The Hayes
History Journal

2017

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Editors: Katherine Anthony, James Elliott,
Jennifer Rodgers, and Abigail Sweetman

The Hayes History Journal staff thanks Victor Taylor for his long-standing support of the *Journal* and student publishing at Saint Joseph's University

DEDICATION

This edition of *The Hayes History Journal* is dedicated to the Saint Joseph's University History Department. Without you, we would not have been able to create these essays. Without you, we would not be moving forward in fullfilling our dreams. Thank you.

2017-2018 Editing Team

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

One hundred years ago, a group of individuals known as the Bolsheviks, took grasp on one of the largest and most powerful empires known at the time, Russia. 1917 not only marked the beginning of the end for World War I, but also the birth of a new mindset, both politically and economically. The birth of communism in the Soviet Union could be considered equivalent to an asteroid hitting earth, it's impact would not only last throughout its duration as a union, but beyond - into the 21st century.

The Soviet Union developed into an undeniable sphere of influence, and the world was not able to avoid the aftershocks. Capitalism and democracy found themselves challenged by fascism and authoritarianism throughout the first half of the 20th century. New ideas and terms found a way into the everyday vocabulary. *Great Wars, Bipolarity, The Jewish Question, Genocide, Socialism, and Modernity* - these words came to define a period which some argue has not ended.

The edition of The Hayes History Journal in your hands was written by a collection of undergraduate scholars from Saint Joseph's University; each looking to dig deeper into the ultimate question of *"what can we learn from our history?"* The arguments you will read each share a unique view on learning from the past - The Syrian Question suddenly becomes synonymous with Jewish -or- Vladimir Putin's comparisons with former dictator Joseph Stalin, these are just two of the arguments provided in this years publication.

Political theorist, Arch Puddington, arrives at a worrying future for the 21st century. Authoritarianism and democracy are both waves, and although democracy has regained control over the later, it is not long before it is overcome by repetition. These aftershocks of the inevitable battles between authoritarianism and democracy leave crumbling societies, countless refugees, and broken families. These are the stories that must be told if we are to ever to answer this inevitable question.

The two themes presented are able to stand on their own as well as mesh with one another. Section one is titled *War and the Shaping of Society* and focuses on the social impact on communities of everyday people. A large portion of this section is dedicated to genocide, human rights, and the future of foreign relations between superpowers. It is broken up by regions and focuses on Europe, America, Africa, and Asia.

Section two focuses on communism and is divided into two sections - one on the Russian and Soviet perspective of communism and one on an international perspective of the ideology. The first half of the section details *"The Brain"* of the Soviet Union - the Russian Federation. The international perspective includes papers on *Former Soviet Republics* - From Lithuania to Kazakhstan.

On behalf of myself and the other editors - we hope you enjoy learning from the past through the eyes of these academic arguments.

Katherine E Anthony, Editor

Author Biographies

CLASS OF 2018

Katherine Anthony

Katherine Anthony graduated from Saint Joseph's in December 2017. She is one of the four contributing editors for this edition of the Hayes History Journal. Katherine holds a B.A. from Saint Joseph's University in History and Political Science. Her areas of interest concern twentieth-century human rights. Her work incorporates aspects of social and oral history in order to preserve the experiences of the everyday person affected by the pain of war. Katherine's study abroad experience in Copenhagen, Denmark, helped her realize she wanted to focus on the Holocaust, other genocides, and how the outcomes of these tragic events have shaped the global scene. Beginning in September of 2018, Katherine will begin her Master's program in Holocaust Studies at Royal Holloway, University of London, in England.

Christian Bills

Christian Bills is a Senior Political Science major and Air Force ROTC cadet at Saint Joseph's University. He is originally from Carrolltown, Pennsylvania and moved to Philadelphia in the fall of 2014 to pursue his education and fulfill a dream of serving in the United States Air Force. Along the way he has found a deep love and respect for politics strengthened by his time in the Political Science department. With every class his interest in politics, international relations and global events continues to fuel his desire to further his education in such fields.

Lilianna DeFalcis

Lilianna DeFalcis is a senior Biology major. In her four years at Saint Joe's Lilianna also minored in Theology and Religious Studies. Following graduation in May, Lilianna will be attending medical school at Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine in order to advance her studies.

Joshua Dobroskey

Joshua Dobroskey is a graduating senior who is both a history major and an American Studies minor. He realized earlier on that he wanted to study history, particularly American military history. His main interests center on World War II; he spends his free time conducting veteran interviews and collecting memorabilia from soldiers to ensure stories are not forgotten. Joshua has a passion for aviation and has flown a number of different World War II aircraft. After graduation, he hopes to pursue a career in military history to ensure preservation of the history of those who defend our nation every day.

James Elliott

James Elliott a graduating senior from SJU. He looks forward to following a career in the law field and also aspires to be a professor in the future. James is especially thankful for this opportunity to not only help edit this Journal as one of the four editors but to also be published in it. He will always be grateful for the support and guidance his teachers and fellow peers have offered him.

Stephen Fera

Stephen Fera is a senior History and Secondary-Education double major from Philadelphia. Showing an early interest and passion in history at a young age, he is thankful for the opportunity to share his love of history and politics through his publication in the Hayes History Journal.

Andrew Fernicola

Andrew Fernicola is a senior at Saint Joseph's University. He is a History major with a minor in German. After graduation he hopes to work in Germany or Austria. He would like to thank the Hayes History Journal staff for all their help.

Marykate Horning

Marykate Horning is a senior at Saint Joseph's University. Horning has dedicated her college career to studying History and Secondary Education. She is completing her final semester as a student teacher at Merion Mercy Academy. Following graduation, Marykate anticipates

Jordan Hunter

Jordan Hunter is a senior at Saint Joseph's. She holds a major in History and minors in Political Science and Justice & Ethics in the Law (JEL). This September she will begin Law School with the goal of working in the field of corporate law.

Anthony Manzi

Anthony Manzi is a graduating senior with a major in History who focuses on American military history, specifically from 1861 to 1975. Following graduation, he hopes to pursue a career in military history through museum and archival research work. Manzi provides his readers with the following context: "The Vietnam War is a strongly contested subject for those who lived throughout the era. However, it offers valuable lessons which can be applied to the nature of wars we see today." He continues: "This essay is not to be thought of as an anti-war piece, but rather an examination of what the United States military and bureaucratic officials learned in regard to military ground strategy." Finally: "The understanding of not only why the military ground strategies were implemented in a particular time and place, but also that

their impacts offer a legacy, lessons, and an opportunity for historians and everyday Americans to understand the complexities of war."

Ann Marie Maloney

Ann Marie Maloney is a senior Political Science major with a Gender Studies minor. After graduation, Ann Marie is planning to complete a year of service with City Year and work on a campaign in the 2018 midterm election for her home district. After-wards, Ann Marie intends to

pursue either a law degree or a Master's degree in public policy.

Jennifer Rodgers

Jen Rodgers a senior at Saint Joseph's University. She is completing a double major in History and Secondary Education.Currently, Jen is a student teacher at Lower Merion High School. Rodgers is one of the four contributing editors to this publication. She anticipates completing

her degree this May and will be pursuing teaching opportunities in the Philadelphia area next year.

Alyssa Soviero

Alyssa Soviero is a senior at Saint Joseph's University. In her four years here, she has dedicated herself to studying History. Along with her major, Alyssa has also studied Political Science, American Studies and Gender Studies. Upon graduation, she will have minored in all three of these subject areas. With graduation in sight Alyssa anticipates to move to New York where she plans to settle close to home.

Abigail Sweetman

 Abigail Sweetman was born and raised in Ketchikan, Alaska, where she developed a passion for people, places, and things. As a double major in biology and history, she has had ample opportunity to develop her techniques for squid dissection and a love for JSTOR. If she's not in the lab or the library, you can find her vanquishing comma splices in the Writing Center, contributing as one of the editors to this publication, broadcasting smooth jams through Radio 1851, or playing the oboe at the University of Pennsylvania. Next year, she will be pursuing a Master of Arts in Comparative, International, and Global History at Georgetown University in Washington D.C. focusing particularly on gender relations in modern China. After earning her M.A., she plans to work in foreign policy and supplement her income by baking pies.

CLASS OF 2019

Erin Davison

Erin Davison is a junior from West Caldwell, New Jersey and will be graduating from Saint Joseph's University in 2019. She is pursuing a degree in International Relations with minors in Health Care Ethics (Global) and Faith JusticeStudies. Her paper, "See No Evil: Libya, Syria, and United States Genocide Policy", was written for her sophomore seminar (IRT 250: Research and Writing in International Relations) taught by Dr. Lisa Baglione. In the spring of 2017, Erin had the privilege of presenting this research at the Sigma Iota Rho student research conference at the University of Pennsylvania. After graduation, Erin hopes to find employment at a NGO and eventually pursue a graduate degree in peace and conflict studies.

CLASS OF 2020

Ruth Zeigler

Ruth Zeigler a is sophomore studying International Relations with Faith & Justice Studies and Latin Ameri- can Studies minors. After graduation, Ruth plans to work for an NGO focusing on human rights. A trip to Ukraine in 2013 influenced her interest in the Ukraine crisis and international relations as a whole.

Contents

Contents

WAR & THE SHAPING OF SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

To Our Readers,

The observance of human history requires the analysis of conflict and how people and societies adapt to it. In the face of war-instigated crimes against humanity, there are stories of hope and reconstruction that mirror those of tragedy and reconstruction.

In this selection, students have captured elements of war in attempts to understand how wars throughout the globe have shaped nations and people into the entities they are today. What led to this family to dangerously cross the Mediterranean in order for a new life? What was the feeling of a mother and wife who lost her three sons and husband? How did a young teenager deal with birthing a child of rape and war - deliberately impregnated by the enemy - and where is that child today?

Through conflict, struggle, and, in some cases, resolution, comes the formation of new ideas. This section will reflect how the traumatic 20th century and its successor have been affected by war. Concepts will focus on genocide, the current refugee crisis in Europe, independence movements, and different views of everyday people. With a strong focus on European, American, African, and Middle Eastern regions, each piece in this section will offer insight into those trying to survive everyday life while their worlds implode around them.

Abigail Sweetman, Editor

E U R O P E

"The biggest danger to the European Union comes not from those who advocate change, but from those who denounce new thinking as heresy. In its long history Europe has experience of heretics who turned out to have a point."
-David Cameron, Former Prime Minster of the United Kingdom

The Persistance of Trauma and the Ignorance of Others:
Bosnia's Rape Culture, a Gendered Approach.
Katherine Anthony

They took my youth, my joy, my home, my job. They took everything they could. They took all of my human rights.[1]

In July 1995, Kadefa Risanović, fled her home to Srebrenica, located in the easternmost part of Bosnia Herzegovina, home of the second most-deadly genocide in European history. She had given birth 2 day prior. Rewinding to April 1992. "Bakira Hasečić answered a knock on her door. The local police chief, along with 15 other men entered her home. They placed the family on house arrest, repeatedly raped Bakira and her eldest daughter and robbed them of their savings."[2] *Bosnia Herzegovina offers a unique case study when looking at genocide. Not enough focus has been placed on women and how the peace agreements surrounding this case treated them. Due to this development, agreements such as the Dayton Peace Accords while seen as "the most impressive example of conflict resolution"[3] are seen as arbitrary and ineffective today when looking through a gendered lens.*

Genocide was officially defined in 1948 by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide under the umbrella of the United Nations. Legally, the crime is defined as:

> Any of the following acts committed **with intent to destroy, in whole or in part**, **a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such**: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[4]

Breaking this definition down into pieces, the United Nations' words do have flaws. Each word has multiple meanings and if the UN wished to be ambiguous they succeeded, and their definition mentions groups, rather than individuals. By doing so, the convention does not have to protect individuals.[5] Due to this flawed definition, many have taken the opportunity to define genocide in their own words.

In 1996, shortly following the atrocities in Bosnia Herzegovina and Rwanda, Gregory Stanton published a document titled "The Eight Stages of Genocide". These eight stages include the following: classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and denial. Each stage is imperative to defining the crime, however when many think of genocide, they consider only those lying in the ground of a mass grave. The trauma does not always conclude with death. Many women dealt with and are still dealing with the effects of genocide. The trauma of rape as an act of war has lasting implications women are still struggling to comprehend today.

The Bosnian War saw a great deal of rape culture, one of the effects of a society dealing with war and massacres of a daily basis. Kalinovik, a town about 40 kilometers south of Sarajevo within the borders of the

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1   Kadefa Rizvanović," Remembering Srebrenica, , accessed April 24, 2017, http://www.srebrenica.org.uk/survivor-stories/kadefa-risanovic/.

2   "Bakira Hasečić," Remembering Srebrenica, , accessed April 24, 2017, http://www.srebrenica.org.uk/survivor-stories/bakira-hasecic/.

3   Charles-Philippe David, "Alice in Wonderland meets Frankenstein: Constructivism, Realism and Peacebuilding in Bosnia", *Contemporary Security Policy* 22, No.1, 2001

4   Switzerland, OSAPG - Office of The Special Advisor On The Prevention Of Genocide, United Nations, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (New York: United Nations, 1991).

5   Torben Jørgensen, Danish Institute for Study Abroad, Holocaust and Genocide Lecture Notes, Monday August 29th, 2016.

Republika Srpska, encountered a school turned into a rape camp.

> 'They came in with guns and grenades and they screamed at us,' Ziba's friend Emira recalls. 'The Chetniks shouted at us: 'Look at how many children you can have. Now you are going to have our children. You are going to have our little Chetniks.' They said they weren't interested in women who were expecting babies because they couldn't make them pregnant.[6]

During the war many Serbs serving in the military styled themselves as Chetniks, a term which came from a World War II movement against the axis powers. These men showed no mercy for the women seeking refuge. For these women, who were chained to 26 days of pure gang rape culture, a light at the end of the tunnel seemed to be dimming as the days progressed.

In Serbo-Croat culture, whomever your dad is, whether he is a Serb, a Croat, or a Bosniak, you follow. For Serbian men to rape Bosniak women, leading to a Serb child leads to the ultimate form of revenge between the religions. Not only did it allow for them to show their dominance over the Bosniak woman, it created an enemy within her. It took away her husband's manhood as well, as many men in the Muslim culture believe their wives to be property. Another major implication which resulted from these rapes was "no matter if force was involved, if you lay with a man whom you were not married to, you would be ousted by everyone and considered a woman of adultery."[7] There was nowhere for women to turn once raped and pregnant, they were left to fend for themselves and their unborn children.

The children described, children of rape are now closing in on twenty-two years of age. The women who birthed them are in some cases, reluctant to look at them. Lehja Damon recalls her own birth story: "She told them that she didn't want to hold me because if she did, she might strangle me. Like many other children born of rape, I would have ended up at an orphanage had my parents not decided to adopt me."[8] Lehja recalls statistics of those affected by sexual violence during the war. An estimated 50,000 women suffered and their sexual abuse destroyed communities, another form of genocide.

Many of the women such is the case of Lehja's mother, have major feelings of regret, feelings of hatred, and feelings of fear. But beyond all of this, the women who came out of the ashes of this war, are mightier than ever. "Women suffered from all kinds of torture during this war. These women are as courageous as mighty dragons, because even after everything that happened, they are fighting to live a normal life."[9] Interesting enough, while the world responded to Srebrenica and the war, they left out a crucial category of victims, the women still living, the mighty dragons.

In July of 1995, over the course of 11 days, more than 8.000 men and boys around the Srebrenica municipality were slain. Women were not targeted but felt they should be as these were their fathers, husbands, and sons. To make matters worse, the government moved the bodies from Srebrenica to secondary mass graves throughout Bosnia Herzegovina to form a cover-up of the crimes. This made it even harder for women to find out what happened to their immediate family members, with many still looking to this day for answers. While these women searched for months for answers within their war torn backyard, the world did not attempt to bring peace until roughly five months later.

On the 27th of November 1995, President of the United States, Bill Clinton responded to the Bosnian War and subsequent genocidal massacres and rape culture surrounding the region:

> For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. Horrors we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds again. Skeletal prisoners caged behind

6   Robert Fisk, "Bosnia War Crimes: 'The rapes went on day and night': Robert Fisk, in Mostar, gathers detailed evidence of the systematic sexual assaults on Muslim women by Serbian 'White Eagle' gunmen," The Independent, February 07, 1993, , accessed April 25, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/bosnia-war-crimes-the-rapes-went-on-day-and-night-robert-fisk-in-mostar-gathers-detailed-evidence-of-1471656.html.

