factor in the background, it is not taken into consideration until it presents itself as an actual threat, such as the Ebola virus did.

Disruption of economic trade, travel, borders, and national interests by either human or non-human factors can cause just as equal the level of strain on diplomacy, potentially straining relations or isolating certain regions from another. These disruptions can eventually lead to a conflict that, otherwise absent of a non-human element, could have been avoided.

While Beer and Hariman's piece is engaging and gives the audience a different perspective of realist theory and how non-human elements are often overlooked, it is hard to

deny how non-human elements have been at the core of some diplomatic strains in the past, specifically with humanitarian aid in lieu of disease, famine, natural disasters, such as drought, hurricanes, and floods.

While the answer to the argument of how a pandemic can disrupt diplomatic relations it, seems that authors Beer and Hariman bring forth a perspective that is likely not referenced until a disaster happens, bringing to the forefront the understanding of how fragile diplomatic relations are and how a minor disruptions can cause military units to activate with one thing in mind, defending itself.

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A Casual Affair: History, the Present, and the Forgotten Analysis of Human Trafficking in an Era of Globalization

Acknowledgements

the western perception of fidelity.

Abstract

In the midst of the 21st-century, nations have become more connected on an international level. This connection flourishes with the rise of trade that facilitates the movement of goods, information, services, cultures, and people. A surge in trading highlights the success and dependence on a global economy that conducts itself according to western principles of capitalism. However, the ability to trade on an international scale has created a multitude of problems within a nation, yet a common predicament for many of these nations is the alarming growth rate of human trafficking. This multidimensional phenomenon divides into three main categories: sex, labour, and organ trafficking. The examination of human trafficking requires an acknowledgment that within these subcategories they all utilize different industries within society to sustain profits in a capitalist-oriented market. Despite the abundance of complications, this study addresses how these industries exploit vulnerable populations within a nation with respect to the unique intersectional factors that institutionalize their level of vulnerability.

Keywords: international level, western principles, capitalism, human trafficking, vulnerable population, intersectional, level of vulnerability.

The Unceasing Dilemma

Human trafficking is the illegal transport of people from one country to another, typically for the purposes of forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation. The trafficking of human beings for profit among criminal organizations is an opportunistic response to several underlying systemic structural issues in the relationships between developed and developing countries. Fundamental causes of human trafficking can be attributed to the rate of poverty and

the influence of globalization in the nations. Issues that further complicate the impoverished conditions include but are not limited to, lack of job availability and education, health crises, corruption, internal conflict, government instability, and prior experience with colonization. Under these circumstances, any task of analyzing the relationship between globalization and human trafficking, which in turn is further exacerbated by external factors becomes a complicated yet vital exercise.

Due to the heavy reliance on the global market, nations in the international system become subjugated to the demands of globalization. Although there are many benefits to the free movement of goods, services, and people across national boundaries, when states yield to the forces of globalization, they also experience all the negative externalities and consequences that come with it. One of these negative consequences is that of human trafficking. For this reason, in this research study, I explore in some detail what conditions of globalization, if any, exacerbate the problem of international human trafficking in the 21st century.

The upcoming sections will be broken down into Background, Contextualizing Globalization in the Modern International System, Thematic Evaluation of Human Trafficking, The Practicality of Prevention/Prosecution, and Concluding Thoughts. The Background will define major key terms: globalization, human trafficking, and consequently introduce the complicated nature of their relationship. The next section, Contextualizing Globalization,

explains how this process is ingrained in the international system beginning with a discussion of what preceded it, namely colonialism. After explaining this evolution, this study will raise the potential concerns of globalization for individual legal systems that exist through the conception and acceptance of sovereignty. The subsequent section endeavors to address the multidimensional quandary of human trafficking with case studies on sex trafficking and labour trafficking. Successively, there is an examination of the existing preventative measures in the globalized society that includes critiques and recommendations for improvement. This research study concludes with a concise analysis of the complex relationship between globalization and human trafficking.

Background

Previous discussions about the relevance of human trafficking in a global context feature arguments amongst scholars over which root cause contributes the most to the issue. Most of these scholars blame poverty or attribute some percentage of the blame to this issue (Getu, Burke, Voelkner). The amount of poverty in an area reflects the level of vulnerability of that population. A vulnerable population is often one whose members are stuck in poverty's cycle due to intersectional factors that prevent mobilizing through societal ranks. The cyclical nature of poverty means that individuals in vulnerable populations do not have access to education, healthcare, consumable resources (also known as life necessities: food and water), skilled jobs, capital, and many others. The intersectionality of these factors is the reason for the complexity in addressing trafficking on an international level because each nation is affected differently by culture, society, politics, and economy (Getu, Voelkner, Trounson and Pfeifer, Churakova and Westhuizen, Mapp, Lawrence, Kakar, Nwadinobi, Meeteren and Bannink, Harrison, Wilkins). Some scholars suggest one way to ease the impact of trafficking is to improve the global economy through the expansion of the job market in individual nations (Getu). Yet, countries that have high governmental corruption, low education rates, and chronic epidemics will not benefit simply by expanding the job market. This will not halt the cycle of poverty and its detrimental impact on vulnerable populations (Harrison). Therefore, people will both choose to and be forced to succumb to human trafficking.

The following subsections will clarify some of the important concepts that this research study will analyze in detail. The sections will examine what is human trafficking, globalization, and how conforming to western values increases the vulnerability of communities contributes to high levels of trafficking.

What is Human Trafficking?

Human Trafficking, as previously stated, is the illegal transport of people from one country to another, typically for the purposes of forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation. There are many dimensions to the study of trafficking including the prominence of organ

trafficking. However, due to limitations on space, this research will focus on labour and sex trafficking. Sex trafficking is used to maintain the commercial sex industry which is comprised of "street prostitution, strip clubs, outcall services/prostitution, child and adult pornography, Internet pornography/interactive sex play exchange, phone sex, and sex tourism" (Burke 454). Meanwhile, individuals trafficked for labour are forced to work or provide services under the influence of force, fraud, or coercion.

What is Globalization?

One can define globalization as the process of diffusion of culture and knowledge through the means of international trade. Others define it as a process through which people, goods, information, technology, and services flow through the international system (Lecler).

While this latter view evokes a positive connotation, the premise of globalization is the promotion and adaptation to western capitalistic values, with a recent push into neoliberalism (Ramone). The international system rewards those nations that adopt said values while simultaneously ostracizing those who refuse to do so (e.g., Thailand converting from socialist to a market economy versus North Korea that remains communist). Rewards are not in the traditional sense of physical gifts but rather opportunities. These possible opportunities include the ability to trade with other countries, join organizations and treaties, gain economic allies, and access to an international market (Bourguignon). This reward system is focused on the principle of polarity, or the ways power is distributed within the system. Many refer to positioning in the international system using the dichotomy of "global north" or "global south".

However, the reality is that various nations do not neatly fit into one of these categories, so a potential solution is to refer to them on a polarity scale. For example, utilizing a dichotomous vocabulary, one would have to classify Russia as a country belonging to the global north. However, utilizing a scale instead would allow for more accuracy in positioning the country in such a way that it helps identify the nation's problems and responsibilities. For this specific example, there is a growing need to address corruption and the unbalanced distribution of poverty. This is better reflected by the older classification model of developed, developing,

and less developed countries that account for those nations that are in-between the opposite binaries. This scale of polarity can be measured using tangible elements that are quantifiable or intangible elements that cannot be quantified. Tangible elements measure the affluence or strength of the nation's geography, population, economy, and military. While intangible elements seemingly highlight things like the level of organization, intelligence, and morale, all of which contribute to the success or failure of a given nation.

What is the Relationship Between Human Trafficking and Globalization?

This study will utilize the three levels of analysis; individual, national or state, and international, to explain and dissect the complex issue of human trafficking in the world. As globalization gains momentum in the international system, the level of dependency and sociopolitical connection between countries become impractical to regulate. The tension between the national level and international level is heightened when the ideals of globalization challenge the authority of sovereignty. Below, I discuss the debate about open borders which points out the complexities involved in this issue as any system of open borders would supersede sovereignty and facilitate trafficking into levels where repair is nonviable. The following section will expand on the experience of globalization and potential legal concerns with regard to sovereignty.

Contextualizing Globalization in the Modern International System

Globalization, as defined above promotes the flow of goods, services, and to some extent, human beings. The main attribute is the so-called global economy which markets demand from an international audience. This section will, in greater detail, explain the many definitions of globalization and investigate what features this process adapted from the experience of colonialism that preceded it. Afterward, this study will explain the legal concerns of globalization in violation of sovereignty due to its proposition for open borders. Before that, however, I must clarify that not every nation used as an example here has been colonized. Yet, due to the promotion of capitalist values under globalization, colonialism's influence can be felt

in these regions.

One example is the commodification and objectification of bodies of colonized people, a common theme in colonialism, and one that surges throughout the international system and permeates even those societies that were not, technically, colonized. Human trafficking's impact, thus, is experienced across countries in a myriad of different ways. Some of these ways are directly impacted by the history of direct colonialism. Others get infected by colonialism experienced generally in the geopolitical region. Two such anomalous cases with no experience of colonization discussed in this study are Thailand and Russia.

While goods transmit easily through trade, this encourages the migration of individuals with various skill sets throughout the international system; most often it is individuals from the global south trying to seek better lives in the global north. Therefore, while globalization has many dimensions, it is crucial to discuss the debate of open borders as it sets the premise for the business of trafficking.

While globalization has many facets it is critical to understand the implications of the open border debate. The principle of sovereignty gives the right to law. Individual nation-states have different variations of creating said law and some choose to utilize a representative system where a group of individuals is elected to make and maintain the law. Sovereignty, therefore, allows the people in liberal democracies to dictate who can and cannot enter into the country whether on a temporary or permanent basis. The sovereign right to choose which people enter and/or leave is more jealously guarded by many countries since immigration is not easily retractable. In reality, borders are not a binary of open or closed, rather they are "permeable" (Perkmansum and Sum). This permeability reflects the nation-state's endeavor to uphold national interest. Those who are of use to the nation are permitted to enter meanwhile those that have little to no value are rejected. This is reflected through the usage of quota systems and travel bans as the sovereign has the power to limit immigration. Quota systems implement the exclusion of low-skill workers while simultaneously accepting corporations and exercising caution with non governmental organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (Rudolph).

In comparison to immigration, the trade of goods and services is easier to nullify through the implementation of embargos, taxes, and tariffs. The opening of borders would somehow lead

to the eradication of these tariffs and taxes while decreasing the disparity between the rich and poor on a global scale (Scheve and Slaughter, Bourguignon). The principles of open borders deny the nation-state the ability to impose and uphold national interests. The involvement in international trade upholds the interests of the nation, for instance, improving the economy. Yet, the nation-states hold the power to revoke trading policies if that interest dissipates or evolves into a threat to national security (Donnelly, Rudolph).

The theoretical reality of open borders promised by globalization would allow for the unrestricted and unmanaged flow of individuals, goods, and services. Since many individuals are being trafficked through borders for the purpose of exploitation at the present moment, what will that mean for an intertwined global society that is completely consumed by globalization? Another reason why the open border principle is unlikely to occur even in a time where the global economy is widely recognized is because of the devotion and dependence on the sovereign nation. The foundation of a sovereign nation and how that directly prohibits the principles of open borders will be later explained in further detail under concerns of legality.

Residual Poverty and the Toxicity of Colonization

While globalization is a prominent process in the modern system it has evolved from the principles and structure of colonization. The only difference between globalization and colonization is the principle of concealed interests. Concealed interests are where individuals or in this circumstance, nations announce they are trying to accomplish something in another country that has no socioeconomic consequences. In reality, their true intentions are suppressed as the truth can tarnish their reputation and even cause violent conflict. Hence, why many scholars, especially postcolonial theorists, refer to globalization, specifically for its negative qualities, as neo-colonialism (Ramone). Said scholars have their own reasoning for constructing and using this label but this study will explain how both systems; colonization and globalization, utilize the mechanism of promoting the oppression of some for the gain of the rest (Phillips, Harrison). This mechanism utilizes repression of social, political, and economic values. These values are intertwined as they are constructed based on the unique cultural system that establishes proper conduct, practices, and expectations for individuals. Under colonialism, many of these cultural systems were distorted as colonial powers enforced certain degrees of

assimilation to their own "superior" culture (Ramone).

The combination of the diverse cultures that existed prior to colonization and the varying levels of assimilation emphasizes that the impact of globalization is uniquely experienced by countries that were until recently, the mid-20th century and later, colonized. One common method of forcing assimilation was by disproportionately distributing resources in the colonized nation as an attempt to manipulate populations to assimilate faster. Assimilation was used as a power tactic by the colonial power to extend influence and exercise control. The problems created during this time period serve as a precedent for the issues that are exacerbated by globalization. These issues include but are not limited to asymmetrical social stratification, poverty, disease, and internal conflict. These problems festered for decades if not centuries and then the abrupt liberation from hegemonic dominance through decolonization led to an informal government system that did not have the capabilities or resources to address these continuing and persistent problems. Thus, the cycle continues as the issues never get resolved as they have been programmed, as it were, into the culture of the nation.

It is impossible to generalize the influence of colonialism as each nation is influenced differently by varying social, economic, and political features derived from the main colonial power. For example, Nigeria has experienced conflict between democracy and military regimes due to the unbalanced division of the nation into rigid ethnic boundaries under colonialism. Meanwhile, India's caste system still justifies religious oppression and class violence even though it was formally abolished in 1950.

What does the Experience of Colonialism Mean as an Antecedent Factor?

Once decolonization occurred, whether in the form of radical liberation from or in the form of a peaceful withdrawal of the colonial power, issues stemming from the new social hierarchy became a socially accepted way of life, and people were punished for trying to deviate from it. The wealthy population during colonial rule were often those that quickly assimilated to the colonial reign or those that were imported from the colonizing power by order of the government or monarch.

Inequality is all that the people knew and experienced so no matter who was in power

there would always be some level of disparity due to social stratification. This is why many previously colonized nations are diagnosed with the syndrome of internal conflict prompted by competing interests to secure the regulation of power (Harrison). Disadvantaged people will want the power and luxuries associated with the advantaged classes i.e., those who rule in the present moment (Bull). This is why many previously colonized nations experienced some form of, generally violent, international conflict with competing interests to regulate power. This process includes riots, bombings, and/or rebellions that end with revolutions or coups d'état. For instance, Nigeria's experience with colonization led to the Biafran War on behalf of extreme ethnic pluralism. Other examples of unresolved tension include but are not limited to the Rwandan genocide leading into the First Congo War, Bangladesh Liberation War, the Ethiopian Civil War, the Lebanese Civil War, and the internal conflict in Myanmar that started in 1948 and that still exists to this day (Harrison).

The chaos of instability that follows decolonization characterizes the impermeable nature of a revolving cycle. This cycle is the interaction of social, economic, and political problems where it would be unfeasible to eradicate one issue with the expectation that all the concomitant issues would also be solved. Decolonization occurred around the mid-20th century when the modern international system began emerging in the aftermath of World War II. The first classification model of nations on the international level reflecting socio-economic conditions was formed after this period with the establishment of first, second, and "Third World" countries.

"First World" countries, as they came to be known, are synonymous with the present classification of the global north. Meanwhile, the "Third World" was associated with recently liberated colonized nations, presently the countries of the global south. The potential for expanding influence and business profit grew overwhelming for the global north after the implementation of the Marshall Plan that was designed to catapult the United States as the hegemon of the international system. However, the influence and mobilization of the Soviet Union teetered into explosive tension that was embedded into the foundation of the current multi-polar system which promotes a hierarchy of polarity under globalization.

Neo-colonialism or Globalization

This expansion of First World countries' influence corresponded with a period of rapid modernization through technology--improved communication with cell phones, international phone lines laid across oceans, and the invention of the internet. The rise of technological advancement prompted competition to develop better quality goods at faster rates than other competitors. Addressing the demands of a global market required improvement of product distribution methods including investment and development of air, sea, and land transportation.

Unfortunately, this further degrades the global south into inferiority because it is difficult to compete in the global economy while disadvantaged with unfavorable circumstances stemming from previous and continuous interference from the global north. How can the global south spare the resources needed to produce goods and products that match the quality of those produced in the global north? While the global north can allocate resources to design and produce technology to trade such as cellphones, computers, and fridges; the global south must focus on developing technology and allocating funds to suppress extremist groups or riots. This conundrum is exacerbated by the reality that those higher on the polarity scale are not prone to these regular episodes of rebellions, revolutions, disease outbreaks, pirating, and other issues that challenge the stability of sovereignty as those in the global south. Countries of the global south began competing in globalization at a clear disadvantage to countries of the global north.

In addition to competing against the global north to meet the demands of the global market, the global south is also competing against each other over a mutual interest (Bourguignon). The mutual interest amongst the global south is achieving economic allies in the global north as a means to stabilize and maintain their economy. The predisposition of assimilating faster to colonial culture for reward explains the swift acceptance of globalization and its principles. Those of the global south that assimilate again at a faster rate will build relations with the global north thus improving their position on what I have been describing as polarity and its reputation in the international system. Theoretically, it is advertised as a way to improve individual economies with a positive trade-off, in turn, making the sovereign governments stable and the people happy. Happiness amongst the citizens means more support

during elections and less risk of a violent outbreak, i.e., riots.