7   Torben Jørgensen, Danish Institute for Study Abroad, Holocaust and Genocide Lecture Notes, Thursday, November 17th, 2016

8   "Lejla Damon," Remembering Srebrenica, , accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.srebrenica.org.uk/survivor-stories/lejla-damon/.

9   "The Courage to Survive – 'Mirsada'," Remembering Srebrenica, , accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.srebrenica.org.uk/survivor-stories/the-courage-to-survive-mirsada/.

barbed-wire fences, **women and girls raped as a tool of war**, defenseless men and boys shot

down into mass graves, evoking visions of World War II concentration camps and endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Clinton took office in 1992, three months prior to the outbreak of war in Bosnia. Within his speech he mentions the need for America to intervene in a peaceful manner. Instead of sending Americans into war and simply making an internal Yugoslav issues an international one, Clinton looked towards peace initiatives. The Dayton Peace Accords, ratified on December 14th of the same year, were the product Clinton was looking for. He stated following the agreement's announcement, "The people of Bosnia finally have a chance to turn from the horrors of war to the promise of peace."[10]

Under the agreement, NATO, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has the right to remove or relocate specific forces and weapons from any location in the country whenever it determines that they constitute a threat to its troops.[11] With the enforcement of the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) in December of 1995, and its replacement, Stabilization Force (SFOR), NATO has provided the region with a stabilized land. SFOR continues to carry out regular patrols throughout Bosnia Herzegovina to maintain the peace.[12] In 2004, the European Union peacekeeping troops (EUFOR) replaced SFOR and currently deploy around 600 troops to support peace and security.[13]

In 1991, following the outbreak of fighting, The United Nations Security Council, worried for the future enacted Resolution 713. This resolution removed all arms aid from all of the former regions of Yugoslavia. With the enacting, came the rescinding of Bosnia's Article 51 rights to self-defense.[14] Thus, the international community was no longer responsible when it came to intervening in cases such as the Bosnian War. David Barash brings to light a quote from Cicero: "*inter arma silent legis;* in war, the law is silent"[15] Thus, the justification of any war is outside of the view of international law.[16] Barash continues, and expresses the importance of difference between war between 2 states and war between ethnic divisions.

Perhaps Barash could use Bosnian women and the rape culture which surrounded them, and an example of said violence in a war society. His approach is easily understandable, and it shows the flaws within our international world order. We must find a way to provide law and balance in societies which need them the most, often these societies are dealing with a form of war, and often that form is civil war.

Samuel P. Huntington takes on the idea of *A Clash of Civilizations* within his book of the same title. His main argument of "People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations"[17] focuses on cultural characteristics while prove to be distinct in many cases including Bosnia. Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, and Muslims are all major religions where clash is common. These groups have been fighting for centuries. For them to be located in one small, complex region, makes the clash even more traumatic. Huntington's focus on cultural differences is important when looking at Bosnia's war and subsequent genocide and rape culture. These events formed from an ethnic and religious

10   Elaine Sciolino, "ACCORD REACHED TO END THE WAR IN BOSNIA; CLINTON PLEDGES U.S. TROOPS TO KEEP PEACE," The New York Times, November 21, 1995, , accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/22/world/balkan-accord-overview-accord-reached-end-war-bosnia-clinton-pledges-us-troops.html?pagewanted=all.

11   *Ibid*

12   NATO, "Peace support operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina," NATO, , accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52122.htm.

13   "The World Factbook," Central Intelligence Agency, , accessed April 28, 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_bk.html.

14   Gibson A. Moor, "The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Article 51: Inherent Rights and Unmet Responsibilities," *Fordham International Law Journal* 18, no. 3, , accessed April 26, 2017, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/79ca/bd457dc6a3c9758f137c81fbf88cd3d325e4.pdf.

15   David P. Barash, *Approaches to peace: a reader in peace studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). 135

16   *Ibid,* 135

17   Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order IN Approaches To Peace*, ed. David Barash. 48 -54

conflict – a cultural dispute.

Jeffery Sachs brings this concept to light in his work on Eastern European societies. These societies had a rapid transformation in the 1970s and 1980s are the Soviet Union and iron curtain fell. When looking at how women are treated in these different societies, mainly how Bosniak women are considered subordinate to them husbands, it is more than clear how the rape culture came to exist in Bosnia. Aiding Sachs work could be the work of Barbara Geddes, who argues different forms of authoritarian states crumble differently.[18] Not all of the states which collapsed following the fall of communism succeeded, Yugoslavia being one worth arguing, with its deep ethnic conflict and violent crumble.

While these three authors make excellent arguments in terms of how the society of Bosnia could have erupted and lead to such a disastrous situation, they do little when looking at how women were affected by these events. Barash talks of war crimes, but does little on the concept of rape as one. Huntington talks of cultural differences but again, leave much of gender to the reader's imagination. Going further into the gendered lens, we see the argument of Valerie Hudson and Patricia Leidl, Tony Jenkins and Betty Reardon, and Maja Korac whom all offer a better understanding of peace through a gender perspective.

For Hudson and Liedl, the research applied to the United States can also be applied elsewhere. These two believe structural violence occurs due to a skewed sex ratio. While men and women are considered equal in terms of ratio within Bosnia, many of the men hold political positions and are seen as superior to their subordinate wives and daughters. This partially occurs from the Muslim view of women being seen as lesser to men. Do these men, the ones holding political power have the right to make decisions for women who ensued trauma and rape situations? Do these men, most likely the one's whom committed the crime have the right to place women at the bottom of the totem poll, even if the sexes are equal in nature? Why did such structural violence occur in a society with equal statistics?

Interesting enough, when looking at how the Post War Bosnian society corresponds to present issues with gender, we see the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 ratified in 2000.

> The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security (…) it also calls on all parties to conflict **to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict.**[19]

No one wishes to see another Bosnian style war, where Rape is used as a tactic against the enemy. Jenkins and Reardon bring this resolution to life by explaining the multiple forms of sexual violence suffered by women. They go on by expressing this violence, though heightened by war times, can occur during peaceful times as well.

In order for a society to move forward we must initiate a world where men and women are seen as equal. Jenkins and Reardon focus on how rape can still occur even in times of peace, which is agreeable, however, when it is intertwined with war, the trauma can become much greater.

Maja Korac offers the most in-depth argument for gender equality, especially in a society like the former Yugoslav countries. While she focuses on religion and ethnicity as well in her argument, the main takeaway is the concept of building and bridging. This is easily the most effective argument for a society like Bosnia. Korac argues we must work on bridging the societies of different backgrounds.[20] This will ultimately bring them closer to one another and provide them with better tools to be successful than bonding societies which are similar to

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18   Lisa Baglione, Saint Joseph's University, War and Peace Lecture Notes, Friday, March 31st, 2017

19   "Landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security (Security Council resolution 1325)," United Nations, , accessed April 28, 2017, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/.

20   Maja Korac, *"Gender, Conflict, & Social Capital,"* IN *Peace and conflict studies: a reader*, ed. Charles Webel and Jørgen Johansen (London: Routledge, 2012). 409-421

begin with. If we can learn from Bosnia, where women and men from different groups have come together over time, we can find a success story. In comparison, if we focus to much of differences and only wish to discuss action with those similar in nature to us, where will it lead us? Down the same path?

The Dayton Peace Accords and the stabilization of Bosnia Herzegovina by NATO is important when looking at the conflict head on. However, it is imperative to recall the rights of women which were brushed upon, and nearly forgotten about in terms of the trauma they ensued and the wounds they have taken for their country. While some of the authors we have read for our course complete this task, others go much further down the gender path, which is imperative when looking at a case such as Bosnia. What went wrong in the Accords and subsequent constitution of Bosnia Herzegovina lacked a structure which could make the state gender equal. The focus was on the ethnic origin of people, rather than their gender.[21] The lasting effects women have faced as a result of this war, are outstanding.

While Bosnia has moved on from its past, the conflict on the 1990s continues to haunt many. Much more divided now, and with a significant less number of civilians intermingling with one another, Bosnia is dealing with worse hate than just after the war.[22] However, while this hate is being suppressed, and not acted out in the manor it once was, it is still quite haunting to think about. We have seen societies who dealt with genocide, such as Germany rise from the ashes and conquer again. We have also seen societies such as Rwanda where ethnic tensions still exist. We must learn from these cases the importance of genocide as a maker of history. We must continue to learn about the rape culture and uniqueness of Bosnia in terms of genocide. Kadefa Rizvanović pleads with society and the younger generations to never forget what happened in both Srebrenica and throughout Bosnia. She agrees it is imperative to discuss what occurred and be open about it. Time can only tell what will happen in Bosnia Herzegovina. Still an open wound 22 years later, the scar which will replace takes time to toughen, and it seems Bosnia can learn from past examples and move forward – united as one, with equality on the mind for the women whom barred the front of the war.

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21   Malin Ekerstedt, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: A peace that failed women," Kvinna till Kvinna – works for peace and gender equality, , accessed April 26, 2017, http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/2015/12/11/bosnia-and-herzegovina-a-peace-that-failed-women/.

22   Julian Borger, "Bosnian war 20 years on: peace holds but conflict continues to haunt," The Guardian, April 04, 2012, , accessed April 26, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/apr/04/bosnian-war-20-years-on.

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Russia and Chechnya: Why Negative Peace was the "Only" Option
Christian Bills

The twentieth century will be remembered as a century of peace forged on the back of incredible violence and conflicts which led to fall of dynasties and empires and gave birth to new nations and new global powers. Examples of these horrific chapters include World Wars I & II, Korea, and Vietnam which serve as evidence that humans can create death on an industrial scale. However, the latter half of the 20th century gave rise to ideological struggle between Western Democracies and that of the Communist east in what would be known as the Cold War. This standoff between the two great powers, i.e. the USSR and the United States, would force the world to face the possibility of nuclear destruction as the threat of mutually assured destruction and nuclear proliferation hung over the world like an ominous shadow of death. This fear of death was not limited to the loss of human life, but also that of the loss of culture, history, and ideology. Therefore, this fear of violence and global annihilation led many scholars, such as Charles P. Webel, Joseph Galtung, Alessandra Stanley, and numerous others to the stand and preached a new message, one of peace and stability. They believed that the use of violence and showing of strength were not the only methods of establishing peace in the world. This seemed possible as technology progressed, helping to erase borders which allowed for countries to become more globalized and interconnected through trade, military alliances, and communication. However, 28 years after the conclusion of the Cold War the creation of new and more complex global peace issues permitted the belief that matters of political unrest, acts of rebellion, or violence could be resolved through the implementation of what has become known as *Negative Peace,* or the use of military action or hard power as means of eliminating conflict between two actors.

The inability of the world to utilize non-violent methods has led to a series of toxic and fragile peace agreements in areas such as the Middle East, (i.e. Iraq, Iran, and Israel), Southeast Asia (Bangladesh and Vietnam), the horn of Africa, (Somalia) and the European Caucasus (Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia). However, one the most famous and interesting case studies of this is the conflict between the Russians and Chechens during the 1990's. The causation for the outbreak of war in Chechnya is the result of a long and oppressive history thanks to Tsarist and Communist Governments of Russia. Yet in 1991 with the election of Boris Yeltsin it appeared that Chechnya would at last be able to achieve independence. Then in 1994, in the wake of Chechnya making full independence claims to the Russian government, Russia launched a three-pronged assault toward the capital of the region, Grozny. This action would prove to be fatal for Yeltsin and military as widespread distain of the conflict quickly spread throughout the country. This use of military force to refute political/military opposition in Chechnya serves as a prime example of the implementation of Negative Peace, as Yeltsin sought to use force to achieve his objectives. The reasons for the lack of positive peace, or the lack of diplomatic or liberal institutional methods as means of conflict resolution, aligns with the history of violence and oppression of the Chechen people. This the lack of political freedom and failure to act by international institutions, such as the European Union or the United Nations, as well as the use of violence to establish negative peace combined to make it extremely unlikely that positive peace methods would be introduced to the region.

The use of force to repress violence between the Russians and Chechens is not a new headline. In fact, the use of force can trace its root back to the 16th century where atrocities such as rape, murder, and plundering of villages and communities, were regularly committed by Tsar Ivan the Terrible as he attempted to conquer Europe and the Middle East. Yet as the centuries passed the relationship between the Chechens and Russians only grew worse. There are numerous examples of this troubling relationship exploding into conflict, some of the most infamous are the Caucasian War, the Russo-Circassian War in the west, and the Murid War in the east of the region. During these conflicts bitterness between the two actors only worsened as the Russian government continued to view Chechnya as region of rebellion and needed to be dominated, while the Chechens saw the Russians as oppressors who viewed them as second-class citizens. The aftermath of these conflicts, and those numerous not mentioned, left deep scares as evidence that the Russians committed genocide, violence, exile, and barbarism against the native Chechens. This eventually climaxed in the 1990's with what would become known as the Chechen wars. The first Chechen war began in 1994-1996 as the Chechen people attempted to succeed from the failed Soviet Union to be a new sovereign state. This led to thousands of deaths, which

included the thousands of civilians who were caught in the cross fire between Russian troops and Independence soldiers. Along with the bloodshed the fighting resulted in the destruction of vast amounts of infrastructure, as well as the expenditure of billions of dollars, which a rebuilding country such as Russia could hardly afford. Finally, after two years of intense fighting it seemed that this conflict had finally opened the eyes of the Russian government in resolving the issues between the two actors. Political scholar James Hughes argued that Russia had finally come to grips with the "ineffectiveness of colonial methods to solve ethno-political problem, and understood the impossibility of thrusting its will on even small ethnic group, when the group's majority was ready to defend its own interests with weapons in hand."[1] However, in 1999 military action returned to Chechnya with the implementation of the new anti-terror strategy entitled by Hughes as "Operation for the Neutralization of Terrorism."[2]

Immediately it was realized that the "Operation for the Neutralization of Terrorism" served as the magnification of the "obstinacy of Russian government authorities, who adopted the goal of military victory, led to the deaths of 30,000 Chechens at minimum, and 4,300 Russian soldiers."[3] The use of military action and forcing someone to come to the negotiation table falls under what political scholar Joseph Galtung calls Negative Peace. Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician, and the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, argued that "the absence of direct violence between states, engaged in by military and others in general; and the absence of massive killing of categories of humans in particular."[4] While Galtung asserts that this is better than violence it " is not fully peaceful, because positive peace is missing in this conceptualization."[5] An example of this came on 25 May, 1995 when "Internationally mediated peace talks between Russia and Chechen leaders were suspended today after about four house of conversation in which both sides appeared to restate old positions. The talks, held in the ruined Chechen capital, Grozny, are the first serious effort to find a peaceful solution to Chechnya's future in the Russian Federation since the Russian Army invaded the republic on Dec. 11 to crush its secession drive."[6] This example revealed the fragileness of negative peace, as it allowed for the peace to be removed during the withdrawal of violence which was crucial for the sustainment of peace.

Despite the evident flaws in the plan to continue to use negative peace a few efforts were made by Russian Leader Boris Yeltsin and his Chechen counterpart Aslan Aliyevich Maskhadov, who happened to be the former military and independence leader in Chechnya, to end hostilities through positive peace methods. At one time it even seemed possible with the signing of a peace treaty that Yeltsin claimed would put "a full stop to 400 years of history."[7] This treaty was a momentous step for Chechnya as the resolution cleared the way for economic and social opportunity as well as giving autonomy to the newly succeeded Republic and its newly democratically elected President, Maskhadov. Unfortunately, this would once again prove to be a fallacy as the makeshift peace would be undercut using violence and alternative negative peace methods. This was the result of instability and limited success under Maskhadov which permitted the Russian government to once again force its will into Chechnya. One of the most famous examples of this throughout the Chechen Wars would be introduced as the threat of international terrorism grew, especially following the apartment bombings in Russian that killed nearly 300 hundred people. These bombings were strategically selected within four apartment blocks in the Russian cities of Buynaksk, Moscow and Volgodonsk in September 1999. The result of these acts of terror would be 293 killed and more than 1000 people injured sending a wave of fear across the country. The leaders in Moscow would cite terrorist activity from the province as a threat to national security as they reignited the conflict with the Chechens. It should be noted that that the United States responded in a similar manner following the 9/11 terrorist attack. Even though the 9/11 attacks were on a grander scale the ideology behind both were generally the same as they both sought to strike pain and fear against a global power. Regardless both nations elected to respond with military force designed to seek out and eliminate the threat. As

1   James Hughes, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad; Chechnya and the meaning of terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 27.

2   Hughes, 29.

3   Alexander Cherkasov and Tanaya Lokshina, *Chechnya: 10 Years of Armed Conflict* (Helsinki Finland: Helsinki Monitor, 2005) 6.

4   Joseph Galtung, *Peace and Conflict Studies – Positive and negative peace* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 75.

5   Galtung, 75.

6   Steven Erlanger, "Peace Talks in Chechnya Suspended," *New York Times*, May 26, 1995, http://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/26/world/peace-talks-in-chechnya-suspended.html.

7   Alessandra Stanley, "Yeltsin Signs Peace Treaty With Chechnya," *New York Times,* May 13, 1997,http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/13/world/yeltsin-signs-peace-treaty-with-chechnya.html.

a result, negative peace would be utilized first as the Russian government officially launched its own version of the war on terror, the "Operation for the Neutralization of Terrorism'. Officials defended the use of the military stating it was a "Good War," against the 'murders and villains against the state' and therefore served as a "justifiable act of self-defense with the noble aim of protecting human rights from the evil"[8] directed against a threat that could potentially wreak havoc if left alone.

While Russia returned to using violence and military operations to restore peace to Chechnya many scholars debated why positive peace methods were not successful. Some scholars argue that one of the most basic reasons for this was the simple fact that Russia did not see the positive peace means as beneficial to their cause. The term positive peace, defined by Charles Webel, is the "the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, equity, and etc."[9] This form of peace supports "the goal to build a structure based on reciprocity, equal rights, benefits, and dignity, 'what you want for yourself you should also be willing to give to the Other'; and a culture of peace, confirming and stimulating and equitable economy and an equal polity."[10] However, in the years following the end of the Cold War the Russian government had a very different perspective of how to achieve peace and regain power without making any concessions. In simple terms losing Chechnya would have been a disaster for the Russian government as that portion of Caucasus offers a wealth of resources and access to the Middle East. For these reasons the Russian government was determined to reclaim and retain Chechnya, at all costs.

Due to relying on force to create peace this only deepened the divide between the already estranged actors. As a result, two of the most important aspects of positive peace, bridging and bonding, are eliminated. Maja Korac, political scholar and author of *Peace and Conflict Studies – Gender, conflict, and social capital*, defines bridging as "bringing people of opposite sides together,"[11] an example being people from religious groups such as Muslims or Orthodox Christian, while forging connections through "building on people with similar features and ideologies."[12] Korac supports her arguments by analyzing the importance of the two positive peace tools in her study of Gender, conflict, and social capital in the aftermath of the war in the former Yugoslavia. She explains that in situations, like that in Chechnya, cross-ethnic bridges and ethnic bonds are critical in for naturalizing trust and forming stable relationships. For Russian and Chechnya this would have been incredibly difficult to achieve as the foundation of trust was already strained or non-existent due to the centuries of oppression of racial and religious minorities. For example, the most practiced religion in Chechnya is Islam, while the most widely practiced religion in Russia is Orthodox Christianity. This ideological divide subverts the ability to find common ground which is crucial in leading to positive peace procedures. The combination of little ethnic and ideological unity between the Chechens and Russians inevitably led to the competitions of two different forms of nationalism, one Russian, one Chechen. In addition to this both sides created "a lot of war propaganda to recreate 'national enemies' and develop paranoia within the collectives"[13] that depicted the opposing sides as the enemy of peace.

Even though it was unlikely that the Russians and Chechens would be able to find ways overcome their violent history it was not because of a lack of effort, it was because there was almost no effort. For the Russians positive peace meant the loss of their provinces, their direct access to the middle east, and would appear to become even weaker in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union and the failure of the Communist system. While the Chechens would only receive partial autonomy, meaning they would be a territory which would govern itself, but would be obligated to comply with Russian laws and military action. This compromise satisfied neither party's conditions therefore limiting the possibility of positive peace even further. Scholar and author Joseph Grieco contends in his writing *Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal institutionalism,* that even if cooperation between states could evolve the relationship would remain open to subversive action. Kenneth Waltz, political theorist and author of *Theory of International Politics Anarchic Structures and Balances of Power,* supports this argument contending "that it does not matter how great the gains are for a particular actor, all that matter is that "you" are more powerful than the other actor or powers."[14] The Russian government elected to use military force as means to achieve their goals while at the

8   Noam Chomsky, *Peace and Conflict Studies – "The evil scourge of terrorism"* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 196.

9   Charles P. Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies – Thinking Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 65.

10   Galtung, 74.

11   Maja Korac, *Peace and Conflict Studies – Gender, conflict, and social capital* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 410.

12   Korac, 411.

13   Korac, 413.

14   Kenneth Waltz. *Theory of International Politics – Anarchic Structures and Balances of Power.* (Reading, Ma. Menlo Park, Ca. England,

same time not appearing to be the aggressor in the situation. Also, intervention and repression of Chechen rebels to achieve "peace" provided a stage for the Russians to rebuild their prestige that they had lost because of the Cold War. This was incredibly important to the Russians as they view prestige as the "shadow cast by power, or the indispensable source of power."[15]

   While the Russians and the Chechens continued to use negative peace as means of resolving their problems it raises the questions where was the United Nations? By permitting the use of negative peace it justified the use of force for future conflicts. Examples of this can been seen today as the UN and other international institutions permit the use of negative peace as opposed to positive peace measure (i.e. Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Afghanistan). All these situations have resulted in one of two possibilities. The best case is what we witnessed in Chechnya, a fragile peace being held together by hard power, and a strong military presence. The more common scenario is the failure of the state attempting to use negative peace resulting in anarchy or a broken state, like what we see in Syria and Iraq. By looking through a *realist* perspective "international anarchy fosters competition and conflict among states and inhibits their willingness to cooperate even when they share common interests. Realist theory also argues that international institutions are unable to mitigate anarchy's constraining effects on inter-state cooperation. Realism, then presents a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions as nations are likely to utilize violence to achieve their goals, which under a realist understand would result in the use of military force.[16] However, Grieco does acknowledge that "realism overemphasizes conflict and underestimate the capacities of international institutions to promote cooperation."[17] Grieco is not alone in his beliefs that many nations rely on conflict too much to establish peace. Yet this still does not deter states, like Russia or the United States, from using it when they find themselves in difficult circumstances. This is the result of negative peace becoming justified in an age when every move is recorded and used as the marker for what can and cannot be done on. Even in the case of Chechnya when the world watched as bombs fell again it remained hesitant to react as Russian officials argued that if NATO could bomb hostile targets in the former Yugoslavia state why was Russia not?"[18]

   The use of negative peace as means of achieving a stable and peaceful society are drastically inferior to that of positive peace. However, the road to getting to peace is much more difficult when positive peace protocols are employed. The history between the actors must be overcome to allow for bridging and bonding to occur, otherwise the relationship between the two groups will continue to fester and the likelihood of healing and reconciling becomes very low. The political will must be in alignment with benefits the actors want to achieve. The inability to agree on terms proved to be a serious road block to the Chechens and the Russians as they were unable to find common ground at the negotiation table. Finally, international institutions must be able to hold states accountable who use negative peace methods, as well as actively participating in the promotion of positive peace as to avoid another Chechen War. By turning a blind eye to the use of military force the institutions lose legitimacy and power as peace keeping institutions. A current reflection of this is the involvement in the Syrian civil war as Russia backed and used military force to suppress an opposition force to bring the conflict to an end.

Canada, Australia: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979) 92.

15   Youngho Kim. "Does Prestige Matter in International Politics?" *Journal of International and Area Studies,* 11, no. 1 (June 2004): 42, 28-04-2017 15:13 UTC

16   Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal institutionalism," *International Organization,* 42, no. 3 (summer, 1988): 488, 22-02-2017 16:06 UTC.

17   Grieco, 489.

18   Hughes, 22.

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A Soviet Grip Retired, A Russian Grip Reignited:

Holodomor's Influennce on Current Ukrainian and Russian Relations
Katherine Anthony

Fear and power; two of the major components which are often brought to light in authoritarian societies. The Soviet Union was built on fundamental communist ideals, believed in the long run to be more beneficial than the capitalist global community present at the time. Joseph Stalin's attacks on fellow Soviet republics throughout the 1930s, specifically Ukraine, can be seen as an image of both fear and power. Stalin found himself fearful of a possible Ukrainian uprising and in order to rid himself of such a problem, projected fearful grips of power over the region. 100 years after its founding in 1917, The Soviet Union no longer exists. Instead, the brain behind the Union is sovereign from its sibling republics. The Russian Federation under the guidance of Vladimir Putin, still giant in size, has thrown its back out trying to regain the superpower the Soviet Union.

Holodomor; Ukrainian for "death by hunger", has been a point of contention between Russia and Ukraine, especially following the Soviet Union's collapse. Scholars have bounced back and forth when concerned over the number of deaths the 1933 event produced. numbers have settled between three and ten million people at the hands of the Soviet Union. Today, the famine has received fabricated views from the perpetrator while the oppressed give it the name of genocide following the creation of the United Nations' Genocide Convention produced definition in response to the Holocaust. Holodomor has put a large strain on current Ukrainian and Russian relations including the rise of the Orange movement in 2004, President Viktor Yanukovych's relationship with Vladimir Putin, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2014.

When a claim is made of "history repeating itself" it is often looking at bullet point, big named events, printed over and over as a warning for the future. However, it is rare for this form of history to even be recorded without a political gaze applied. Arch Puddington, a distinguished fellow for *Freedom House,* a bipartisan think tank born out of World War II, makes an argument of the 21st century revisiting authoritarian characteristics seen in Stalin's time is imperative to this analysis. Ideological phases are as if we are riding a wave: once authoritarian, followed by democratic, but always with a chance of an authoritarian return.[1] Up until 1917 we lived in a world where democracy, monarchy, and empire worked together as one. The Soviet Union's birth one hundred years ago allowed for a new view to take the spotlight. The authoritative characteristics the Union's government carried allowed for a change in ideology.

Nationalism was another force to be reckoned with during this period. Empires were crumbling left and right - the Ottoman, Austria-Hungarian, and Russian empires crumbled into dust during the course of World War I. The Interwar period allowed for smaller nation states such as the Baltics and Poland to gain independence. However, it would not last - the looming Soviet Union would soon encapsulate them - allowing for an authoritarian regime to become one of the largest powers in the world.

1991 saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, and with it - a bipolar sphere shared with the capitalist West. It is unclear between scholars when authoritarianism returned, but for the purpose of this paper the date will fall in 2000, when Putin became president of the Russian Federation. Just like Puddington stated - a wave will always find its way back up and back down.

In 1922 a letter to Vyacheslav Molotov from Vladimir Lenin spoke with force: "We must teach these people [Ukrainians] a lesson right now, so that they will never dare to think of resistance in coming decades"[2] Fast forward 92 years to 2014, President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation has decided to annex Crimea, the peninsula of Ukraine settled in the Black Sea.

> We hoped that Russian citizens and Russian speakers in Ukraine, especially its southeast and Crimea, would live in a friendly, democratic and civilized state that would protect their rights in line with the norms of international law. However, this is not how the situation developed. Time and time again attempts were made to deprive Russians of their historical memory, even of their

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1   Arch Puddington. "Breaking Down Democracy: Goals, Strategies, and Methods of Modern Authoritarians." Freedom House, June 2017.

2   From a speech by Vladimir Lenin. Applebaum, Anne. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 56

language and to subject them to forced assimilation.[3]

Although different in text, the two leaders, whose only difference consists of a name change from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation, share a similar tone. Both Lenin and Putin push to show authority over their once known as "little brother" of Ukraine. Lenin used a political approach, exerting strength over a smaller piece of territory whom had already folded to the Red Army. Putin uses emotional leverage on an anxious global audience, claiming the region of Crimea is still considered a part of greater Russia, with plans to only 'liberate' ethnic Russians. Statements often come with action, these two were no different. Lenin died in 1924, but his plans were not thrown away. Joseph Stalin pushed the Soviet Union further into a system marking Ukraine as an enemy to the Soviet Union. From 1932-1933, Stalin would impose a man-made famine throughout the entirety of the Ukrainian region which would become known as Holodomor. In 2014, Putin would not only annex Crimea, but bring war to the Eastern half of Ukraine.

In order to secure a form of peace approved by Stalin which also fulfilled Lenin's wishes, Soviet officials began to suppress Ukrainian language, religion, and culture. While this russification had worked previously in other republics, Ukraine refused to accept the changes. No amount of suppression, arrests and deportations, or invasions would stop Ukrainians from rebelling against their aggressor. Fear and power, Stalin did not hide the connection between his fear of losing and his power-hungry thirst. In August 1932, a letter was sent on his behalf to Lazar Kaganovich, one of Stalin's main associates, which stated among other things, a belief of Ukrainian leadership not supporting the Soviet movement, and it needing to be replaced.[4] This statement can be perceived as very vague, one of Stalin's specialties. Events took a drastic, yet not surprising turn with the harvest of 1932. The outbreak of famine due to Soviet control over the collection of grain could be described as an act of vengeance. While Ukrainians found themselves with nothing to eat, some even turning to cannibalism to make ends meet, the rest of the USSR took on the approaching winter with a full stomach. Ukraine's harvest was nothing close to disappointing, as one might assume, the grain was just simply shipped before reaching any Ukrainian civilians.[5] An estimated ten million people were killed due to this act of vengeance. For those who did survive, the events still haunt them daily.

In 1948, the United Nations defined genocide following the atrocities of the Holocaust:

> Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[6]

Joseph Stalin clearly held intent on teaching Ukraine a lesson. His lesson resulted in the deaths of millions, and has caused severe bodily and mental harm to survivors. The most important takeaway from this definition: *deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life*, is a direct summary of Stalin's actions in Ukraine where food was forcibly removed. Interestingly enough, Joseph Stalin allowed for the Soviet Union's signature on the genocide convention in 1948 and its effective date of 1951. If Soviet officials knew of Stalin's action in Ukraine throughout 1932-33, why would this signing occur? For one, Ukraine was still a piece of the Soviet Union, and with the UN Security Council permanent inclusion of the superpower, any action described as genocide would either be overlooked or vetoed. The famine fits perfectly into the original definition of genocide...But during the United Nations debate about the genocide convention in the 1940s, the Soviet delegation altered the legal

3   Vladimir Putin, "Address by President Putin of the Russian Federation," (March 18, 2014) http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603 Accessed December 2nd, 2017

4   Ruslan Pyrih,, and Stephen Bandera. *Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine: documents and materials*. Kyiv: Kyiv Mohyla Academy Publishing Press, 2008. 47-49

5   Gareth Jones, "Reds Let Peasants Starve. Famine Found Even in Large City in Ukraine". "Famine Exposure." Gareth Jones Soviet Union Newspaper Articles 1930-33. Accessed November 30, 2017. http://www.garethjones.org/soviet_articles/soviet_articles.htm.

6   Analysis Framework. Report. Office of The UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG), The United Nations.

definition precisely in order to avoid the inclusion of the famine.[7]

Similar strategies are used today when revisiting Holodomor. The Russian Federation holds the Soviet spot on the council, and even goes as far as to say the actions imposed by Soviet government were not their responsibility – the story Putin has stuck by.[8] Interesting enough, other events under Stalin and the Soviet Union have been ignored or denied by Russians and Putin.

From April to May, 1940 the Soviet secret police, titled the NKVD killed approximately 22,000 people - a majority of them Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. The blame was placed on Nazi Germany, but the Polish and now the West, know the events were caused by Soviet officials. It is also speculated that Polish president, Lech Kaczyński's plane, which was downed near the forest in 2010 when he was on his way to make a speech to commemorate the victims was caused by the Russian Government.[9] These accusations have been repeatedly denied by the Russian Government and Putin.

Taking a look back at Ukraine, Ukrainians have pushed for recognition towards the tragic events which spread throughout not only the 1930s, but the remaining period where they were considered part of the Soviet Union. While they have received a significant amount of support from the global community, the perpetrator has yet to be charged with any counts of genocide. Even with the inclusion of documents and accounts following the fall of the Soviet Union, debate has rarely turned towards charges.