Adaptation to the principles of a capitalist system is not the only method of assimilation. When attempting to succeed in the global economy, countries of the global south will adopt qualities of the global north that may not be functional with respect to their individual circumstances. As Astra Taylor explains it, "…globalization's most vigorous boosters envisaged an extreme erasure of boundaries, …would lead to cross-cultural mutual understanding… American proponents of this process called 'globalization' other countries called 'Americanization'" (255). The assimilation to western practices, such as in the case of Nigeria copying the American presidential system and constitution in the creation of the Second Republic highlights how nations will take whatever means necessary to mobilize themselves in the international hierarchy. However, America's system does not reflect the unique variables that Nigeria grapples with including but most certainly not limited to ethnic pluralism and continuous waves of military coups.

Regulating the International System

The legacy of the "First World" countries after World War II commemorates itself in the foundation of international organizations and trade agreements that include the United Nations (UN), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), North Atlantic Trade Organization (NATO), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)and World Trade Organization (WTO). The roles of many of these organizations have evolved to adapt to the needs of the global society, especially as a preventative measure against another world war. The United Nations, in particular, and over time, acquired new roles and responsibilities as more member states were allowed to join. Dependence on the United Nations as an international mediator shifted into a major law-making body that oversees 193 sovereign states.

The unfortunate precedent is that these organizations interfere in the global south because of the origin of influence from the western global north. For example, after World War II, the IMF provided loans to many nations of the global south, then classified as the "Third World," with the expectation they would repay the amount plus pay interest, neglecting to realize that existing systematic issues enforce poverty, not wealth and that these repayments would be very

difficult for these countries to make. Therefore, this external interference only promoted the global south to acquire more debt and spiral further into poverty. It, unfortunately, must be articulated that people, or nations, are not poor because they choose to be, but they are so because they struggle with resource limitations and concurrently deal with other systematic issues that stem from colonialism.

Legal Concerns/ Impracticalities of Globalization's Politics

While globalization is about the interconnectedness between different parts of the world and cross-border movements of goods, services, people, and other values, one concern over its prominence is the existence of sovereignty within individual nation-states. A sovereign state is defined by its territory, a permanent population, a sole government, and the capability to initiate relations with other sovereign states. Internal sovereignty upholds various responsibilities within its borders such as executing law and punishment, defining requirements for citizenship, enforcing national security, and so forth (Lodder). The issue that arises under the influence of globalization is that there is no sole international sovereign power that controls and regulates the interconnected nature of countries.

One complication is the involvement of non-state actors that encompass external sovereignty, or independence from outside authorities. Non-state actors are divided into four categories: intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations, non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International, multinational corporations, and terrorist groups. However, a major problem is that while these actors promote international interaction, there is no higher judicial system that can command or regulate since it would violate the power of each sovereign state (Bourguignon). Rather the international system relies on the cooperation and willingness of each sovereign to abide by the demands of globalization in a peaceful manner. Tensions may arise in the system with the implementation of sanctions including embargoes, travel bans, tariffs, quotas, non-tariff barriers, and asset seizure. There are circumstances in which the sovereign is influenced by incentive or a beneficial trade-off for the long term (Rudolph, Donnelly).

The impact of globalization through these non-state actors is vast but due to space constraints, this thesis cannot discuss all let alone most of the implications for each sovereign nation under the international system. Each difference in society, culture, politics, and economy develop intersectional issues that might be similar throughout a region but still vary amongst each sovereign nation.

For example, multinational corporations under neoliberalism ideology instigate asymmetric power relations within the international system and in the sovereign nations, especially those classified as the global south. These corporations and other actors such as non governmental organizations scrutinize the sovereignty of developing regions. This is the sacrifice made in the trade-off to participate in the global economy. A multinational corporation has its facilities and other assets in at least one country other than its home country. These businesses have offices and/or factories in different countries and usually have centralized headquarters where they regulate global management. It is common for headquarters to be located in the country of origin, often in the global north. Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many small countries. Nearly all major multinationals are either of American, Japanese, or Western European origin including Nike, Apple, Shell, Coca-Cola, AOL, Nestle Toshiba, Honda, and BMW. Globalization becomes toxic when corporations set up factories in the global south where they maximize profit as they don't have to abide by western-style labour conditions and labour laws, such as those related to minimum wage, safety conditions, and regulation of work hours.

A common issue in the international system is that nations under global south classifications are prone to unpredictable economic fluctuations that contribute to their lower level in the polarity scale. Making them prime targets for corporations to import raw materials to their factories to produce goods and then resell them at normal (if factories were in the global north) or higher prices around the world. Culprits include corporate giants of whom the most notorious include Nike, Apple, Nestle, and Shell. The unfortunate reality is that it is impossible to purchase goods from corporations without some form of exploitation.

Proponents of multinational corporations claim that they create jobs, improve technology and wealth in countries that are in need of such development. Critics also explain that these corporations can have disproportionate political influence over governments, exploit developing

nations, and deteriorate job markets in their original country. In the global north, middle-class workers cannot find jobs because companies outsource for cheaper labour in the global south. If corporations move their business to the global south, then the labour market in the nation of origin is burdened heavily as many lose their jobs.

On this note, it is important to explain that sovereignty in the global south is subject to the whims of not only multinational corporations, but also the other three non-state actors. For instance, Nigeria under globalization has some form of access to resources that it is unable to produce through trade. Globalization catalyzes cultural diffusion, so as the global south grows dependent on multinational corporations like Shell originating in America or BP from Great Britain that promote Western values it becomes impossible for nations like Nigeria to isolate themselves for the consequences-- social, economic, and political will outweigh the significance of this alienation. However, heavy dependence on multinational corporations enables higher levels of exploitation. For example, Nigeria only received 55 percent of the shares in Shell and BP in 1974. meaning that when it held smaller shares the country did not receive a sustainable profit for its natural resources. This led to lawsuits (from citizens), pirating, and environmental hazards increasing issues of land usage for residents. Overall, this is a common trade-off many nations have to make to remain prominent in the global economy.

Sovereign nations are responsible for creating a legal structure to promote a peaceful functioning society. The issue with creating legal countermeasures to trafficking on an international level is the complicated nature of legal systems within each nation. For both labour and sex trafficking, legislation must be comprised of individual punishments. The potential solutions to sex trafficking and further details about labour trafficking will be discussed at a later point.

How do Socioeconomic Conditions on a National Level Influence the International System?

While it could be said that globalization has promoted equality in the international system, it simultaneously exacerbates the disparity of wealth within said nations (Bourguignon). The cultural system within a nation, functions on a fixed social hierarchy. When exposed to

globalization, that nation, as I have explained above, is placed somewhere in the hierarchy of polarity. Meaning that the global south is given the opportunity to exist in the same market as richer nations with the goal of developing more or equal amounts of wealth. This potential creates two outcomes: achieving said wealth with a narrow rate of success and/or exacerbating the income and wealth inequalities within the nation.

What this means is that the already disadvantaged lower classes become even more vulnerable to exploitation as they attempt to survive in the competition of the global economy. This internal disparity makes individuals more likely to accept the deceiving qualities of the global north if they are trying to escape systematic oppression. Oppression in this context may represent violence such as the government's abuse of power or a systemic process like poverty. This systematic process is a primary instigator for making individuals desperate to escape, this desperation leads them to accept falsehoods advertised by the global north without seeking proof. Poverty determines the level of vulnerability of communities in this circumstance as which individuals are more vulnerable to becoming a victim of trafficking. Individuals will believe or be coerced by traffickers who offer opportunities to relocate to countries of the global north for work.

The diffusion of values can be classified as the mission statement of globalization, i.e., the most accepted principle. However, the social ramifications for global south nations complicate the nature of preexisting values by altering cultural values. The success and dominance of the global north in the international economy leads to heavy aspirations that mislead populations in the global south, especially those who are disproportionately affected. The idolization of the global north not only clashes with pre-existing values in the nation but may also prompt desires to relocate through work or by other means to obtain perceived notations of wealth.