Dr. Gregory Stanton founder of *Genocide Watch,* published his *Eight Stages of Genocide* in 1986. He has since added two more stages to the document. The *Ten Stages* aid the Ukrainian claim that Holodomor's existence is in fact genocide. Stage one begins with *classification*. Ukrainians were the "them" to the superior Russian "us". Both Slavs, the Ukrainians homeland was where the first Slavs call home. In order for Soviets to claim this area as their own they *organized* a famine. *preparation* took place as Ukranians continued to farm and grow for the harvest. The Soviet imposed government in Ukraine would then take these crops away from the Ukrainians and give them to the other republics. This action led to *extermination,* and finally, *denial.[10]* Stanton continues in another publication:

> Mass murder by starvation has been a method of genocide for centuries, perfected by the Turks in Armenia in 1915 and by Stalin in 1933 Ukraine (...) It is a shrewd strategy because death comes slowly and denial is easy. All a government need do is arm and support militias, which drive a self-sufficient people off their land through terror; herd them into displaced persons and refugee camps; then systematically impede aid from getting to them, letting them slowly die of starvation and disease. The deaths can then be blamed on "famine," "disease", "ancient tribal conflicts," or "civil war," or most cynically, "failure of the international community to provide needed relief."[11]

The Soviet Union placed fear into the minds of those who knew anything about the Famine. Poland had extensive knowledge, yet was silenced by a non-aggression pact signed in 1932 with the Soviet Union. Again, the tactic of using fear to gain power comes into play. The Soviets would divide Poland with Nazi Germany in 1939.

Stalin's tactics to not only produce a famine but to be able to cover it up for an extensive period of time is telling. His actions are not far off from Putin's today. The events in Chechnya allow for a strong comparison. Over the course of two wars, the Russians have put down rebels in Chechnya. However, in April of 2017, reports became public detailing torture of gay men who were considered "enemies of our faith and motherland".[12] Putin has shrugged off these allegations and thus, allowed for them to quickly disappear from

7   Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*. New York: Penguin Random House LLC. 355

8   "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." Convention on Genocide. Accessed December 1, 2017. http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html.

9   Sanford, George. *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940 Truth, Justice and Memory*. Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis, 2014. 194

10   Stanton, Gregory. "The Ten Stages of Genocide" Genocide Watch - Prevention, Analysis, Advocacy and Action. Accessed November 23, 2017. http://www.genocidewatch.com/ten-stages-of-genocide.

11   Stanton, Gregory. "Twelve Ways To Deny Genocide." Genocide Watch - Prevention, Analysis, Advocacy and Action. Accessed November 23, 2017. http://www.genocidewatch.com/twelve-ways-to-deny-genocide.

12   "As Chechnya Tortures and Kills Gay Men, Putin Shrugs." The Washington Post. April 24, 2017. Accessed December 01, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/as-chechnya-tortures-and-kills-gay-men-putin-shrugs/2017/04/24/12f6a9b0-2697-11e7-b503-9d616bd5a305_story.html?utm_term=.db7724ffa38f.

mainstream media. The master manipulation of the Russian president is a mirror image of Stalin's actions. When we look at Putin and Ukraine, the captivating idea of Ukraine simply being a "little brother" in the eyes of Russia has helped Putin keep his wish for further superpower status advancement alive. Putin has proven his power over this little brother through multiple strikes.

In 2010, Viktor Yanukovych, was elected president of Ukraine following a defeat in 2004 which triggered the "Orange Revolution" of 2004 where middle class Ukrainians attacked Yanukovych and accused him of rigging the election in order for a win. A big fear behind the possibility of him being elected was his strong ties to Russia and Putin. Although he did not win in 2004, he was successful in 2010. Yanukovych's statements about Ukrainian history are quite concerning, as they seem to oppose Ukrainian nationalism in favor for a friendly neighbor in Russia. Yanukovych said the following concerning the 1932 famine: "Holodomor took place, was denounced and the international society gave an evaluation of the famine, but it was never labeled as a genocide of the Ukrainian people. Ukraine's attempts to do so by blaming one of our neighbors are unjust."[13] He continued throughout his presidency to state: "The Holodomor was in Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. It was the result of Stalin's totalitarian regime. But it would be wrong and unfair to recognize the Holodomor as an act of genocide against one nation."[14] Yanukovych's misinterpretation of Ukrainian history as the *president* of Ukraine, sealed his fate among other poor decisions like the suspension of Ukraine's pending entrance into the European Union. In February 2014, he was removed office by his own party with a warrant out for his arrest. He is currently in exile, within the Ukrainian enemy – Russia.

In March 2014, Vladimir Putin annexed the peninsula of Crimea, allowing for a Russian warm water port in the Black Sea. 2 days following Yanukovych's departure, Putin placed "little green men", Russian soldiers without any form of identification, into Crimea. The next day government buildings were seized and placed under Russian control. A self-declared "pro-Russian" government stated it would hold an independence referendum to determine if Crimea would remain part of Ukraine or become a part of a Russia. Putin spun the story as a way which depicted Russia as the savior to fleeing Ukrainians. When the annexation became official following the referendum, Putin wasted no time to push his superpower status.

The Levada Center, a Russian independent research center, polled urban and rural settings in Russia following the annexation. Many placed Russia in the right and Ukraine in the wrong concerning the events.[15] The War in Donbass, Eastern Ukraine, is ongoing and unrest among civilians has reached a high level. The Levada Center polled over half of the same population from the previous survey claiming a cease fire should not be awards in favor of Kiev, and Donetsk and Luhansk should become independent.[16] The view of Ukraine from Russian citizens has become more opposed than any time since the cold war ended in 1991. Putin's way of spinning media contributes to this.

Current relations between Ukraine and Russia are still foggy, however they have always been foggy, never fully clearing up in one way or another. With the advancement of Vladimir Putin and Russia into sovereign Ukraine, tension has grown to levels similar to the 1930s when both states were joined under Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union. Even at this time, Russia was the brain of the Soviet Union, while Ukraine was simply a supplier. They were not equal with Ukraine always being seen as the "little brother" of Russia. The "little brother" metaphor can be seen today. Putin pushes for power over Ukraine and allows for Russian media to show Russia as the powerful, protective, big brother. The actions of Vladimir Putin are mirrors of Joseph Stalin during the 1932-33 Famine. Manipulation of media, global community or land is the most crucial tactic in connecting these time periods. In March 2018 Russia will hold a presidential election. It is highly likely Mr. Putin will return as president until 2024, allowing for 6 more years of chaos between neighbors and 'siblings'. Timothy Snyder claims in his 2017 publication *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century:*

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13   "Ukraine must not blame neighbors for famine - Yanukovych." Sputnik International. January 16, 2010. Accessed December 03, 2017. https://sputniknews.com/world/20100116157568707/.

14   "Yanukovych: Famine of 1930s was not genocide against Ukrainians." Kyiv Post. April 27, 2010. Accessed December 03, 2017. https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/yanukovych-famine-of-1930s-was-not-genocide-agains-65137.html.

15   "Russia-Ukraine relations in light of the Ukraine crisis." Levada Center. October 13, 2014. Accessed December 9, 2017. https://www.levada.ru/en/2014/10/13/russia-ukraine-relations-in-light-of-the-ukraine-crisis/.

16   "Ceasefire in Eastern Ukraine." Levada Center. October 13, 2014. Accessed December 10, 2017. https://www.levada.ru/en/2014/10/13/ceasefire-in-eastern-ukraine/.

"History can familiarize, and it can warn".[17] The previous actions of Vladimir Putin throughout the Twenty-First Century should not go unnoticed. They are destined to return in some manner. If current relations, not only the war and crisis over Eastern Ukraine and Crimea have any difference to Holodomor, it come from the global community. Ukraine has the backing of a majority of the world, unlike post war 20th century Europe's response to Ukrainian proclaimed genocide. Although 10 million lives cannot be returned, at least Ukraine has out shadowed the status of a liar Soviets hoped to give them.

17   Snyder, Timothy. *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017.

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Ukraine or Russia: What is the Difference?
Ruth Zeigler

Ukraine or Russia: What is the Difference?

Since their formal separation from Russia in 1991, Ukraine has tried to separate from Russian ties and move in a more European direction by creating deals with the European Union. However, this has not been easy. Ukraine had been divided long before the crisis. Much of the eastern part of Ukraine was part of the Russian empire while the western half fell into the Austria-Hungary region[1]. With a stand-off between the Ukrainian government and pro-Russian insurgents, Ukraine, within the last three years, has spiraled into a civil war that has turned east against west. Through understanding the conflict itself, the history of Ukraine-Russia relations, and the international relations paradigms of the crisis, it is clear the need for action and attention in the region.

In the realm of international relations, an actor is a leader, state, or organization involved in situation, for example Ukraine and NATO. Once a former Soviet Union territory, Ukraine became an independent state in 1991. Since then, major political revolutions, most notably the Orange Revolution (2004 & 2006), has made Ukraine's start towards a stable government problematic[2]. Dating back to the 12th century, Russia has been an actor for as long the world can remember. Russia currently is also a semi-presidential republic with strong Communist ideals[3] North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded in 1949 is a political and military alliance between twenty-eight countries[4].

In November 2013, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych had told the people of Ukraine that he would sign a deal with the European Union[5]. The deal would have created stronger ties between Ukraine and the EU and allowed the release of opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko for medical treatment[6]Instead, President Yanukovych agrees to have stronger ties with Russia and the Eurasian Union. Protesters gathered in Kiev in protest and by the end of November, 100,000 protesters filled the Maidan (Independence) Square. In early December, the number rose to 800,000 protesters[7]. During this time, Russia agrees to give Ukraine fifteen billion dollars and cut gas prices to make peace with the demonstrators[8]. The compromise only made the outbursts grow larger. In response to the increase of violence, the Ukrainian government passed anti-protest laws in January 2014[9]. Tensions continue to climb until they reached the breaking point on February 20, 2014. Clashes between government forces and activists left over one hundred people dead and numerous more wounded. President Yanukovych fled the city shortly after to a Russian sympathetic city, Kharkiv[10]. With Yanukovych's absence, protesters stormed government buildings and began the process of rebuilding the state, setting up a new leader and ban Russian as the secondary language.

Meanwhile, in Crimea, located in southern Ukraine, pro-Russian supporters took the key Crimean city Simferopol while thousands of unmarked Russian troops or as the news outlets in Ukraine called them "Little Green Men" came in hordes to the peninsula at the request of President Vladimir Putin. In an abrupt referendum on March 16th, 90% of Crimea's population voted to annex themselves from Ukraine. Russia passed a law including Crimea in the Russian Federation on March 18th[11]. Protesters acted similarly in the eastern Ukrainian

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1   Eve Conant "How History, Geography Help Explain Ukraine's Political Crisis" National Geographic, January 31, 2014.

2   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" BBC News November 13, 2014.

3   CIA World Fact Book "Russia" Central Intelligence Agency 2018.

4   NATO "A Short History of NATO" North Atlantic Treaty Organization March 9, 2018.

5   Foreign Staff "Ukraine Crisis: timeline of major events" The Telegraph March 5, 2015.

6   David Stern "Ukraine suspends preparations for EU trade agreement" BBC News November 21, 2013.

7   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

8   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement key points" BBC News February 12, 2015

9   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

10   Nick Thompson "Ukraine: Everything you need to know about how we got here" CNN News February 3, 2017, Phil Black, Victoria Butenko, Chelsea J. Carter "Ukraine president calls efforts to push him out of office a 'coup'" CNN News February 22, 2014.

11   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014, Thompson "Ukraine: Everything you need" 2016.

cities Donetsk and Luhansk. On April 7th, both cities held independence referendums[12]. Pro-Russian rebels began taking cities along the eastern border of Ukraine such as Kharkiv, Donetsk, and Luhansk. In April 2014, the Ukrainian government sent military forces to regain what had been taken by the rebels[13]. On April 17, the U.S. Ukraine, Russia, and EU agreed to have a discussion that would help destabilize the region. At the same time, the first three casualties on the eastern front were reported in Mariupol. The violence only escalated as protestors on both sides clashed in Odessa, leaving forty-two people dead.

A possible ray of light for the Ukrainian people were the elections in May 2015. Petro Poroshenko, a tycoon in the candy industry, won the presidential election as the pro-West candidate. Pro-Russian sympathizers were accused of preventing citizens to vote in the election. After taking office, Poroshenko met with President Putin and other world leaders in order to find the best solution to the crisis[14]. Another momentous event followed soon after as President Poroshenko signed the EU deal which had been one of the main catalysts in the birth of the Ukrainian uprisings. It would seem that this would be a small but important step towards peace, but this agreement would only be overshadowed by the violence to come.

On July 17, 2014, Malaysia Air Flight MH17 was shot from the air and landed in eastern Ukraine, killing all 298 people on board. Pro-Russian rebels secured the site, and it took several days for outside authorities to have permission to investigate[15]. This only escalated the issue. A convoy of Russian trucks who claimed to be humanitarian aid illegally crossed over the Ukrainian border. In the days that follow, separatists took over Novoazovsk, and a front is established on the Sea of Azov[16].

Temporary relief came on September 5, 2014. The Ukrainian government and pro-Russian separatists came together in Minsk, Belarus, a state which shares a northern border with Ukraine, in order to arrange a ceasefire and allow Ukrainian government elections to be held in occupied territory in December[17]. Parliamentary elections resulted in majority of pro-Western empathizers[18]. But the ceasefire did not last long. Reports in November saw a massive increase of Russian troops re-entering Ukrainian borders while election agreements made in Minsk were broken[19].

At the turn of the new year, separatists regained the region of Donetsk and its airport. Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel and French President François Hollande gather the two parties once again to renegotiate a new ceasefire, but the fighting continues to this day[20].

So where does North Atlantic Treaty Organization fall in this crisis? NATO and Ukraine have maintained a positive relationship since the end of the Cold War and fall of the Soviet Union[21]. Since the crisis began, NATO continues to support Ukraine's struggle for sovereignty. After the annexation of Crimea, NATO officials met with Ukrainian leaders to strategize measure to advance military support. Further, NATO suspended all ties with Russia to create open communication between Ukraine and Russia. NATO created trust funds for Allies and other countries aligned with NATO to financially support Ukrainian security efforts (NATO 2016).

As for Russian-NATO relations, it is very dicey. Russian-NATO relations have been rocky since the fall of the Soviet Union. Russian government leaders have accused NATO of provoking actions leading to war. Russia has also made many claims against NATO, stating that NATO has tried to pull Ukraine in the alliance and provoked the events in Maidan Square. They also claim that the annexation of Crimea was justified based on the decision The International Court of Justice's ruling on Kosovo's independence. In 2010, the court ruled that Kosovo's independence movement followed international law for two reasons. First, the authors of the declaration of independence were representatives of the people of Kosovo. Second, the declaration did not suggest the status of Kosovo once independence was achieved[22]. NATO has denied these claims, yet the

12   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

13   James Jones "The Battle for Ukraine" PBS Frontline May 27, 2014.

14   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015, Thompson "Ukraine: Everything you need" 2016.

15   Thompson "Ukraine: Everything you need" 2016.

16   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

17   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015, Thompson "Ukraine: Everything you need" 2016.

18   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015.

19   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

20   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015.

21   NATO "Relations with Ukraine" 2018.

22   The Hague Justice Portal, "ICJ rules on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence" The Hague Justice Portal, July 23, 2010.

tension remains[23]. At this moment, what happens next is Russia's decision. They can choose to send more military support to the separatist movement in eastern Ukraine, which would increase the tensions and distract the Russian people of their current economic disaster or they could completely remove themselves from the situation. Either way, the future of Ukraine is in the hands of Putin's Russia[24].

Although Ukraine crisis has been set aside by world leaders for now for other crises like the Ebola outbreak and the rise of ISIS, the crisis and how to solve it has remained unanswered. All agreements made by Ukraine, Russia, and other European powers have been tossed aside as the fighting and unrest continues. For one to understand the Minsk Protocol and the Minsk Agreement, one must go back to the agreements made at the end of the Soviet Union.

In December 8,1991, Heads of State Boris Yeltsin and Gennady Burbuliscame of the Russian Federation, Stanislav Shushkevich and Vyacheslav Kebich of Belarus, and Leonid Kravchuk, and Witold Fokin of Ukraine met in Viskuly, Belarus. The three states signed the Belovezha Accords which created the Commonwealth of Independent States[25]. The three were joined by Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan shortly after[26].
On December 21st, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, and the states mentioned above signed the Alma-Ata Declaration, signifying the end of the Soviet Union in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan. The Alma-Ata Declaration stated the termination of the Soviet Union and that the newly independent states had the right to create "democratic law-governed states"[27]. Members of the CIS were also to respect borders, work toward peaceful and cooperative actions, take the Soviet Union's place in the U.N.[28]. Under the declaration, a Council of Heads of States and a Council of the Heads of Government would be created to discuss and solve problems within the Commonwealth. The Alma-Ata Declaration also focused on ending nuclear proliferation, stopping the spread and advancement of nuclear weapons. Belarus and Ukraine were to respect the 1968 Nuclear Proliferation Treaty and seek approval the International Atomic Energy Agency[29].

Fast forward to 2014, Ukraine found itself on the brink of civil war between Russian separatists and the government while at the same time, Russia was pushing to annex Crimea. As tensions continue to boil, world leaders saw the need for action. On September 5th, the three parties signed the Minsk Protocol. The Minsk Protocol put into place several things. First, the Protocol ordered the leaders to start a ceasefire. Second, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) would help facilitate border control and the use of non-violent measures to end the conflict. The self-governing cities of Donetsk and Luhansk would have their government terminated by the Ukrainian government, but those involved in said governments and acts of violence would not be criminally charged for their actions. The Minsk Protocol also called for the release of any hostages and address the humanitarian crisis in Donbass. Lastly, Russia was to pull all military vehicles and weapons from Ukraine along with several other measures to stop the violence[30]. Unfortunately, the agreement only held for a week and once again the fighting continued[31].

Ukraine's crisis went from bad to worse as 2014 concluded and 2015 began. Ukraine was engulfed into an all-out civil war. Agreements made in the Minsk Protocol were tested and eventually completely forgotten as Russia pushed its hand in Ukraine. Fearing that the destruction of Ukraine was near at hand, German and French leaders called Ukraine, Russian, and pro-Russian separatist to the table in February 14, 2015. For the next sixteen hours, the five actors discussed the best course of action. On February 15, an agreement was signed called the Minsk Agreement or Minsk II and was split into thirteen points. Many of these points had been originally outlined in the Minsk Protocol, however the addition of several new measures allowed for stricter enforcement.

Its first order was to start an immediate ceasefire in Donetsk, Luhansk, and in other separatist areas

23   North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "NATO-Russia: The facts" NATO, February 28, 2018.

24   Robert McMahon, "Background and briefing: Everything you need to know about the Ukraine crisis" PBS NewsHour March 7, 2014.

25   Commonwealth of Independent States "The Belavezha Accords signed" Yeltsin Presidential Library December 8, 1991.

26   Encyclopedia Britannica "Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)" Encyclopedia Britannica January 11, 2018.

27   Commonwealth of Independent States "THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION; Text of Accords by Former Soviet Republics Setting Up a Commonwealth" 1991.

28   Commonwealth of Independent States "THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION" 1991.

29   *Ibid*.

30   Geb Bazov, "Protocol of the Trilateral Contact Group- Minsk, September 5, 2014" Slavyanrad, September 7, 2014.

31   "What are the Minsk Agreements?" The Economist September 14, 2016

starting on the 15ᵗʰ. Ukraine would regain sovereignty over their borders again, but elections would be held in Luhansk and Donetsk. It is important to note that these elections would have to coincide and follow Ukrainian law. As previously attempted in the Minsk Protocol, all heavy artillery was to be pulled out of the country under the supervision of OSCE, any hostages released, and humanitarian aid sent to the areas in dire need of it without restriction[32]. Social and economic institutions were to be restored in affected regions as well. On top of all the new agreements, Ukraine was ordered to undergo a constitutional reform. These reforms would specifically affect the separatist controlled regions. Working with those areas, special laws would be made on the state of their continuing existence after the elections[33].

The Minsk Agreement met the same fate as its predecessor, it only took a few months for the agreement to become null and void to the parties involved. Now, the region is in-between a ceasefire and conflict. On October 19, 2016, France, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine met in Berlin to reinstate the Minsk Protocol and Agreement[34]. Ukraine came into the meeting with unfulfilled constitutional reforms. The reforms would grant autonomy to the separatist held cities. Elections in the cities have not happen due to their infinite postponement. President Poroshenko claims that there has not been enough support for the reforms to pass, and now pressure from the United States and other Western powers force him to follow the Minsk Agreement[35]. After a series of discussions, the four actors determined to have a course of action by the end of November on how to revive the Minsk agreements[36].

The question that remains is why the the Belavezha Accords and the Alma-Ata Declaration worked, and the Minsk Protocol and Minsk Agreement did not. Both discussed very similar issues of government, sovereignty, foreign relations. A possible answer might be the fact that Ukraine, Russia, and the separatists all have their own interest and will not bend to the will of each other. Ukraine wants to maintain its sovereignty and not have Russian interference. Russia wants to support ethnic Russians within Ukraine by trying to force secession. The separatists want to be their own governing state and not be controlled by Ukraine. Until these sides agree to disagree, the unrest will continue, damaging already weak relations between Russia and Ukraine.

The Ukrainian crisis continues, and more and more lives are lost. Whether the new roadmap for reviving of the Minsk Agreement comes about is unsure. For now, Ukraine and Russia still have not and will not hold their end of the bargain, creating greater devastation.

Throughout the course of recent years, Russia, Ukraine, and NATO have been in constant battle over the sovereignty of Ukraine and its people. The casualties of this battle have been unfulfilled promises, broken treaties, and deaths of innocent people. International relations experts have used different paradigms to explain the events of world happenings. These three paradigms, realism, liberalism, and constructivism, can be used to explain the crisis in Ukraine.

Realism focuses on power. Theorists in this mode of thinking believe that power drives states. Each state will take rational choice that will allow for their domination in the world stage. Liberalism is centered around the belief of actors. States, NGOS, international organizations, and terrorists' groups are examples of such actors. Liberalists also believe that actors are neither rational or unified in decisions, learn from the past, and cooperation and conflict are key to understanding global politics. Finally, constructivism views international relations with a philosophical and sociological light. Actors live and act in a social world, and their actions reflect the culture of the state. Identity plays a large role on how actors make decisions.

Through the Realist perspective, the relationship is defined as a power-seeking Russia forcing its will on others. Ukraine as a weaker and virtually unstable state is an easy target for Russian domination. With this unstable state, Russia used Ukraine's weakness as a gain for their agenda. Evidence of this can be found at the start of the crisis in December 2013. Russian President Putin and Ukrainian President Yanukovych signed a deal that allowed Russia to buy fifteen billion dollars of Ukrainian debt and slashing gas prices by a third. This drive for power continued as Russia encouraged pro-Russian dissents to take over Simferopol, allow troops to protect Russian interests in Ukraine, and to force the annexation of Crimea in March 2014[37]. Russia is also gaining more power and influence thus is in a power struggle with states and organizations such as NATO

32   The Telegraph "Minsk agreement on Ukraine crisis: text in full" The Telegraph February 12, 2015.
33   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015.
34   Kelly McEvers, Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson "Leaders Meet in Berlin to Review Minsk Peace Agreement on Ukraine" NPR, October 19, 2016.
35   Roman Goncharenko, "Ukraine under pressure to implement terms of Minsk peace agreement" DW October 5, 2016.
36   BBC News, "Ukraine crisis: 'No miracles' at Berlin talks" BBC October 20, 2016.
37   BBC News "Ukraine Crisis Timeline" 2014.

(North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to show their rising domination in Eastern Europe. Russia has rebelled against the statutes of NATO and other international organizations by allowing the continual shipment of troops and arms into separatist controlled regions[38]. Ukraine and NATO's relationship are solely based on the balance of power theory. NATO is made up of several military superpowers like the United States, France, United Kingdom, and Germany while Ukraine has a weaker military. As Russian aggression increases, Ukraine leans more heavily on the support of the stronger nations, thus trying to balance the world power. Ukraine is not part of NATO; thus, NATO must be careful of their boundaries in aiding Ukraine. The situation becomes more complicated because of the Neo-Realist theory of distribution of capabilities. The theory states that the fewer poles, the lower chance of war. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, countries such as France, Germany, leaders in peace deals between Russia and Ukraine, and other states have risen as global powers. Their influence on the situation only heightens the probability to war. Because of these tense times, agreements such as the Minsk Agreements had to have been put in place to maintain peace.

Liberalism would see this as an internal conflict resulting in outward participation. Within Ukraine itself, evidence of this can be found. The true intent of the protesters in Kiev was to argue that the government was not being a democracy and hearing out their interests. Instead, the government, especially Yanukovych, to suppress the people's voice, taking more authoritarian approach. Further evidence can be found later in the conflict. The Ukrainian government and the separatists are fighting against each other for rights of sovereignty and independence. This divide has caused mass destruction and devastation along Ukraine's eastern border[39]. The conflict has caused states like Russia to take a closer and more specialized interest into Ukraine. Once Russia was involved, the conflict grew from revolutionaries rebelling against a government to a war between democracy and authoritarian governments. This reflects the Liberal theory of "Democracies are Peaceful". Since Ukraine and many of its supporters are democratic or have governments that have democratic systems, and Russia is not, disagreement and conflict are bound to happen. Further, NATO, as an international organization, has supported Ukraine in its efforts in maintaining its sovereignty. Through upgrading forces in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia has declared NATO's actions a violation of the Founding Act, which has proven to be false[40].

Constructivist see this as an identity struggle between Russia and Ukraine and what is considered "best" for each country. Russia has had a long-standing history with Ukraine. Ukraine had been a part of the Russian Federation for centuries. In that time, though, parts of Ukraine were under the control of Austria-Hungary. This divide has given the eastern Ukraine and western Ukraine different ideals and identities. Western Ukraine sides more with the ideals of Europe while Russian tradition heavily influences eastern Ukraine. Many in the east still hold strong ties to Russia as a result[41].

From a Russian perspective, was only to protect the ethnic Russians within Ukraine and to recall their former territory. As President Putin stated in a speech made on March 18, 2014 "We have great respect for people of all the ethnic groups living in Crimea. This is their common home, their motherland, and it would be right"[42]. It is part of their identity, their history. Ukraine, on the other hand, has its own identity which wants to be separate from Russia. Under Soviet rule, Ukrainians experienced famine, devastation, false accusations, and repression of independence movements. They claimed their independence in 1991 and wish for it to stay this way. Because of these identities, the two countries clash. Also, every actor involved in this crisis has their own idea of what is "best", which follows the logic of consequences. For Ukraine, their goal is to be a united country and be part of the European Union. The separatists wish to have their own sovereignty and for Ukraine to recognize that sovereignty. Russia is trying to have control of their former territory, while NATO and countries like the United States, France, and Germany, are trying to create peace between the different actors. Russia also displays the logic of appropriateness with its actions, not caring about the consequences from other global leaders thus their measures have been analyzed as drastic. Finally, the Constructivist ideal of "enemy" vs. "friend" plays a huge role in the crisis. Ukraine, although once seen as a friend, is now an enemy of Russia. Many of Ukraine's allies see Russia as an enemy due to the Cold War. Since the number of states or poles in the

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38   Robert McMahon, "Background and briefing" 2014.

39   Jones "The Battle for Ukraine" 2014.

40   BBC News "Ukraine ceasefire: New Minsk agreement" 2015.

41   Conant "How History, Geography Explain Ukraine's Crisis" 2014.

42   Vladimir Putin "Address by President of the Russian Federation" President of Russia March 18, 2014.

world polis is greater, the probability of conflict is greater.

The struggle for Ukraine's sovereignty continues, and what will happen remains to been seen. By understanding the conflict, one can identify abuses of power and human rights. History shows how the actions of the past entrench themselves into policies today. Finally, the paradigms construct lenses of understanding the motives of the situation.

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Will The Ice Ever Thaw:
Scandinavian Response To The Refugee Crisis-
Katherine Anthony

"Where are the human rights in Denmark?" a sign held by a Syrian refugee outside of the Swedish Embassy in Copenhagen, Denmark states.[1] Fences, closed borders, and stricter laws; all one in the same when considering what has happened in the often stated *happiest region in the world* of Scandinavia since the outbreak of civil war and refugee crisis in the Middle East. Throughout the course of the stated European Refugee Crisis, Scandinavia comprised of: Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and sometimes Iceland and Finland have seen both sides of the problem. While some wish to help in the ongoing crisis, others refuse. The drastic change in this region from savior to enemy has proven to be a central theme throughout most of Europe. Each country, with its own unique response to the crisis is necessary to understand how a region could have gone from warming to icy in a matter of a few years.

What connects this region beyond its geography? Their history is a major point of similarity. With a war based society for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Scandinavian countries were far larger than the geography we see today. Denmark, for example lost Iceland and northern Norway. They lost major portions of Germany in the war of 1864.[2] These are still points of contention in Danish society. Sweden, had one of the largest and most important empires of the seventeenth century prior to losing Finland to Russia. Following these centuries of war, the region decided on collaboration rather than warfare to move forward. The religious aspect is also a major point of mention as Protestantism has strong veins in Scandinavia[3]. However, with all this similarity comes differences as well.
Denmark, Sweden, and Finland are EU members, with only Finland adapting the Eurozone policies. Norway and Iceland have stayed far away from the EU, with over 80 percent of the Norwegian population against its entry into such a union, but this does not limit their involvement in continental Europe and the refugee crisis. Denmark and Sweden are the only two Nordic countries with monarchy in place, and these two share a major distain for one another, even though their border is a major issue in terms of refugees.[4] These differences are proving to be much deeper than the above similarities when thinking of how these countries deal with refugees from the Middle East. Sweden, of all Nordic countries, is the most liberal, while the most restrictive to the entrance of immigrants is Denmark.[5]

Despite being geographically, culturally, and climatically more distant from the Middle East than the rest of Europe, Sweden took in more asylum seekers per capita than any other European Union Member State in 2015.[6] Rewinding to World War II, Sweden saw a major influx of ethnic Germans and Danes. During the German occupation of Denmark from 1940-1945, Danes were able to evacuate nearly 7,000 Jewish persons from all over Denmark to Sweden in order to avoid citizens from being sent to concentration camps.[7] Following the war, the immigration of Sweden expanded from beyond its more immediate neighbors to a more global context. Since the early 1970s, immigration has consisted mainly of refugee migration and family reunification from non-European countries in the Middle East and Latin America. In the 1990s, Sweden received thousands of refugees from the former Yugoslavia. Currently, about 12 percent of Sweden's population is foreign born.[8] What makes the current refugee crisis different from ones in the past? Sweden has an answer.

Germany and Sweden, by far, received the greatest number of asylum applications by Syrian nationals out of the four states over a three-year period starting in 2012. Overall, Germany granted asylum to the largest number of Syrians (39,965) from 2012 through 2014, followed closely by Sweden (31,771).[9] Sweden also followed Germany in terms

1   Rik Rutten, "Why Once-Welcoming Countries in Scandinavia Closed Their Borders to Refugees," World Politics Review, January 03, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/20824/why-once-welcoming-countries-in-scandinavia-closed-their-borders-to-refugees

2   Insightoutmagazine, "Nordic countries: Similar but different," In-sight out magazine, May 28, 2013, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://insightoutmagazine.wordpress.com/2013/04/10/nordic-countries-similar-but-different/.

3   Insightoutmagazine, "Nordic countries: Similar but different," In-sight out magazine, May 28, 2013, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://insightoutmagazine.wordpress.com/2013/04/10/nordic-countries-similar-but-different/.

4   Ibid

5   Ibid

6   "Overwhelmed by Refugee Flows, Scandinavia Tempers its Warm Welcome," Migrationpolicy.org, March 02, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/overwhelmed-refugee-flows-scandinavia-tempers-its-warm-welcome

7   Danish Institute for Study Abroad – Fall 2016, Competing Narratives Lecture Notes "Jews In Denmark" Friday, September 30th, 2016

8   "Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism," Migrationpolicy.org, March 02, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/sweden-restrictive-immigration-policy-and-multiculturalism/.

9   Nicole Ostrand, "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Comparison of Responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States,"

of refugee resettlement and asylum offerings in this time period. While many Swedes feel they have done enough, in comparison to say the United States, whom is slim in comparison, they also feel the pressure to continue their accepting policy. This is, until their citizens are endangered.

In February of 2017, newly elected President of the United States, Donald Trump made accusations about "What is going on in Sweden?" in regards to the rape culture which seemed to be on the rise. While many laughed at or brushed off his remarks, he was more right than wrong in terms of bringing this issue to the center stage of global affairs. Getting accurate statistics on rape in Sweden is difficult. On one hand, the government, in obedience to feminist diktats, has broadened the definition of rape very considerably to include many things that most Americans would not consider rape.[10] However, the vocal aspect is prominent in this issue. The number of Swedish women who say they have been the victims of sexual assault of some kind "in the past year" has been rising, along with the number of women who say they have changed their habits in some way such as avoiding certain areas after dark and so forth.[11] While the obvious finger pointing could be turned towards the immigration and refugee policy of the country, it is important to note not all of the sexual assault cases are based around refugees, they are just simply on the rise since Sweden became a hub of Syrian refugees.