It is a difficult exercise to prove that globalization exacerbates internal disparity as official statistics can be misleading. For example, Ukraine's national poverty rate according to some sources is 2.4% (World Bank). However, this may not reflect the actual poverty experienced by the people. A more accurate measure would be the per capita GDP of Ukraine in 2016 was $2,187.73, which in 2016 was worth 53,709.26 hryvnias (World Bank). In comparison, a country categorized as the global north, Germany's per capita GDP in 2016 was $42,098.92. This drastic difference exemplifies how the cyclical nature of poverty creates issues in a nation

and exacerbates the contribution made by other issues. For example, many countries in the global south have extreme rates of disparity within the population that have been poor since the days of colonialism or other periods of oppression and continue to be poor due to an ineffective government system.

This variance exemplifies how the cyclical nature of poverty creates issues in a nation exacerbates the contribution made by other issues. For example, many countries in the global south have extreme rates of disparity within the population that have been poor since colonization or other periods of oppression but remain poor due to an ineffective government system. The conditions that can contribute to the exploitative nature of poverty are lack of education, employment, and healthcare, war/civil disorder, government instability, and corruption. To further complicate the matter, poverty can also be exacerbated during times of war or civil disorder because the government no longer prioritizes programs set to promote the wellbeing of its citizens. People stuck in poverty are more desperate to attain opportunities whether that means pursuing an education, finding work, or paying medical fees. This desperation makes them more likely to become victims of debt bondage or seek assistance from traffickers for "jobs".

Thus, the next section will provide a further explanation of who these victims can be and how they are lured into trafficking. I will be providing case studies for sex and labour trafficking, respectfully.

Thematic Evaluation of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is the illegal trafficking of individuals for the profit of another individual and/or crime organization. Before addressing the definitions as designated by statutes, there must a discussion that trafficking is classified under three main categories: labour, sex, and organ trafficking. However, due to constraints in time and length, this study will focus on labour sex and labour trafficking respectfully. While there are scholars who choose to designate child trafficking as its own category, doing such in this circumstance would undermine the usage of an intersectional lens. It is critical to utilize this lens in the study as vulnerable populations are identified by different overlapping societal factors depending on the region of study. The

separation of age groups fuels societal standards when determining the label of a victim. Specifically, empathy and assistance are given in a manner that upholds social biases of gender, race, and age (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, Chakrabarti, Mapp, Meeteren and Bannink). For example, in western countries with historical precedence of patriarchy, higher levels of empathy are given to a white female child compared to a black male teen or adult.

This study has previously discussed vulnerable populations or those more susceptible to trafficking. However, some scholars refer to them as low-risk populations. From an intersectional standpoint, low-risk individuals are composed of all sexes and all age groups ranging from children to adults depending on the context (Mapp, Ferrell-Schweppenstedde et al.,

and Stenersen et al.). The classification of low risk is used rather than high risk because traffickers can easily prey on these people, and there is little to no trade-off with the possibility of getting caught. Vulnerability in these populations emerges from a lack of resources/means and societal detachment from society to recover victims if they go missing. Low-risk populations are exposed to more crime so there is less likelihood they will even be reported missing as local crime already overwhelms police resources.

Henceforth, each nation that is cited as an example will require a brief background to distinguish the influence of problems and differences (society, culture, and politics). This diversity among nations connects to the existence of different vulnerable populations. The upcoming sections will address some dimensions of both sex trafficking and labour trafficking. This diversity in case studies foreshadows the consecutive section that will discuss the impracticality of implementing a single collective international response that is currently relied on in the international system.

Sex Trafficking

There are many dimensions of sex trafficking that reflect oppression and forced servitude for the profit of the commercial sex industry. Individuals who are trafficked for commercial sexual purposes may serve in brothels, prostitution, sex rings, the porn industry, and strip clubs (Getu, Stenersen et al.). The sex rings are organized under "pimps," or the

ringleaders, who pay other people to lure vulnerable, low-risk individuals (Bienstock).
Low-risk individuals come from poor economic backgrounds where the relatives do not have
the ability to find them and lack the financial resources to do so. It is a common association that
in these areas there are no effective police forces since they do not have resources to find
missing persons and/or the desire to do so, i.e., corruption (Burke, et al., Voelkner).

An individual's vulnerability is further impaired by the intersection of gender roles, racial
stereotypes, cultural expectations, and (lack of) monetary stability as it increases desperation to
seek whatever source of income they can obtain. While there are willing individuals who have
not been coerced into their position in the sex industry, there is a problematic matter of
individuals being forced by their environment to seek this employment. This leads to another
complication that is debated amongst scholars as to whether or not prostitution falls under sex
trafficking (Burke et al.). This cycle functions because victims cannot easily escape due to a lack
of documents, fear of legal retribution, or debt bondage. If victims do not abide by the rules of
the trafficker, then they are threatened with bodily harm to themselves and/or their families
(Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, Bienstock,). Sometimes, family members are used as
collateral for debt repayment. The limited or lack of resources and opportunities enforce the
status of low-risk populations by enhancing the vulnerabilities for traffickers to exploit. These
resources/opportunities are all connected back to socioeconomic status. If an individual does not
have money that means they do not have an education which leads to the inability to work for
high-paying technical jobs. Therefore, individuals become desperate to find any job available to
them to support themselves and their families. The interaction of these factors aggravates the
possibility of improvement on a national level and institutionalizes these conditions for
individuals for generations.

How does Globalization Affect Societal Connotations of Sex?

As explained above each nation-state constructs sovereignty with respect to upholding its
unique cultural system. However, to reiterate when a nation-state adopts globalization that

means its socioeconomic system will be influenced by principles of western capitalism. The significance of this is that this involves assimilation into a market economy that has the potential

to alter existing cultural values. The lack of governmental intervention in the market implies little to no regulation of goods or services that are in demand. This is crucial when discussing sex trafficking because of the rising tension between the market that allows individuals to commodify their bodies both voluntarily and involuntarily versus the legal system built on a culture that criminalizes the action (Phillips, Burke et al., Brooks and Heaslip)

Legal restrictions prevent victims from fleeing or escaping because many countries still criminalize the sex industry or there is societal condemnation (Voelkner). In fear of the legal system that will deport them, victims are pressured to remain silent and obey the rules of the ringleader (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report). There are societal repercussions in any situation, either the victim gets deported and is seen as a failure for not being able to provide income for their family and/or they are disgraced for their involvement in what is referred to as "harlot behavior" (Bienstock, Voelkner, Nwadinobi). This condemnation perpetuates the cycle of trafficking since survivors cannot easily integrate back into society and receive assistance to combat trauma, they experience more vulnerability and can be trafficked again.

Variation within the realm of human trafficking also contributes to the impossibility of eradication, especially on the international level. While both sex and labour trafficking have their own problematic elements, the divergence on a national level denotes a no-win situation for legal prosecution for the international system. Specifically, the unfair conservative mindset towards the sex industry unlike the labour industry in most countries promotes more degrees of exploitation that traffickers employ. For example, the sex industry does not have the opportunity to form unions or any other form of regulative protectionism similar to those of the labour industry. This means that the demands of the market are met at the expense of the individuals.

This is primarily why traffickers were able to build such a lucrative business and maintain it today.

HIV/AIDS

In South Africa, sex trafficking is fueled by a historical precedent affecting a specific population for marriage demands. The historical precedent of the 1948 apartheid created disproportionate underdevelopment that contributed to the HIV/AIDs epidemic. In this case study, the vulnerable population consists of younger girls, some even underage, as they were more in demand in the trafficking scheme for marriage because they are most likely to be virgins. This measure is taken to ensure that these girls do not carry HIV and/or AIDS. Due to the apartheid, the majority of the population still does not have access to resources including but not limited to healthcare, hospitals, and medicine. In South Africa, this is detrimental to citizens as it lowers life expectancy, increases the likelihood of contracting disease, and promotes trafficking as victims who cannot be sold into sexual labor are killed and imported for their organs.

Despite the success of the anti-apartheid movement, the institutionalization of inequality during this period created grave implications for vulnerable populations. For example, the 1913 Land Act made it illegal for the black community to work as sharecroppers and by extension possess their own land. However, the market of South Africa supports farmers and agriculture, yet its unique situation shows that many laborers either do not have land to work or an insufficient amount of land that would not even support their family let alone provide an opportunity for profit (Harrison). When land is owned and cultivated by a family rather than a corporation it is usually passed down through generations. The revocation of this opportunity during the apartheid has, however, systematically forced individuals into finding other sources of income, thus, making them more vulnerable to trafficking.

South Africa in comparison to its neighbors, is more prosperous and economically developed. Traffickers lure victims from surrounding territories with higher levels of underdevelopment with promises of better work and higher wages in South Africa (Vranckena and Chetty). Directly, South Africa plays into the plot of globalization by being the perfect transportation spot for smuggling victims internationally (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report). South Africa offers direct flights to and from other countries in Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and Asia; however, victims can also be smuggled illegally onto boats.