Currently, Sweden has reverted back to the EU minimum for the number of refugees they will take in. Following the major influx of 2015, where Sweden saw 160,000 refugees enter their border, the government has concluded identity checks would be imposed on all modes of transport, and the right to bring families to Sweden would be severely restricted.[12] The prime minister, Stefan Löfven concluded with "It pains me that Sweden is no longer capable of receiving asylum seekers at the high level we do today. We simply cannot do any more."[13]

Swedes are not in agreement when it comes to their new policy towards refugees. A son of immigrants from Greece explains: "It is out of control. There is a lot of them, there is no place for them," he says. "The real problem is the refugees. They come here and think they can do whatever they want."[14]Natalie Lindum feels differently: "I know we have a lot of migrants, but I do not see it as a problem," she continues: "Yes, we have a lot of people coming, but it's something I welcome".[15] As for everyday Swedes, the city has become an area they can no longer call home. Josefin Larsson, a child of a Swede and Bolivian explains: "In the cities, you see almost no Swedish people," she explains. "They have moved out, so it's almost all people from different countries, and there are so many people on the streets, begging ... it's so sad; there are so many, and [the government] can't take care of everybody."[16] The polarized society is something unknown to Sweden's neighbor, Norway.

Norway is by far the richest Nordic country of the five making up the region. The country has huge reserves of oil and a sovereign wealth fund that is very important.[17] An important geographical aspect of Norway is its connection to all five of the Nordic countries: A sea with Denmark and Iceland, a land border with Sweden and Finland. Also important to note is its border with Russia, though small and remote and closer to the Arctic circle than mainland Europe, a major point of discussion when talking of the refugee crisis. For Norway, keeping the peace between Europe and Russia is imperative to their connections.

The plans for a 600-foot fence along their shared border is a major shift from this policy. The fence, has nothing to do with the two neighbors, but rather with the influx of refugees coming into Norway. Approximately 5,500 migrants, mainly from Syria, crossed into Norwegian territory from this small border.[18] Both Moscow and Oslo have cracked down on the Arctic route, one that a few refugees found less risky than crossing the Mediterranean by boat, since last year's inflow of migrants.[19] Linn Landro, a major actor of the Refugee Welcome group In Norway states: "We've an obligation

Journal on Migration and Human Security, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://jmhs.cmsny.org/index.php/jmhs/article/view/51.

10   Mona Charen, "What's Up with Rape in Sweden?," National Review, February 23, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.nationalreview.com/article/445169/sweden-rape-sexual-assault-non-muslim-immigrants.

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12   David Crouch, "Sweden slams shut its open-door policy towards refugees," The Guardian, November 24, 2015, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/sweden-asylum-seekers-refugees-policy-reversal.

13   Ibid

14   Ivan Watson and Bryony Jones, "In Sweden, tensions mar pride over refugees," CNN, February 23, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/23/europe/sweden-trump-refugees-integration/.

15   Ibid

16   Ivan Watson and Bryony Jones, "In Sweden, tensions mar pride over refugees," CNN, February 23, 2017, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/23/europe/sweden-trump-refugees-integration/.

17   Insightoutmagazine, "Nordic countries: Similar but different," In-sight out magazine, May 28, 2013, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://insightoutmagazine.wordpress.com/2013/04/10/nordic-countries-similar-but-different/.

18   Alister Doyle, "Norway to erect a 660-foot fence to keep out Syrian refugees," Business Insider, August 24, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.businessinsider.com/r-to-deter-refugees-norway-readies-fence-on-ex-cold-war-border-2016-8.

19   Ibid.

to be a country people can flee to,". She continues, "The fence sends a very negative signal, including to Russia because it says that 'we don't trust you'."[20] Time will tell how international relations expand or fault from this fence, but in the meantime, Norway has been contributing in other ways to refugees.

As a non-EU member, Norway has succeeded and faltered. In October of 2016, the Norwegian government promised the EU they would take in 1,500 refugees. Due to their status, they are not obligated to do such a thing, but government officials felt it was necessary in terms of international relationships. The refugees would travel from Greece and Italy to Norway, and "they are treated like everyone else who comes to the country."[21] Along with their border checks, Norway hopes to control its influx of refugees, something Denmark struggles with.

Denmark is one of the two monarchies left in the Nordic region, and Queen Margarethe II, one of the most beloved monarchs of modern Europe has a major opinion when it comes to refugees entering her borders. "It's not a law of nature that one becomes Danish by living in Denmark. It doesn't necessarily happen."[22] The beloved queen is not against immigration per se, In fact she found immigration to be exciting in her youth, when Denmark saw an influx and grew into a more multicultural state, but she believes South East Asians have prospered while those coming from the Middle East struggle to find their rhythm.[23] While Queen Margarethe II brings to light a new debate within the refugee crisis, the people behind her have been working hard to be stricter on refugees.

Considered the "Ugly Duckling" when it comes to the Nordic response to refugees, Denmark has focused on deterring refugees from seeking asylum within their borders.[24] In September, the government ran an anti-refugee ad campaign in Arabic newspapers warning them against going to Denmark. In December, Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen suggested that the 1951 Refugee Convention — a treaty that Denmark was instrumental in formulating and the first country to ratify — should be revised. And just last month, Denmark passed a bill restricting access to family reunification for Syrian refugees up to three years and allowing the police to search refugees and seize their assets.[25] Why would Denmark, the land of human rights, welfare, and development adopt such absurd practices?

Since 2002, Denmark has engaged in all wars and interventions in the Middle East alongside the United States: from Afghanistan and Iraq to Libya and now in Iraq and Syria.[26] However, as times have changed, Denmark has decided to take a backseat to world affairs in Europe, instead focusing on border relations with nearby states. They have a new focus on themselves as stated by the Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen: "Denmark should, as a small state, no longer aim to "change the world" or focus on lofty ideals of democracy and human rights; rather Denmark should prioritize its "national interest" and make the country a secure and safe place for the Danes."[27] Denmark is not the only country in Europe looking through a nationalist gear lens; from Austria to France, and even seen through the Swedish Democrats Nazi-right policies, Europe is becoming much less globalized and more concerned for the wellbeing of its own citizens.

Finland, an EU member state since 1995 has a different, but still rather strict focus on how to deal with the migration of Middle Easterners to Europe in their time of crisis. They believe it is imperative to cooperate with the countries in turmoil which result in the mass exodus of refugees, the actors of Europe, and their Nordic neighbors.[28] Finland is a member of the Eurozone, the single representative of the five Nordic states, as the others use their own currencies. Thus, Finland feels they are connected to Europe in a different way, although much farther north and east from the center of the Crisis. With their stronger connection to Russia, Finland could offer a peace between its neighbor to the east and northern neighbor of Norway as Norway continues its quest for a fence on their shared border.

Finland deals with many similar issues as its Nordic brothers. As with Norway, the Finns deal with not "poking the bear" of Russia. Sweden and Finland share the unpleasant reality of a heightened rape culture brought on by mass asylum seekers. These asylum seekers are just a portion of the growing rape issue, but still imperative to understanding

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20   Ibid.

21   Harriet Agerholm, "Norway to accept its first EU refugees under voluntary agreement," The Independent, October 25, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/norway-accept-first-eu-refugees-migrant-crisis-a7380441.html.

22   Nick Gutteridge, "'Living here doesn't make you one of us' Danish Queen tells Muslims to adopt West's values," Express.co.uk, October 26, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/725158/Migrant-crisis-Queen-Margarethe-II-Denmark-Muslim-refugees-integrate-European-values.

23   Ibid.

24   Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Helle Malmvig, "The Ugly Duckling: Denmark's Anti-Refugee Policies and Europe's Race to the Bottom," The Huffington Post, April 05, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/thomas-gammeltofthansen/denmark-refugee-europe_b_9574538.html.

25   Ibid

26   Ibid

27   Ibid

28   "Migration and refugee crisis in Europe," Migration and refugee crisis in Europe - Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland: Activities and objectives: Migration and refugee crisis in Europe, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://formin.fi/public/default.aspx?nodeid=49795&culture=en-US&contentlan=2.

the eastern most Nordic state's stance on immigration and refugees.

Many refugees enter Finland through Northern Sweden, which the state deems "chaotic".[29] *Finland accepts "quota refugees" through a relocation program administered by the UNHCR or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as asylum applications from individuals arriving at its borders. Persons who seek asylum status receive cash benefits, schooling, and health care provided by the government. Persons who are granted asylum receive social services from the local municipality where they live.*[30] However, the Ministry of the Interior for Finland states that "Finland is an open and safe country", concluding with "Finland is committed to providing international protection to those who need it". The ministry also adds that "everyone can find a role to play," and "diversity is part of everyday life."[31] Finland is a multiparty system, and while the National Coalition Party is currently in charge currently, this could change with the next election in 2018.

Worth noting is the influx of refugees to Finland are not Syrian. Other nationality are headed for the icy winters of Helsinki, including the largest quota of Iraqis. A majority of those seeking asylum in Finland are from Iraq. With large minorities of Afghans, and Somali refugees, Finland can see a problem brewing from its Minister's open door policy. In May of 2016 the Finns introduced stricter restrictions on asylum seekers from the three nations listed above. The Finnish Immigration Service may have declared the three countries of origin to be safe enough for asylum seekers to return to, but they do continue to have their troubles. The Islamic State maintains a firm grip on areas of Iraq, the Taliban are prevalent once again in parts of Afghanistan, and the militant group al Shabaab remains present in Somalia.[32] As the numbers continue to increase, the most hostile the state is becoming in response.

There has always been contention surrounding Iceland as to whether or not the island north of the United Kingdom should be considered Nordic or not. For many living in the Nordic region, Iceland is included. Their territory once belonged to Norway and Denmark respectively, but it has also been an independent state since 1918. In 2009, Iceland applied for membership to the European Union.[33] When it comes to terms, Scandinavia is very misleading when in reference to the five states, which is why Nordic is being used for definition purposes throughout this paper. The term Scandinavia comes from a small town in southern Sweden, Scania, very important regionally in the past, but that never represented all five countries in the long run.[34] Iceland is a member of the Nordic countries, and their refugee policy shares similarities and differences with their brothers.

Iceland has taken in a significant number of refugees, however due to the size of the island, their numbers are much lesser than their neighbors. Comparing Iceland's total number of refugees with that of other Nordic countries reveals some distinct differences. According to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are some 17,785 refugees in <u>Denmark</u>, 142,207 in <u>Sweden</u> and 47,043 in <u>Norway</u>. For Iceland, the largest single arrival of refugees was 75 people, all of them from Kosovo, in 1999. The smallest group to be invited to Iceland in a single year was comprised of 5 people in 2014, who hailed from Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Uganda and Syria. 13 refugees, from Syria, were brought to Iceland last year, only totaling to 0.18% of the population of Iceland.[35] Although the small number should be taken into account, the reception of the refugees by the Icelandic people should be recognized and repeated.

If anything can be learned from the experience of refugees in the northern most part of Europe, it is the need for understanding. Many of the Nordic countries are scared of the influx of some many refugees, so much they refuse to let them in and close their borders. On a scale, Denmark has the worst refugee and asylum, with closed borders, anti-refugee propaganda, and a Queen whom does not wish to have refugees come to her nation and not westernize. Perhaps, Denmark, the only Nordic state to be connected to Western Europe through Germany worries about one day an even greater influx to their small sea bordered state.

While Sweden and Finland have a major issue with rape on the rise along with the influx of refugees, connection between the two should not be had. The rape issue existed prior to the majority of the refugees come to their respective countries for asylum. To see it increase, should not be an attack on a problem many Swedes and Finns do not

29   Dawid Bunikowski, "Finland's Immigration Crisis," Gatestone Institute, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/7559/finland-migrant-crisis.

30   Elin Hofverberg, "Refugee Law and Policy: Finland," Refugee Law and Policy: Finland, March 01, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/finland.php.

31   Dawid Bunikowski, "Finland's Immigration Crisis," Gatestone Institute, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/7559/finland-migrant-crisis.

32   Kayleigh Lewis, "Finland says Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq are 'safe' for refugees to return to," The Independent, May 18, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-finland-refugees-asylum-seekers-afghanistan-somalia-iraq-safe-to-return-a7036501.html.

33   Insightoutmagazine, "Nordic countries: Similar but different," In-sight out magazine, May 28, 2013, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://insightoutmagazine.wordpress.com/2013/04/10/nordic-countries-similar-but-different/.

34   Ibid

35   Pauldfontaine, "How Many Refugees Has Iceland Brought In Anyway?," The Reykjavik Grapevine, January 25, 2016, , accessed May 02, 2017, https://grapevine.is/news/2016/01/25/how-many-refugees-has-iceland-brought-in-anyway/.

know how to solve. Iceland is a special case. With their low number of physical refugees and island status, it is harder to seek asylum within their borders. However, the Iceland government is open to welcoming refugees while its neighbors refuse and close borders.

        In April, we saw a terror attack in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Five people were killed by an Uzbekistani man and the attack was claimed by the Islamic State. This is the first major terror attack the region had seen since 2015 when Copenhagen suffered from three mass shootings which resulted in the death of five people at the hands of a Palestinian-Jordanian born in Denmark. Not to be forgotten is the attacks in July of 2011 in Norway. A car bomb in Oslo, killed eight and injured over 200. 69 people were murdered at a youth camp North of Oslo hours following the car bomb and 110 were injured seriously. The actor was a lone wolf, and born in Norway. All of these attacks however, are not dependent on their perpetrator to be considered terrorism. They share the concept of bringing terror to innocent people.

        With all things considered, it is no wonder why Norway wishes to build a fence along their Russian border. They are *scared.* This stands for all the Nordic nations, with an exception of Iceland. With the major influx of refugees comes a population the country is not familiar with, they are unable to protect those born within their borders if they are not able to comprehend what these refugee's motives are, if they even have any beyond getting to safety. The problem is, in a world like ours, where travel warnings are based around major increases of terror attacks, it is no wonder countries like *the happiest region in the world* are shocked and dumbfounded as to what to do. We are entering a new form of globalization. Instead of our continued effort being put on expanding outward towards connections, we are placing it on expanding inwards towards our own needs. It is no longer about keeping the peace within Europe. It is now about keeping the peace within our borders. If this cannot be achieved, then what is next?

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"Almost everything about American society is affected by World War II: our feelings about race; our feelings about gender and the empowerment of women, moving women into the workplace; our feelings about our role in the world. All of that comes in a very direct way out of World War II."
- Rick Atkinson, Historian

AMERICA

Strategic Bombing: The Crippling of the Herman War Machine
Joshua Dobroskey

World War II was an incomprehensible display of death and destruction which forever changed the way scholars will look at war. The birth and evolution of modern weaponry since the First World War severely contributed to its sizeable death toll. By 1945, the effectiveness of aircraft increased significantly since its invention in the early 1900s. Equipped with bombs and high caliber cannons, aircraft presented a new devastating form of warfare which created aggressive competition between world powers. Before and during the war both Axis powers, consisting of mainly Germany, Japan, and Italy and Allied forces including the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union used aircraft to their advantage as it provided a vital aspect to military strategy. Subsequently complete control of the air over opposing forces, better known as aerial superiority, had been won by the Allies while they used the effective tactic of strategic bombing raids against their enemies.

This concept of strategic bombing proved to have greatly aided in the Allied efforts in World War II. The United States relied heavily on this form of warfare in order to cripple the Axis powers. These raids, sometimes created negative results often causing numerous civilian casualties around military target areas. Some scholars such as Anthony Grayling, a philosopher and author of multiple works on war and justice, argued "the United States' use of strategic bombing was immoral and American military leaders did not do enough to protect noncombatants."[1] Richard Overy believed "the bombing was a barbaric assault on civilian populations and an unnecessary act toward the Allied victory of World War II."[2] However, scholars such as Tami Biddle believe the United States' bombing operations were effective in destroying military targets and played a major role in immobilizing the Luftwaffe. Historian Donald Miller, insisted that although strategic bombing was not developed or incredibly destructive, it helped turn the tide of the war and strongly supported the Allied victory. The United States' use of strategic bombing during the years 1943 and 1944 in Germany, although in a primitive stage and considered an experiment, was necessary to win the war since it was a crucial part in the destruction of the Axis powers economy, morale, and ability to create war especially in areas such as Hamburg and Schweinfurt.