Another case, one of a similar nature, is the emergence of the mail-order bride phenomenon that is typically associated with Russia. However, it must be said that this subcategory of sex trafficking is also classified under another phenomenon of cross-border marriage. The dual identity makes it impractical to distinguish between mail-order brides from cross-border marriage as individuals in both exist through similar circumstances that influence their expectations and willingness to be a candidate in the marriage process.

Cross-border marriage is the process of an individual immigrating to the country of their potential spouse. This phenomenon does not occur without social stigma, as many utilize the term to reflect the overwhelming belief that this is solely women immigrating to the country of their potential male spouse. This phenomenon is not associated with one specific nation as it is practiced on a global scale in almost every region of the world. It emerges from cultural expectations and social standards, as women are expected to mobilize their social standing and marry a more influential male (Voelkner). However, there continue to be cases where significant male populations immigrate to the nation of their female spouse (Longo). This is not the process of a mail-order "bride", but it is similar to it as men in the global south will marry women in the global north if it means improving socioeconomic status. The complexity of exploitation depends on the role of societal factors making it impossible to create accurate general statements. These factors include but are not limited to; opportunities available to the "bride" (economic, social, educational, et al.) or external conditions: war, social expectations, government transparency, and family conditions.

The reason for the mail-order "bride" distinction is because the process of exploitation is done through societal standards embedded in patriarchy. Cross-border marriage may reflect issues of mail-order "brides", but the intention of both sides is to gain something. Mail-order brides submit themselves to the needs/desires of the spouse that reinforce existing gender roles. What the spouse gets in return varies from a domestic servant to a willing sexual object (Burke et al., Getu, Brooks and Heaslip, Longo).

However, both mail order brides and cross-border marriages have the potential to experience abusive marital relationships (Burke et al.). This potential fluctuates as external variables interact and/or accumulate depending on existing cultural values and gender roles in

society. One may argue that extreme religious or ethnic practices derived from patriarchy will create an environment for more abuse to occur. For example, in a white patriarchal culture that upholds conservative gender roles in a heterosexual relationship, the woman is the domestic servant, and the male is the breadwinner. Numerous outcomes can occur from this scenario but in consideration of time restraints, this study shall briefly focus on the discussion of marital rape. If trafficking is the commodification of an individual's body for monetary exchange, then the bodies of females, a foreigner under both mail-ordered or cross-border classification, are given to the husband in return for his socio-economic support (Burke et al.). This exchange of a good/service in both categories increases the concealed nature of trafficking and the impossibility of eradication. It is impractical to distinguish between mail-order brides and cross border marriage as individuals in both categories desire the same outcomes and exist in similar circumstances.

There is a lack of existing protocols that can be used by organizations to regulate and determine the classification of mail order brides and provide assistance without deteriorating the existing social acquiescence of cross-border marriages. These absences are because of the inability to distinguish between vulnerable populations who are undermined by unequal wealth distribution and those who utilize this opportunity to practice cultural norms of improving socioeconomic status to benefit their family.

Sex Tourism

Another form of sex trafficking in the promotion of the commercial sex industry is the high success of sex tourism most notably in Vietnam, Thailand, and India but it is also prominent in other global south nations (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Ferrell-Schweppenstedde, et al., and Getu). Sex tourism occurs when individuals physically travel to other countries where it may or may not be legal to participate in commercial sexual activities such as prostitution. Some scholars refer to sex tourism as hotel prostitution as businesses that promote the commercial sex industry like nightclubs and brothels, and by extension sex trafficking, is centered around tourist hotspots in major cities (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Kara). In some instances, sex workers especially when imported (read as trafficked) from foreign countries become the tourist

attraction. Tourism in the global south is especially appealing to the middle class of the global north as they can spend more money in the global south due to the disproportionate currency value (Stenersen et al.).

The stereotype of foreigners, especially from Western countries coming into the global south and exploiting individuals under sex tourism, is understood globally (Phillips, Bales). The dominant stereotype is that of Caucasian middle-aged men traveling from the global north into countries of the global south for sex. However, while it may be abundantly true it is important not to associate all acts of sex tourism with this stereotype. First, this stereotype allows for the interpretation that foreigners are only tourists which completely ignores people that travel for business, religious purposes, or any other purpose that may require obtaining a visa, who can just as easily exploit the victims. Furthermore, this stereotype neglects that the nation's locals also participate in sex tourism, as many businesses in the sex industry cater to two markets; locals who are predominantly nonwhite and foreigners of all different backgrounds including race (Stenersen et al.).

Sex tourism is the unfortunate reality of what it means to accept globalization and its associated principles. Sex tourism represents the ability for transportation of the product (the victim) and the buyer across borders to exchange a product/service for its monetary value. This reflects how individuals benefit from international social stratification because advantaged people in the global north will exploit individuals in the global south because they have the resources, specifically money, to do so (Getu, Ferrell-Schweppenstedde, et al.).

When discussing the existence of human trafficking, Thailand's existing geopolitical relations with neighboring countries: Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Myanmar (that were all previously colonized nations) supersedes the fact that it was never colonized. While the other nations succumbed to trafficking in part due to the inequality institutionalized by colonization,

Thailand was the unwilling bystander coerced into similar disparity due to other historical events, i.e., the Vietnam War. Thailand and bordering nations cannot escape the sexual fetishization of foreign bodies that evolved from the colonial mindset of ownership. The ideology of the market economy further supports this mindset as ownership of a product is dictated when a monetary exchange occurs. Samantha Ferrell-Schweppenstedde et al. dissect this multilevel mentality of the clientele as "...buying sex means [they are] likely to have real

socioeconomic power: as men in a patriarchal context, as Westerners in a postcolonial context, as people with capital in a capitalist context" (1547). These levels of context indicate two conclusions, the first being that if globalization did not directly evolve from colonialism it at least heavily influenced it. The second conclusion is that the unique effect of globalization on a nation depends on a specific coalition of intersectional factors that are then exploited by this system.

Labour Trafficking

Many developed nations, recently referred to as global north countries, have protocols that protect workers by establishing standards for labour conditions, such as, how many hours they can work, when they work, wages, and requirements for safety equipment. Labour trafficking reaches a pinnacle when employers trade off the security of workers for a higher profit or the labour market does not provide a sufficient population of these protections as highlighted in the various examples below.

How does Globalization Affect Labour?

This is a major issue as individuals migrate through globalization to find work or mobilize in skill level. The labour market of a nation is affected by the movement of people. The higher the demand for a job the more an individual will get paid. Higher skilled jobs require certain education or experience so individuals cannot be easily replaced; meanwhile, lower-skill jobs are in abundance, so individuals are easily replaceable. Individuals desperate to find work are those that are easily exploited either by legal businesses or traffickers.

Since globalization promotes capitalistic values, the need to make a profit is crucial to the success of a corporation/business. As discussed above, the ultimate goal for corporations is to make the most amount of profit possible with the consideration for trade-offs, or any external factor that can reduce profit like following western minimum wage protocols in the global south. The ability to ignore these protocols and maximize profit is why many corporations move major factories of production to countries of the global south. Moving factories to the global south to

maximize profit is the principle of capitalism and to an extent, globalization. That is why most of the clothing items sold in stores in the United States or any other country in the global north have the "Made in China/Vietnam/Thailand/Cambodia/e.g.,". However, it is considered exploitation when these countries and other global south nations produce a majority of the clothing sold by major corporations and then worn throughout the global north but those in the global south cannot afford to buy the clothes they themselves are making especially in inadequate conditions (Achbar et al.). Labour trafficking is a subsection of labour exploitation and occurs when corporations need workers to work in said conditions. While the labour source is exploited and trafficked differently depending on the production industry in each nation. This difference will be explained below. Yet, a common theme is that these vulnerable communities are coerced, forced, or deceived into working against their will which makes them trafficking victims. It is important to note that labour trafficking includes the movement of individuals within the country as well as importing them into a different one.

Harsh Climate

Labour trafficking finds an abundant market in nations that have extreme weather conditions but need a large labour force to produce goods. These goods are determined by each nation's geographic features, ranging from the fishing industry in Thailand to timber in the Russian Federation (2018 List of Goods). A common feature of labour trafficking is that workers are deceived by recruiters about the location of work and wages. In order to maintain cooperation, they withhold wages, revoke identifying documents notably passports/visas, and they might resort to the use of physical violence.