In order to understand America's role in strategic bombing, it is necessary to analyze two elements. The first element is the development of strategic bombardment theory and the second is the German and British bombings before America's entrance into World War II. Aircraft were first introduced to the battlefield during World War I (1914-1918) and after the war developers were designing many different types of airplanes. One of the most distinctive designs was that of the heavy bomber. The idea was created by the strategic bombardment theory in that "the bomber would always get through" and it would be able to cease industry. The bomber would change the way war was fought, enemies could now reach each other without having to expose their forces on the front lines unlike the bloody battles which were fought during the first World War. At the time, strategic bombing would in a sense make armies and navies unnecessary or at least make fighting on the ground considerably safer compared to previous wars.

In 1939-1941, the British Royal Air Force and the German Luftwaffe were engaged in a struggle for air superiority. In the early days of World War II, Germany bombed cities such as the port city of Rotterdam, located in South Holland and the Polish capital, Warsaw, even though they had little to no military value. Then in 1940, Germany began to bomb targets in Britain. In late August of 1940, German bombers were on a bombing mission over Britain when they flew off course bombing a portion of London which mostly

1   Grayling, A. C. *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WWII Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan*. New York, NY: Walker &, 2007.

2   Overy, R. J. *The Bombers and the Bombed: Allied Air War over Europe, 1940-1945*. NY, NY: Penguin Books, 2015.

contained civilians. This was perhaps the instigation that would push Britain to bomb civilian targets which included the number of missions over the city of Berlin. After Berlin was bombed, Adolf Hitler was outraged and ordered more attacks on London. These attacks during the early stages of World War II would be the beginning of a new chapter of strategic bombing that would target cities and their civilian populations.

For Germany, their defeat in the Battle of Britain proved that attacking targets during the day would be a difficult task. After the Battle of Britain, the Germans would never recover from the severe loss of aircraft and bomber crews. This would switch gears and instead of the Germans focusing their attacks on Allied soil their airpower instead would focus on defending occupied Europe. "The Germans did not field a satisfactory strategic bombing force as they were unable to produce an effective heavy bomber and were overextended by the demands of war."[3] One of the factors determining Germany's failure to have air superiority was that in the summer of 1942, the American mighty Eighth Air Force had arrived in England and began bombing military targets in occupied Europe. The Americans settled in England confident that their new bombers would revolutionize aerial warfare.

With high hopes and new technology, the men of the Army Air Corps believed they could finally stand up to Adolf Hitler and his Nazi war machine. Their British counterparts began bombing Germany during the day, but due to heavy losses and insufficient results, the British began bombing targets at night. Arthur Harris, who took over Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command in 1942, believed in order to inflict the most damage to the enemy was to bomb populated cities at night in order to reduce aircraft losses. "People for whom it mattered that the war should be not only a justified one, but a justly fought one, and to whom therefore some of the Allies' actions were unacceptable."[4] Bombing civilian targets would prove to be a highly controversial topic and American bombers would try to specifically focus on military targets.

The United States disagreed with Britain's policy and focused precisely on targeting military and industrial targets while trying to avoid civilian populations. Although flying in daylight was extremely dangerous, the Americans flew during the day in order to aid their bombardiers in precisely hitting the target with their brand new Norden bombsights. The Americans were strongly against targeting civilian populations at the beginning of World War II and believed that it was a waste of materials to target anything other than military targets. "The Americans had developed a theory in the 1930s that was all about finding specific cogs, specific nodes in the enemy war economy and taking those out, eliminating those and thereby dismantling the entire enemy war economy."[5] Despite their disagreements, in January 1943, Allied leaders gathered together and decided to combine both British and American strategies. The British would bomb cities at night in order to diminish German morale and armed resistance, while the Americans would bomb targets during the day and focus on the destruction of the German military, industry, and economy.

The Americans and British then set up one of their first joint bombing operations. The operation, codenamed "Operation Gomorrah" would carry out British and American bombings of the city of Hamburg. The city of Hamburg was selected as the target because Hamburg had ports setup along the Elbe River which were essential to the German economy and naval movements. "The Americans were interested in it because they wanted to attack the elements of the German war economy that were located in Hamburg, the British were interested in it because they wanted to take it down as a city."[6] At the time, Hamburg was the largest

3   Werrell, Kenneth P.. "The Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II: Costs and Accomplishments". *The Journal of American History* 73.3 (1986)

4   Grayling, A. C. *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WWII Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan*. New York, NY: Walker &, 2007.

5   Biddle, Tami Davis. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

6   Biddle, Tami Davis. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American*

port in Germany and was producing important materials for the German war effort. The city was booming economically and as a result it was Germany's second largest city that had a population of over two million people including workers and their families. This would prove to be an excellent strategic target. Not only did the combined efforts of the city of Hamburg produce German destroyers, it also was building U-boats which were disrupting American and British convoys in the Atlantic Ocean. On top of that, there were German aircraft manufacturing plants located nearby. For the Americans, bombing targets would be exceptionally difficult. Unlike their British counterparts, the Americans did not utilize any radar jamming technology. Bombing during the day was more challenging because their bombers would be easy targets for the German flak guns and fighter interceptors. The bombers would be jumped by German fighters on the way to the target. After the fighters attacked, the bombers would fly in tight formations through German flak fields.

While in the flak fields, the bombers would remain steady despite taking heavy enemy fire in order to accurately bomb their target and inflict as much damage on the German military effort as possible. As a result of the raid, the Americans crippled Hamburg's key shipyard, demolished an aircraft engine factory and devastated a power plant. The Americans had successfully immobilized a key piece of the German war effort. At the end of the week long operation, there had been two American daylight raids on Hamburg's port and industrial areas, and four night raids on the city which were carried out by the British at night. Hamburg was in ruins and the casualties were counted at around 45,000 dead. "In the aftermath of the firestorm almost a million refugees fled Hamburg and took with them stories of the most terrible horror that they had witnessed, this caused panic across Germany which was unlike anything that they had experienced before."[7] The fear created from the attacks were supposed to deter the civilian population in Germany from supporting Hitler and prevented many of the refugees from working in other German industrial areas. The fear helped deplete the workforce and break civilian morale. The panic was so spread out that it even reached top officials of the Third Reich. Even Adolf Hitler was affected by the results of the raid and declined to visit Hamburg after the devastation. Herman Goring, who was the chief of the Luftwaffe, was sent by Hitler to survey the damage that was inflicted upon Hamburg. After his visit Goring told Hitler that more attacks on cities like Hamburg would be the end of the German industry. The raids were already making Nazi officials question the continuation of the war.

Ira Aker, the commander of the American Bomber Command, was pleased with his bomber forces and decided to continue striking German industrial targets. While the British were off bombing cities, the Americans decided to hit the German war machine right where it would hurt them the most. The ball bearing factories in Schweinfurt, Germany were selected as the next major strategic target. "Schweinfurt kind of crystallizes the entire American theory, here are ball bearings, which are essential in virtually all industries in the working of a modern industrial economy."[8] On August 17th, 1943 American B-17s took off to attack Schweinfurt. The flight to the ball bearing factories was worse than Hamburg because they flew deeper into enemy territory and were more vulnerable to attack. Once again the bombers were attacked by German fighters and shot at by German flak cannons. Just like the missions at Hamburg, the bombers had to fly straight and steady in order to hit the industrial targets. After they dropped their bombs, German fighters again jumped the bomber formations and inflicted heavy casualties. "They lose 60 bombers, that's 600 men, it's the largest number of Americans lost on a single mission up to this point in the war—a staggering blow for the Eighth Air Force."[9] The Americans hit their targets in Schweinfurt, but two months later, in October 1943 Ira Aker sent his men back to Schweinfurt on another mission to destroy German industry in the area. The results were almost the same, 60 more bombers were shot down including another 138 aircraft being
Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

7   Lowe, Keith. *Inferno - the Devastation of Hamburg, 1943*. Penguin Books, 2012.
8   Biddle, Tami Davis. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

9   Miller, Donald L. *Masters of the Air: America's Bomber Boys Who Fought the Air War against*

damaged.

The raids were destroying the German industry and resulted in hindering the German economic efforts to make war but the Americans were also suffering. When analyzing the losses suffered by American bombers it seems like the American efforts were in vain. The Americans began to feel like the British at the beginning of World War II, as they felt like the experiment of strategic bombing was not working. What the bomber crews did not know was how important their job actually was. The bombing of Germany and its surrounding occupied territories was frightening officials like Karl Donitz and Albert Speer. Karl Donitz wrote in his memoirs, if it was not for allied bombings, he would have been able to strengthen and maintain his U-boat fleet and that the American bombing offensive turned the tide of the War in the Atlantic. Albert Speer had a sinking feeling that the war would end in a German defeat as soon as the Americans began bombing the oil yards occupied by German forces. For the civilians, morale was lowered dramatically due to the bombings and many believed the war would result in defeat as early as the spring of 1944. In order to prepare for invasion, the bombers would destroy aircraft factories and halt the production of German fighter aircraft while the American fighters would destroy any remaining German opposition in the air. Without airpower, the Germans could not defend themselves against enemy invasion. "…D-Day, this is what turned the tide of the entire war in northern Europe and it wasn't possible without what the Eighth Air Force had done."[10] The Army Air Forces were able to succeed in weakening the German military's ability defend their coast and undoubtedly helped the war come to a close.

The bombing of Germany is one of the most controversial issues to emerge out of World War II. The use of strategic bombing exposed an Achilles heel which subdued German industry and crushed military power. American military leaders mainly targeted German industrial, economic, and military targets but did what they thought was necessary to win World War II. The air crews inside the bombers risked their lives to ensure they accurately bombed their intended targets and suffered great losses in doing so. Military leaders can only do so much to protect civilians, but in times of war, civilian casualties are inevitable. Without strategic bombing, German industry would have continued producing weapons of war and as result the German military would have been capable of maintaining an already devastating war.

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10   Miller, Donald L. *Masters of the Air: America's Bomber Boys Who Fought the Air War against Nazi Germany*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006.

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Limits of Legal Change for Women and Marriage
Ann Marie Maloney

Introduction

Women's political organization, starting in the 1800s and continuing to today, has succeeded in repealing and changing laws that prevented women in the United States from achieving equality, particularly in their roles as citizens and workers. At the same time, women have also experienced greater equality in their roles in the private sphere as mothers and wives. Often, this increase in equality was facilitated by legal change, but tangible change was not immediate nor significant or guaranteed. Instead, shifts in culture and social attitudes, feminist organizing that raised women's gender consciousness, and resources that helped women maintain their autonomy have brought about equality and liberation for women more permanently. The slow process of increasing equality in marriage, in particular, showcases the limits of direct legal change.

Since its beginnings in the 1800s, the women's movement and its activists have been divided over a basic question: should the feminist movement focus on reforming existing legal and political systems or on challenging the structures that exist? More radical feminists have argued that since the existing structures that organize human society have brought about the oppression of women, simply changing laws will not provide about the total transformation of social attitudes and ideologies that will lead to the liberation of women. In her introductions to *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* and *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*, Miriam Schneir discusses some of the differences between liberal and radical feminism as well as legal change and developments in social attitudes and ideologies. On the first wave of feminism and its battle for women's suffrage, Schneir describes the distinct ideologies and tactics of the American women's suffrage movement as well as the British movement:

> "Suffrage was won in the United States not through a consciousness-raising *feminist* struggle, but through a *political* battle, fought on terms defined by men within the male strongholds of the Congress and state legislatures [... The British movement] functioned militantly, as *feminists* and *against* the male-dominated power structure."[1]

Later in modern second-wave feminism, this division persisted and manifested as a division in the American's women's movement. Schneir describes how "business and professional women [... campaigned for] equality with men in employment, law, education, and politics" while other, mostly younger women "adopted the larger goals of liberating women from sex-role stereotypes and reshaping sexist institutions."[2] When first-wave feminists successfully won the repeal of coverture laws which directly regulated women's status in marriage, they were fighting on men's terms and in the subsequent decades, women's status in marriage effectively remained unchanged. Challenges to the social conditions which shaped marriage—such as women's access to abortion and birth control, increased economic dependence for women, and weakened heteronormativity— more powerfully brought about change to the institution of marriage. However, when social conditions are altered primarily through legal processes, positive change for women's equality or freedom is often insecure and far from universal.

This paper will discuss three cases demonstrating the limits of legal change in reforming the institution of marriage for women, including women of color and those who identify as LGBTQIA. In each of these cases, the role of shifts in social attitudes will also be discussed.

Coverture

Early first-wave feminists in the mid-1800s focused their efforts on suffrage, but also a more general legal doctrine of coverture that treated married couples as a single entity represented by the husband, essentially

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1   Miriam Schneir, "Introduction," in *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings,* (New York: Random House, 1994), xx-xxi.

2   Miriam Schneir, "Introduction," in *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*, (New York:Vintage Books, 1994), xii.

making married women legal nonentities.[3] In 1848, the New York State Legislature had at last made the small step of allowing married women who inherited property from their families or husband to own it under their name.[4] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, before the New York State Legislature in 1854 argued that coverture laws were "in open violation of [American society's] ideas of justice" and puts married women in "about the same legal position ...of] the slave on the Southern plantation."[5] As a result of Stanton's advocacy, in 1860, the New York State Legislature passed a new version of the Married Women's Property Act which actually applied to all married women and allowed them to keep their earnings as well as most of her property under most conditions.[6]

However, these legal changes did little to improve the lot of women in marriages. In 1869, John Stuart Mill condemned the marriage relationship as one between a master and slave.[7] Mill was commenting on the law of England, but women had made similar gains in marriage in England as well. Mill's critique was instead that marriage remained a state of slavery for women because due to women's limited educational and economic opportunities, marriage was essentially a forced path, the only choice, for women.[8] Then, in marriage, women still had only limited legal rights to defend herself from her husband's possible tyranny. Therefore, the legal developments gave married women legal personhood separate from their husbands still did not fundamentally alter the institution of marriage for women or lessen its similarities to slavery for women. Mill goes on to argue that the marriage relationship must be fundamentally altered from a master-slave relationship to one of marital friendship between equal partners, and suggests other legal changes to systems of education and employment in order to make that fundamental change possible.[9]

Reproductive Rights

In her 1991 book Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women, Susan Faludi discusses the weakening of the women's movement in the 1960s and 70s and the extremely powerful conservative and anti-feminist cultural movement behind those weakening successes. Faludi demonstrates that the legal successes in the sixties and seventies had a limited effect because their protects were insecure and unstable. The legal successes of women demonstrated the "increased possibility that [women] might win"[10] full equality to men who were resentful of women's desire for equality, and therefore were susceptible to the backlash of men and conservative in the eighties.

Specific to the topic of reproductive rights, Faludi argues that in 1991, women's reproductive rights were "in greater jeopardy [...] than a decade earlier."[11] Furthermore, because a definite legal precedent had been set, states began to legislate around the parameters of *Roe v. Wade*; by 1991, "new laws restricting abortion--or even information about abortion--for young and poor women"[12] had been passed both by states, who were able to justify their interests in protecting minors, and Congress, which was able to regulate what services institutions receiving and people using Medicaid were able to provide or access with those benefits. Specifically, Congress restricted the use of Medicaid funds through the Hyde Amendment in 1976[13] and banned "partial-birth" abortion

3   Hendrik Hartog, "Coverture and Dignity: A Comment." Law & Social Inquiry 41, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 833-840, 835. SocINDEX with Full Text, EBSCOhost (accessed December 5, 2017).

4   "Married Women's Property Act, New York, 1848," in *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings,* (New York: Random House, 1994), 72-74.

5   Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Address to the New York State Legislature 1854," in *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings,* (New York: Random House, 1994), 113.

6   "Married Women's Property Act, New York, 1860," in *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, (New York: Random House, 1994), 122-124.

7   John Stuart Mill, "The Subjection of Women," 1869, In *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, edited by Miriam Schneir. 3rd ed. New York: Random House, 1994, 164.

8   Ibid., 173.

9   Mary Lyndon Shanley, "Marital Slavery and Friendship: John Stuart Mill's The Subjection of Women," *Political Theory* 9,2 (Sage Publications, 1981): 229-247, 229.

10   Susan Faludi, "Backlash," in *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*, ed. Miriam Schneir (New York City, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 464.