One example is the case of Russia. Recruiters in Russia utilize its old Soviet connections with previous satellite states to find a population of potential workers. A majority of previous satellite states have established and joined the Commonwealth of Independent States. Traffickers exploit the connection with Russia through similar cultural, social, economic, and political values. Most frequently individuals trafficked into Russia are transported from Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Poland, and North Korea (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report; Trounson and Pfeifer, Churakova and van der Westhuizen). Russia's demand for trafficked victims' surges

because citizens do not want to work for companies that are notorious for paying wages late or not paying workers at all. This is commonly seen in labor-intensive industries like lumber and construction (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Trounson and Pfeifer, Churakova and Westhuizen). The main characteristic of Russia is a relatively long period of cold temperature that drops dramatically in the winter months. This harsh climate means many locals do not want to work in labor-intensive industries i.e., construction because of constant exposure to the cold (Churakova and van der Westhuizen). For reference, the average high for St. Petersburg in January ranges from -8°C ~17.6°F to -3°C ~ 26.6°F, andSiberia's lowest recorded temperature was -88°C~ -126.4°F in 2018 (Yu Media Group). In response, companies will recruit foreigners who come on work visas and then force them to work by means explained above. Unfortunately, it has become normal and easy to bribe government officials to disregard visa regulations for incoming migrants and/or the conditions of the labour environment.

Safety Conditions (or Lack Thereof)

Any discussion of work in factories in countries of the global south immediately conjures up images of sweatshops. This assumption is not wrong, but it does not cover the entire spectrum of safety conditions. Workers in sweatshops work long hours without breaks, low to no pay, and an unregulated climate in the building (Richard-Guay and Hanley, Achbar and Abbott). However, in factories that produce goods that require machinery (textiles, bricks, et al.) workers are not given safety equipment increasing potential health risks and death. If individuals get injured or die that is a loss of income and families lose a source of income (if paid regularly) and receive no compensation.

One product that is increasing in demand with the rise of the makeup industry is Mica. 25% of Mica production is exported from Bihar and Jharkhand in India, (Lebsack, "2018 List of Goods Produced by Child Labor", 2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Kakar). Mica production is extremely dangerous as it is sourced from underground mines that only children can fit inside. Informal mining and collection can lead to collapsing mines. Collapsed mines are the graveyards for potential profit and exploited children. There is a lack of safety equipment such as gloves, helmets, masks in these mining areas. Moreover, many children who work in the mines are poor,

so they do not have footwear to protect their feet, let alone be able to afford their own safety equipment (Lebsack). This can lead to many health problems: post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), scars, bacterial infections, and lung cancer if they survive to adulthood. Mica mining is done without governmental permission as companies bribe local police, and the government doesn't have the resources to constantly check potential mining sites (Lebsack).

Internal Conflict/Army Supply

Nations riddled with internal conflict often escalate into violent collisions of conflicting groups. When an insurgent group rises, it requires a specific workforce to impose its principles on bystanders to rapidly gain support. Often leaders of these groups increase their population by kidnapping or purchasing individuals from trafficking rings.

In India, recruitment into the Maoist group begins with children as it is easier to instill cooperation using fear and intimidation. The trafficking of individuals for Maoist purposes occurs in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and the state of Jammu and Kashmir (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Kakar). Females that are trafficked into Maoist groups serve as soldiers participating in rebellious acts such as bombings against opposing groups that can either be liberation groups or the Indian government. However, female soldiers, unlike their male counterparts, experience subjugation through sexual exploitation as well as labour exploitation (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, Kakar).

On a similar note, Nigeria's insurgent group, Boko Haram, exploits the nation's systematic issues that perpetually affect society since decolonization. Boko Haram is classified as a jihadist, or an extreme Islamic terrorist organization that gained momentum in the Northeast because that is where the Hausa-Fulani (the Muslim majority) has resided since Nigeria gained independence in 1960. Its success is based on utilizing trafficking to gain more supporters, military personnel to control, and building families to ingrain its principles (2019 Trafficking in Person Report, Nwadinobi). Females (mostly younger age groups) are kidnapped and/or purchased to be threatened into marrying loyal soldiers and by extension become soldiers themselves. Females are also conditioned into becoming suicide bombers, spies, smugglers, or other vital positions because society grew hypervigilant against males (2019 Trafficking in

Person Report, Nwadinobi). Gender stereotyping and profiling overlook females as potential attackers so they target urban locations such as markets and mosques (Nwadinobi).

However, the Nigerian military is also guilty of exploiting individuals especially those in IDP (Internally Displaced Person) camps. It has been reported that individuals of authority trade food and water for labour or sexual favours from IDPs. There have also been reports that they lure vulnerable individuals into trafficking themselves (2019 Trafficking in Persons Report). This is not a surprising revelation as Nigeria has historically been susceptible to episodes of democratic failure followed by military regimes.

The difference in reasons for exploitation and methods used to acquire trafficked victims on a national and subregional scale makes it impossible to generalize on an international scale. This is why the following section will examine existing legislation and organizations that aim to prevent and prosecute all forms of trafficking.

The Feasibility of Prevention/Prosecution

To combat human trafficking in an era of globalization there need to be legal statutes on an international scale. As mentioned above, the existence of an international statute would violate the principle of sovereignty. However, another contributing factor is the variance in the regulation of the labour and sex industry amongst the sovereign nations. Some nations criminalize the sex industry. Others legalize certain aspects with some strict regulation and while other nations allow this capitalist-oriented market unregulated freedom. The criminalization of the sex industry is highly constructed on the cultural expectations of each society that constitutes the nation (Ferrell-Schweppenstedde et al., Ricard-Guay and Hanley, Mapp, Nwadinobi, Middleton, Meeteren and Bannink).

In similar terms, labour trafficking is difficult to eradicate because criminalization within a nation varies on labour standard violations and criminal charges (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, Lodder, Meeteren and Bannink). The complexity of nation-state sovereignty is that while some nations rely on labour unions others may deter their existence (Saudi Arabia) or even permit the capitalist free market principle to function without regulation (People's Republic of China).

The prosecution of labour and sex trafficking offenses is influenced by immigration

policies too, especially if individuals are undocumented migrants (Lodder, Churakova, and van der Westhuizen). Each sovereign power is responsible for creating a system of conditions to enter for individuals that want/need to pass their borders. Globalization allowed supporters to advocate the principle of open borders, yet the current era reflects resilience as many nations, namely in the global north, are strengthening restrictions for potential migrants. This is to preserve these nations' reputation and status in the international system, upholding the principle that only citizens can reap the benefits. This once again leads into the scheme of capitalism that idolizes the rich but penalizes the poor in a constant cycle.

Critiques of International Protocol and Prospective Remedies

Every multidimensional factor including human trafficking itself that is mentioned in this study contributes to the overwhelming impossibility of eradicating it from the global society. It is vital to understand that implementing an inadequate solution is just as bad if not worse than having no solution.

The main issue with existing protocols and laws is that they are on a national and international level. Rather, as I will explain further in detail later, nations need to develop better local-level protocols. Ironically, it is impractical to eradicate human trafficking from the international system with the legal framework on the international level. This is because national law and by extension international law both utilize a bottom-down approach where the law is passed on these levels and then governments somehow expect local divisions to adhere to these standards. Although it is impossible to eradicate trafficking without addressing the other systematic problems mentioned above that catalyze the process, there needs to be more organization and effort made on the local level. This bottom-up approach would allow nations the resources and elasticity to address the intertwined nature of their unique problems rather than abiding by a generic protocol that is more useful as a theory rather than a legal framework. In an ideal world, the bottom-up approach would depart from standards associated with the global north/south dichotomy. For instance, Nigeria would be able to allocate resources to address human trafficking intensified by poverty-inducing issues that have been stressed by ethnic pluralism and democratic unsteadiness since its liberation in 1960.

Equally, Vietnam can address human trafficking in consideration of the influence of its

surrounding neighbors (Thailand, Laos, China, Cambodia) that call attention to agricultural and environmental problems since adopting the principles of the market economy while being socialist. The geopolitical response is illustrated by the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking also referred to as COMMIT which comprises Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, China, Cambodia, and Myanmar. This unit aims to "combin[e] efforts on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims and their repatriation and reintegration, and prosecution of the criminals responsible" (International Organization for Migration).

An argument can be made that a subregional approach like COMMIT is the most adequate solution of collective responsibility in an era of globalization. This alliance of mainland Southeast Asia is how other subregions of continents should proceed when attempting to combat global issues like human trafficking especially if they are unable to allocate resources to improve prevention at a local level. A sub-regional approach is better than an international approach even though it is a top-down approach to legislation. This approach holds nations more responsible for intervention at a national level as geopolitical mutualism will promote more productive dialogue. Subregional organizations uphold similar social values so there are limited stalemates that delay the conception of legislation. This is where the international approach fails as the United Nations, unlike COMMIT, has to impose and enforce legislation that satisfies all 193 nation-states with an extreme variation of sociopolitical values especially over the conception of universal human rights (Tharoor, Donnelly).

This western belief that is upheld by the United Nation does not assist in preventing human trafficking in more conservative nation-states including but not limited to India, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Yemen (Hancock). While the United Nations initiates legislation for all six continents, save for Antarctica, it is not plausible for it to pursue and maintain the compliance of each of the 193 member states.

However, it must be said that this hypothetical suggestion is only practical if a nation has competent and law-abiding political leaders and a just judicial system. This approach will immediately fail in the face of the smallest degree of corruption, for example, the bribing of local community police or politicians. While the main focus of this study has been to explain the relationship between globalization, human trafficking, and the role of colonialism, it is of utmost importance to recognize how poverty convolutes the situation for many if not all nations whose

communities fall prey to trafficking. Therefore, in order to eradicate human trafficking nations must take conscious and practical efforts to at least reduce the severity of poverty on a national, state, and local level.

Another improvement that needs to be made on an international level is the extreme lack of concern regarding intersectionality in the ways legislation proceeds (Stark). Without using an intersectional lens especially when initiating treaties and protocols, governments and organizations are perpetuating the nature of trafficking. This is relevant when discussing the United Nations "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children"(OHCHR). The specifications of supporting women and children, while commendable for addressing vulnerable populations completely overshadows male and nonbinary populations. This has great social ramifications as to who society believes is a victim and who is simply a participant. The mechanism of sustaining the cycle of trafficking is that victims do not get the services they need to deal with the trauma in part because they do not see themselves as victims because society implies otherwise (Trounson and Pfeifer, Yakushko and Rajan, Bienstock, Mapp, Kakar, Nwadinobi, Ferrell-Schweppenstedde, et al., Stark, and Voelkner).

Technology and Social Media

In the age of global communication, it should also not be surprising that technology can promote both good and bad aspects. As explained above, traffickers do utilize technology and social media to lure victims from Craigslist to Facebook. However, recently people have collectively been addressing and informing others as preventative countermeasures. On Instagram, there was a recent post addressed to individuals of domestic violence and/or trafficking about hiding a spoon in their underwear to get stopped at the airport if they needed to be rescued from that situation.

Social media and the internet have also been tools in educating how to observe signs of a trafficker and their victim when traveling. This can be crucial information for bystanders who interact with the public on a constant basis. This may include flight attendants, restaurant staff, uber drivers, and many others that would not recognize the situation beforehand. These platforms

are also used to share experiences of either encountering a potential trafficker or a survivor. This is important for individuals that live in high-profile cities where crowds are normal, allowing for traffickers to stalk and blend in with relative ease.

Advancement within social media creates new tools to gain and spread knowledge. The social media platform Instagram recently launched IGTV which allows creators to upload videos longer than 10-minutes to a global community of 1 billion users. This new feature provides an opportunity for digital media companies like Refinery29 to publish content designed to improve lifestyle and health but is also responsible for keeping the global community informed. For example, the issue of mica mining only came to my attention while browsing Instagram in the form of an IGTV video, "The Dark Secret Behind Your Favorite Makeup Products" (Lebsack). This short 20-minute documentary amassed 737,000 views on Instagram and nearly 9 million views on YouTube.

These views represent individuals from a global population, any individual with access to these platforms can view this information. Social media is an advancing mechanism of globalization as it spreads knowledge, cultural values, language, and technology surpassing the boundaries of previous decades. Yet, as a global society, we cannot solely depend on social media to reverse the effects of centuries worth of oppression that perpetuates vulnerability. Besides improving legislation, we as members of society must demand change to the institutionalized practices that perpetuate the vulnerability of communities.

Conclusion

It is advised that history should not be forgotten or ignored. However, many do not explain that the world and society should learn from and repair issues that distinguish said past. This includes the systematic disorder and inequality created by colonization and promoted by recent waves of globalization. Yet, as the new decade advances, globalization continues to spread and evolves the longer it is embedded in society. With this advancement is the concealed infection of human trafficking catalyzed by multifaceted problems in a nation. Human trafficking is a multidimensional problem that feeds off other multilayered issues in society. This is done through the institutionalization of the social hierarchy. Social stratification is constructed and enforced differently in each nation due to diversity in culture but often reflects socioeconomic

status. Lower classes are exposed to intersectional issues most of which stem from poverty as it is a cyclical cycle that traps generations of families. It is when these individuals try to escape the cycle that they are most vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking. Traffickers look for low risk populations like the poor because they are desperate enough to take any opportunity to make money as a means to get a stable source of income. The poverty that is supported and enforced by social stratification worsens when nations adapt to globalization.

Globalization exacerbates all forms of vulnerability that stem from poverty; external factors that contribute to the dilemma include war/internal conflict, the presence of extremist groups, educational and employment opportunities, racism, climate, corruption, governmental stability, and cultural values. Globalization also disparages existing cultural values by enforcing assimilation to western-capitalist values. This assimilation rewards nations by allowing them to compete in the global economy. The most concern rises from the global south competing against the global north and other global south nations. These levels of competition are concerning because countries of the global North do not have to deal with issues that the global south is predisposed to--revolutions, coups d'état, and others.

Regardless of status, many if not all nations comprising the global society through the process of globalization have come to depend on the international system. Though, simultaneously these nations have also increased the preservation of their status as a sovereign state. This is where nation-states complicate preventative measures against human trafficking as they agree to abide by international agreements but are not compelled to uphold and implement further measures. This occurs because there is no international sovereign that can hold them accountable for this digression.

As cultures intertwine and people interact, it becomes increasingly important to recognize the role of intersectionality in the systems we practice as human beings. That is why people need to take more responsibility for each other as our communities have transcended past previously accepted borders. That means accepting the change that globalization has brought, recognizing the toxicity of the past, and striving to improve conditions for future generations.

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The German Desk: US and German Relations in NATO

Introduction

As the United States continues to lead its allies in NATO, new global challenges require NATO members to strengthen their commitment to the Alliance. The previous administration perpetuated significant strains on the US's relations with its key allies, yet US interests in NATO have extended through several administrations. Germany, a key US and NATO ally, has continuously failed to support US leadership through increasing its commitments to our joint alliance. German officials have continuously avoided addressing Germany's failure to adhere to their financial commitments, and instead have notified the US and its allies that Germany expects yet even more delays to its targeted goals for increasing defense spending. With new security threats arising, the United States must lead an appropriate solution to holding NATO members accountable for providing adequate financial contributions. This policy recommendation will provide an overview of the current diplomatic situation with Germany, diplomatic challenges the US administration currently faces, and recommendations for addressing US-German relations in NATO.

US-German Relations in NATO: A Brief Background

Since its inception in 1949, US membership in NATO is committed to a pact of mutual assistance to promote democratic values and enable members to consult and cooperate on defense and security-related issues to solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict. With US leadership, NATO is prepared to address the growing military and security challenges arising in the 21st century, with current operations in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq, African Union, and the Mediterranean. US and Germany's relationship via NATO is historically rooted in the post-WWII development of Germany's military and government. Our approaches to West Germany following the end of WWII, supported the creation of a security apparatus in West Germany, a transition to reunification, and ability for the unified Germany to reintegrate in Europe, and regain sovereignty. Since its development, Germany has contributed military

personnel and equipment to its NATO allies. With about 4,700 personnel dedicated, logistical support provided in the Baltic region via personnel and military equipment, and maritime support for security operations in the Aegean Sea, the country provides some notable contributions to organization. In addition, Germany has provided critical support for US operations in Iraq, and Afghanistan, and has contributed to negotiation efforts during the talks to draw down NATO troops in Afghanistan. Yet, its inability to increase necessary expenditure for defense spending, forgoes Germany's responsibility to engage in NATO's mission to protect member states and deter security threats.

Germany in NATO: A Look at the Numbers

Though 2021 estimates report a record high defense budget for Germany, estimated at $63.8billion, former Defense Minister Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer claims that Germany will now reach the 2% GDP goal by 2031 (Taylor, *The Washington Post)*. Germany's defense spending has steadily risen annually by an average of 3.2%, yet its annual growth must increase above the current average in order to reach its target goal. Germany significantly lacks adequate military equipment, and in order to prepare for major security threats, the country must increase their equipment expenditure. NATO guidelines specify equipment expenditure to constitute a minimum 20% of total defense budget. According to 2019 data, Germany spent only 16.4% of their budget on military equipment (Public Diplomacy Division, 3). In addition, the German Defense Minister, von der Leyen, made a request in 2018 for $553 million to purchase 18 items of military equipment.

According to reports, the Finance Ministry provided only half the requested amount (Chase, *Deutsche Welle)*. Of the 114 Eurofighters and Tornado fighter jets, the country only has 38 and 29 operational models, respectively. In addition, German officials seek to argue the definition of defense spending and are attempting to skew the US's expectations for defense spending. According to Defense Minister Ursula von der Leyen, member of the Christian Democratic Union, the current party has recommited its efforts to reach the goal by 2024, and has adopted a straightforward approach to defense spending. However, other German political parties call for revisiting the target and including humanitarian aid and stabilization programs as part of defense and security. As Germany awaits the outcome of the federal elections in September of 2021, US

diplomats must be prepared to defend a concise definition of NATO's defense spending with the next ruling party and government coalition of Germany.

Teetering Relations: Recent US Approaches to Germany

US-German relations reached an all-time low during the last US Administration. This assessment of the relations is critical to providing an improved approach for the United States to remedy its relationship with its German counterparts, while remaining committed to US interests regarding Germany's contributions to NATO. Under the Trump Administration, criticism regarding Germany's defense budget, reached an aggressive turn. Though past U.S. presidents have criticized Germany's defense budget, the Trump Administration's position threatened longstanding U.S.-German relations. While our interests to pressure Germany to spend more on their defense budget remains constant, we must seek a better approach to our diplomatic engagement. The United States pays for over 30% of NATO's total budget, and remains the highest contributor with an annual contribution of over 3.5% of our GDP (Public Diplomacy Division, 3). No other nation has closely reached our proportional contributions to the alliance. In July of 2018, Former President Trump presented an ultimatum that NATO member states meet the defense spending target of 2 percent of GDP. If they fail to do so, Washington threatened to withdraw its full commitment to the alliance.

While our demands for this defense target spending was discussed as far back as G.W. Bush's administration, Trump's direct threat created a tense situation across the trans-Atlantic alliance. In a reversal of his threats, the current US administration has made clear its commitments to NATO. However, US diplomats must continue to engage with our allies so that they reach the 2% GDP goal by the target date of 2024, set through mutual agreement among NATO members in Wales, in 2014. In addition, Trump announced his intention to return 12,000 troops from Germany, over the contingencies related to Germany's defense spending (Emmot, et al. *Reuters)*. However critical Germany's defense spending is to strengthen NATO's capacity, and reducing the US's financial burden, reducing military personnel and equipment prior to increasing financial contributions to replace US footprint on behalf of European allies, is a dangerous move that counters US security interests in the region. This policy recommendation encourages working with German diplomats to re-engage the mutual coordination between US military and

German military forces in Germany, following the current administration's reversal of Trump's plans.

Time Sensitive Challenges: Russian Aggression in the Crimea

Russian aggression on the borders of Eastern Ukraine and in the Crimea, reaffirms NATO must be prepared to deter Russian aggression in Eastern Europe, a foundational concern for NATO. Russia's illegal annexation of the Crimea in 2014 signaled a need for NATO to redistribute its focus from the Middle East, and back to Eastern Europe.Our deployment of NATO service members and military equipment in our eastern member states, sends a clear and strong message to Moscow that the US, and NATO are committed to defense and deterrence in Eastern Europe.

Recent events have accelerated the call for increasing spending. Since March of 2021, violence has increased between Ukraine and Russia. Our intelligence reports an estimated 15,000 Ukrainian casualties since the beginning of conflict in 2015. US officials received reports from the Ukrainian government that Russia deployed over 80,000 troops between the Eastern Ukrainian border, and Crimea. As a result, the United States has deployed an additional 500 personnel to Germany who will have a role in space, cybersecurity and electronic warfare specialization. While the United States stands with its German allies in condemning the deployment of Russian troops and cautioning for a draw down and de-escalation of tensions, the United States must call on Germany to heed the Russian threat as a test to NATO's capacity, and reimagine its financial commitments to defense spending. In 2014, Germany joined us in pledging to increase defense spending, and to boost political and practical support for Ukraine and East Europe, but Germany is falling short of reaching its target goal by the initial year set by NATO members. Hesitation from German leadership, and commitment without concrete result, poses a major risk to US's efforts to deter Russia through the Alliance.

In addition, following the Biden Administration's reversal to a nonnegotiable diplomatic stance with the Kremlin, the Administration is expected to pressure its NATO allies to stand firm against Russia and follow the US's considerations to impose sanctions on Russia, in response to its aggression in the Crimea. Such sanctions will require Germany to halt all commercial

dealings related to the Nord Stream 2.0 project. US Congressional legislation has called for sanctioning any entity involved in the pipeline project. Secretary Blinkin's May meeting with German Foreign Minister Maas, reaffirms US concerns over the Nord Stream Pipeline (US State Department). If the State Department moves forward with sanctions, Germany will be expected to comply with US demands or face economic sanctions for their dealing with Russia. The German Desk must be prepared to enforce the US's security concerns regarding Germany's dealings with Russia for natural gas, however there are some areas of opportunity for addressing the Nord Stream issue, which will be detailed below.

Approaching US Interests in NATO: Policy Recommendations

This section will look at the areas of opportunity for the United States to address the German financial deficit in NATO. US-German relations have mended significantly since the previous Administration, however the German Desk must account for pushback and hesitation from German leadership, who has become critical of the United States' capacity to lead NATO in the long term. For this reason, it is the responsibility of the German Desk to commit to long term solutions that prove the US's commitments to maintain a strong relationship that is consistent with US values and interests. The German Desk must consider opportunities for diplomatic communication to facilitate a plan to present negotiations before the NATO council to create a binding obligation to meet the target goal of 2% GDP spending. This pledge will create concrete incentives for allies to reach the target goal for defense spending, and will disperse membership accountability- a solution to signaling out Germany despite underwhelming contributions from other NATO members. The US can expect the support of its allies who've exceeded the 2% target as fair burden-sharing has long been an issue among all members, and not solely between the US and Germany (Pothier, 4) . Countries that do not meet this target goal by a specified amount of time, will face strategic consequences. In addition, the obligation will define what constitutes national defense spending as to prevent ambiguity that will enable nations to forgo their 2% GDP commitment (Pothier, 4). While no apparatus is established for the review of membership within the Treaty, the 2018 NATO summit affirmed the possibility of joint response to a material breach of the Treaty. Any member state who fails to "unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security" (preamble, North Atlantic Treaty), can technically be removed by a unanimous decision made by the North Atlantic

Council, and this standing may be used to apply to a failure for any state that consistently violates its financial commitments to the organization (Sari, *Just Security)*. Though this may seem controversial to our European counterparts who disagree, the United States cannot continue to bear the brunt of financial and logistical responsibility, and must set the foundation for shared commitments. NATO allies must focus on maintaining the momentum of efforts to strengthen NATO's position in Europe, and to advance reforms to the organization's military apparatus. To address Russia's threats over Ukraine, US diplomats must be willing to engage a firm diplomatic approach to Germany that does not allow for compromising and avoidance of financial responsibility on behalf of our German counterparts. Increasing defense spending is critical to modernizing and updating Germany's lagging military equipment stockpile, training troops for new levels of security and military engagement such as cybersecurity, and protecting our Ukrainian allies.

With the time-sensitive crisis of Russian aggression at the Ukrainian border, prompt action is required. While NATO allies continue temporary training operations in Romania, North Macedonia, and Ukraine, Russia's aggression must be addressed via a full scale NATO upgrade of military capacity by increasing overall defense expenditure. In the question of the Nord Stream Pipeline, the United States must remain firm in preventing Russia's leverage over Eastern and Central Europe by having the advantage of using gas resources as a political tool. To prevent such disastrous security and diplomatic risks, the United States can offer to negotiate alternative sources of obtaining liquified natural gas. US-German representatives can discuss Germany's involvement in the Three Seas Initiative to reinforce Europe's energy security. With a commitment of about $1 billion, EU states can have access to alternative forms of gas delivery that enable the EU to regulate the liberalization of gas markets, prevent supplier monopolies such as Gazprom, and build cross border pipelines and import facilities for LNG sourced from the United States and other countries (Fried, et.al, *Atlantic Council)*. This US-backed strategic project will increase European consumers' access to seaborne cargoes of LNG from diverse suppliers, which will prevent Russian dependency and manipulation of the LNG market by Russian companies in exchange for political concessions.

It is the responsibility of the German Desk to reaffirm US commitments to maintaining a strong relationship with our long time ally. Calling upon our ally for support, the United States

can build stronger US-German relations by working to create stronger mandates for NATO to address security challenges in Europe, and abroad, through mutually respectful diplomacy.

Mursel Sabir

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