11   Ibid., 457.

12   Ibid., 457-458.

13   Shimabukuro, Jon O. "Abortion: Judicial History and Legislative Response." *Congressional Research Service: Report* (January 15, 2016):

through the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act in 2003.[14] Restriction on the use of Medicaid have particularly hurt low-income women of color. Women of color, including African American and Hispanic women are far more likely than white women to lack insurance to afford abortion procedures or contraception or to use public insurance.[15]

This lack of the ability to afford or access birth control or abortion can severely disempower women in the marriage relationship and romantic relationships generally. Faludi points out that in 1991, it was "generally still legal for husbands to rape their wives"[16] in thirty states. Margaret Sanger is largely recognized as one of the founders of the reproductive rights movement. Despite her unfortunate and despicable participation and sanction of eugenics, in her book Women and the New Race, Sanger makes the founding and foremost argument for why women need reproductive control to secure their equality to men or liberation from sexist systems. Sanger argues that reproductive control allows women to have free motherhood, wherein women "are not compelled to make the choice between a maternal experience and a marred love life [...or] to balance motherhood against social," or economic, life or activity.[17] Without reproductive control, women had no reliable recourse to prevent pregnancy, which is particularly tragic in those states that failed to legally protect women from marital rape. Reproductive control allows women to choose to contribute productively to the economy, allowing them to have financial independence from their husbands.

Unfortunately, due to the limit of legal change, the full revolutionary power of women's reproductive control has not been able to come to fruition and fundamentally alter the marriage relationship as we know it. Arguably, middle and upper class women, however, are much closer to universally seeing this effect in their marriages. Legal successes in gaining women's rights to birth control have been weak and insecure and have not been able to guarantee women reproductive control. Therefore, to the extent in which laws restrict women's reproductive choices, legal expansion of reproductive rights law has been limited in its improvement of women's status in marriage.

Marriage Equality

The legalization of same-sex marriage demonstrates the limits of legal change because in the battle for marriage equality, changing social attitudes largely preempted legal change. Whereas *Obergefell v. Hodges*—the Supreme Court decision that declared marriage a fundamental liberty and constitutionally guaranteed to all and legalized marriages of same-sex couples in all states—was decided just two years ago in 2015, American public opinion had shifted in favor of same-sex marriage about four years earlier. In 2011, more Americans favored same-sex marriage than opposed it, and by 2013 half of all American adults favored same sex marriage.[18]

Obergefell serves as a meaningful contrast to *Roe v. Wade*. Before *Obergefell* most states had legalized same-sex partnerships in some form,[19] (marriage or civil unions) and through some means, whether through the court system, state legislatures, or ballot initiative. In contrast, before *Roe*, most states had laws that banned abortion in most cases.[20] Often, polling organizations did not ask Americans about their opinions on abortion prior to *Roe*, but in 1975, two years after *Roe*, 54 percent of Americans thought abortion ought to be legal in most cases cases.[21] However, as Leslie Reagan points out in her book *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973*, when abortion was first widely criminalized in the

1-18. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed December 6, 2017), 10.

14   Ibid., 5.

15   Young-Hee Yoon, et al., "Women of Color and Access to Health Care," *Institute for Women's Policy Research,* June 1994, 4.

16   Faludi, 458.

17   Margaret Sanger, "Women and the New Race, " In *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, edited by Miriam Schneir. 3rd ed. New York: Random House, 1994, 329.

18   Travis Mitchell, "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage," Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project, June 26, 2017, , accessed December 07, 2017.

19   Bill Chappell, "Supreme Court Declares Same-Sex Marriage Legal In All 50 States," NPR, June 26, 2015, accessed December 06, 2017.

20   Hontz, Jenny and Estelle Rogers. "25 years later: The impact of Roe v. Wade." *Human Rights* 25, no. 2 (Spring 98 1998): 8-11. History Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed December 6, 2017), 8.

21   Gallup Inc., "Abortion," Gallup News, 2017, accessed December 07, 2017, http://news.gallup.com/poll/1576/abortion.aspx.

1920s—although many women had abortions and many Americans accepted the practice—abortion was a topic that was largely silenced.[22] Thus, it was difficult to build a widespread public support movement for a topic so hushed, controversial and shameful. Therefore, before *Roe*, public opinion did not have the same strength as before *Obergefell*.

It may not be immediately clear as to why the legalization of marriages between same-sex couples has any relevance to improving the status of women in marriage or in reshaping sexist institutions. One somewhat obvious way in which marriage equality helped women is that women who are gay can marry just as their straight counterparts can. However, the implications of marriage equality for the status of women in marriages go further. In "The Woman-Identified Woman," the Radicalesbians explain that "in a sexist society [...] dominated by male supremacy," women are defined as a "supportive/serving cates in relation to the master caste of men"[23] and seen only as sex objects for men.[24] The Radicalesbians sought to completely reshape cultural understandings of men and women and the strict sex roles of patriarchal sexist societies. Gay liberation, the Radicalesbians argues, is essential to breaking down the sexist and heterosexist roles that confine women in their male-defined identity as sex objects. In this way, the women's movement could work outside the dominant system and challenge its institutions:

> "Insofar as women want only more privileges within the system, they do not want to antagonize male power. They instead seek acceptability for women's liberation, and the most crucial aspect of the acceptability is to deny lesbianism—e.e., deny any fundamental challenge to the basis of the female role.[25]

Opening marriage to same-sex couples breaks down the dominant understanding of marriage relationships as only between men and women and as a relationship between a member of a superior cast and a member of a subordinate class.

Conclusion

Each of these cases demonstrates the limits of legal change at fundamentally improving women's status of marriage. Each aspect of marriage--women's legal existence in marriage, women's reproductive control in marriage, and the opening of marriage to gay women--had or has potential to revolutionize the marriage relationship for all women, whether through giving women personhood or autonomy or by loosening sex roles. However, the legal battles aimed at creating those revolutions ultimately was or is limited, and it is suggested in each of the case studies that the social developments each of these legal reform areas have sought to unleash has far greater revolutionary potential than simple legal change. Feminists might opt to focus their efforts in the present and the future ate deconstructing social assumptions and sex roles that limit the power of legal change.

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22   Leslie J. Reagan, "An Open Secret," in *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973*, by Leslie J. Reagan (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 19-21.

23   Radicalesbians, "The Woman-Identified Woman," in *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*, ed. Miriam Schneir (New York City, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 162-163.

24   Ibid., 164.

25   Ibid., 165.

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The Winnable War? America's Ground Strategy in the Vietnam War
Anthony Manzi

American military involvement in the Vietnam War lasted from 1965 to 1975 and 58,000 Americans died in this unofficial war that lasted 10 years. Many soldiers who had fought in the war came to realize that this was not their fathers war, as the military strategies that had assured victory in Korea and WWII were no longer applicable to American victories in Vietnam. This paper does not tell of the average "grunts" experience of the war, but an overall full picture of military ground strategy from top officials i.e. Generals and bureaucratic officials in Washington who conducted the war. A case study of two military campaigns that were conducted in the war will be discussed. The military action at the Ia Drang Valley (Pleiku Campaign) in 1965 was the first large scale American military campaign of the war and the Tet Offensive of 1968 and 1969 which showcased the embarrassment of our antiquated military strategy showcased how the ground strategy ultimately failed. What makes these two military campaigns unique regarding an inquiry into American military ground strategy is that lessons were learned from these two military campaigns, but military and government officials refused to adapt to the changing military conditions in Vietnam. After the Ia Drang Valley for example, the American ground strategy did not change in the face of the ever-increasing guerilla war 1966 onward. In looking at American ground strategy, one must understand how and why "we" lost the Vietnam War. In doing so, we as historians can understand that lessons of military ground strategy can be applied to America's current counterinsurgency fight.

To first understand America's dilemma in relation to its ground strategy, one must understand that the war was fought in three separate spheres. In 1965 "The United States essentially fought three connected, largely independent wars: a ground war, an air war, and a domestic war of pacification. Because different actors were involved in various aspects of each of these wars, they evaluated their performance through different measures of success."[1] This concept of three spheres is important for understanding the ground strategy because, the ground war was measured differently from the domestic war.

The Battle at the Ia Drang Valley in 1965 was the beginning of the military's ground strategy. General Westmorland, commander of U.S. forces from 1964 to 1968 states
"We had no Kasserine Pass as in World War II, no costly retreat by hastily committed, understrength occupation troops from Japan into a Pusan perimeter as in Korea. Nor could I ignore the dissimilarity between the outcome of the cavalry division's engagement and that of [the French armored regiment] Groupement Mobile 1oo [in I954], which, like our cavalry, had just debarked at Qui Nhon and moved into the Highlands when the fighting began that ended in the unit's destruction."[2]

General Westmorland understood early on that there were no key military objectives of the war. Unlike WWII some 20 years before and Korea 10 years after, Vietnam had no formal enemy and objectives to defend and conquer. To clarify the idea of no formal enemy, while it was clear that the NVA and VC were the enemy, they were an irregular force with no set uniform unlike the North Koreans of the Korean War or Japanese and Germans of WWII.

The Battle in the Ia Drang Valley also saw the beginning of American confidence and reliability in technology. Westmorland states "'At the conclusion Moore held up a M-16 rifle, a newly developed, relatively light, fully automatic weapon. "Brave soldiers and the M-16," said Moore, "brought this victory.'"[3] The American ground strategy grounded itself on superior technology compared to the North Vietnamese. The M16 represented more than just a radically new assault rifle, it represented lightweight American firepower that would put American soldiers on par with the heavily equipped NVA (North Vietnamese Army) or VC (Vietcong). The battle itself saw desperate action and a terrible death toll on both sides because of the advancement of weaponry. Other technologies that played a major role in the outcome in the battle as well as the war was the use of airpower. Lieutenant General Harry W. O. Kinnard (commander of the 1st Cavalry Division) stated:

> [F]ighting on the ground, he had to fight the enemy, fight the weather, and fight terrain. Now he still has to fight the weather and the enemy, but the helicopter? and I use a high-blown phrase? the helicopter does away with the

1   Gartner, Scott Sigmund, "U.S. Ground Strategy in the Vietnam War." In Strategic Assessment in War, 117-46, Yale University Press, 1997, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.sju.edu/stable/j.ctt32btjb.8. 120.

2   Fitzgerald, John J, "The Battle of the Ia Drang Valley: A Comparative Analysis of Generals, the Media, and the Soldiers." *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 5 (2004): 37-43, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.sju.edu/stable/25163721. 39.

3   Ibid., 39.

tyranny of terrain. Bridges, rivers, minefields, you name it? they become totally meaningless. You don't have to worry about whether that road is muddy. You go right for the enemy. The helicopter is different, and it's not just different in degree. It's different in kind. That's why I say it's revolutionary. Something like the helicopter comes along only rarely in history, every few hundred years. In Vietnam it was the main reason that American forces were able, with a force ratio of about four and a half to one, to contain a basically guerrilla force. . . .[4]

The ground strategy was marked with a confidence in airpower since the Vietnam War marked the beginning of airmobile groups (helicopters) that could easily fly in and out of combat with relative ease and provide ground support for the soldiers when they needed it the most. With the combination of air and land technology, the kill ratio increased astronomically.

The ground strategy for America from 1965 onward as a result became the infamous body count method through superior firepower/technology. While the idea of the body count dates back to the Korean War unofficially, in Vietnam it became the main method of claiming victory. Body count refers to soldiers tallying the number of enemy kills, a squad, company or division (to name a few) claimed were killed in action. In wars where actual military objectives such as towns, hamlets, hills, etc. were changing daily, body count allowed the United States military to quantify victory through the number of enemies killed. This idea can best be described by thinking about a game of chess, two opponents battle each other face to face in a conventional game of war and strategy; when one player takes all the other players pieces, said player wins. This idea/ strategy had always been the main American military way of knowing if victory was attainable since manpower in a time of war is generally critical to wage war, especially during long wars as was the case for Vietnam. At the Ia Drang Valley one of the few conventional battles of the Vietnam War, "The Johnson administration and General Westmoreland, on the other hand, were exuberant in the wake of the Battle of the Ia Drang Valley. With its "kill ratio" of roughly one American to twelve Communist Vietnamese, the battle seemed to go far toward confirming the viability of the attrition strategy Westmoreland had put forward in June 1965 to win the war."[5] The battle instilled a fierce sense of pride and exuberance for American ground strategy since the war was fought the same militarily as previous wars. The body count method proved that American generals many of whom were throwbacks of the Second World War and Korea, did not know how to adapt to the growing guerilla war after the Battle of Ia Drang Valley. The North Vietnamese for example quickly adapted after the Battle of Ia Drang Valley by increasing guerilla operations and decreasing open conflict in conventional battles. Scott Sigmund Gartner and Marissa Edson Myers in their book *Body Counts and "Success" in the Vietnam and Korean Wars* state:

> Conditions in Vietnam did not lend themselves to traditional military measurement of ground warfare. Cable argued, "In a conventional war, possession of real estate has generally been the measure of success, but progress in the Vietnam war was not to be assessed in the straightforward manner." As Kinnard pointed out, this required that the military determine new measures of progress. "Some substitute had to be devised to measure progress in a guerrilla war." A spectrum of opinion holds that the measure of success that the military developed for the ground war in Vietnam was the enemy body count.[6]

The Battle of the Ia Drang Valley was the beginning of the end for America's military presence in Vietnam for multiple reasons as stated above. The American military enjoyed the body count success, but eventually lost because of their failure to adapt to another more important military campaign that culminated in the collapse of the original ground strategy. The Tet Offensive of 1968 to 1969 exemplified the failure of the military excursions in Vietnam because of embarrassing promises that the war was in favor of America and its allies in 1968. In turn, while the military boasted success to congress in 1968, the North Vietnamese launched a major surprise offensive that "[L]asted for more than a month, completely surprised the Americans. This attack was more intense, more urban, and more coordinated than any up to this point of the war."[7] Even with the advanced technologies that gave the U.S. "victories" over the North Vietnamese from 1965 onward, Tet represented the embarrassing fact that their ground strategy did indeed fail. While militarily "we" won the Tet Offensive, we lost the ground war after Tet because popular support at home eroded after media reports on Tet

4   Ibid., 41.

5   Warren, James A, "*How the Battle of the Ia Drang Valley Changed the Course of the Vietnam War.*", The Daily Beast, November 14, 2015, Accessed April 24, 2017, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/14/how-the-battle-of-the-ia-drang-valley-changed-the-course-of-the-vietnam-war.html.

6   Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Marissa Edson Myers, "Body Counts and "Success" in the Vietnam and Korean Wars." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25, no. 3 (1995): 377-95. doi:10.2307/205692.

7   Ibid., 121.

emerged. Gartner and Myers state that:

> During the battle the communists occupied the U.S. embassy grounds in Saigon for a short time, and the entire city of Hue for weeks. The toll in American lives was heavy. In the month of February, 2,124 Americans died, compared with 662 in February 1967. Yet the cost to the V.C. was more than thirty times greater; almost 70,000 V.C. were believed killed, compared with 7,300 a year earlier.[8]

The Tet Offensive of 1968 and 1969 showed the military and the Johnson Administration the continuing embarrassing failure that was the ground strategy. Overconfidence played a major factor in the Tet Offensive as "[I]nformation on Vietnam was reported by the press on a daily basis, official Washington reports and assessments were largely based on monthly and quarterly figures. Because U.S. decision makers attempted to minimize losses, a positive increase in the acceleration and change in acceleration of American losses would suggest that the situation was bad and getting increasingly worse."[9] Bureaucratically, the support for the war was terrible by 1968 because of the "increasing" casualties that occurred during the Tet Offensive. While militarily the war was going quite well, (especially if the kill count was estimated at 70,000) bureaucrats in Washington believed that since there was a sharp increase in deaths/casualties because of the offensive, the ground strategy was a failure. Militarily, the ground strategy continued when statistics of the offensive surfaced. In Gartner and Myers, they state:

> The army declared Tet and Khe Sanh tremendous U.S. victories. The NVA took enormous losses at Khe Sanh, losing half of the troops with which it had begun the siege. The U.S. military "estimated that the North Vietnamese lost 10,000 to 15,000 men in their vain attempt to restage Dien Bien Phu. The Americans lost 205. Westmoreland wrote that Khe Sanh was "one of the most damaging, one-sided defeats among many that the North Vietnamese incurred" and added: "Khe Sanh will stand in history, I am convinced, as a classic example of how to defeat a numerically superior besieging force by coordinated application of firepower.[10]

The military did not learn new ways to defeat the North Vietnamese since they viewed their strategy as successful, even though it embarrassingly showed that America was not winning the war as so many thought and reported. Xiaobing Li states in the book *Voices From The Vietnam War* "At home, the prolonged war fueled political instability and an anti-war movement. All of the U.S. veterans mentioned that, after the Tet Offensive, a majority of Americans began to question the U.S. war policy toward Vietnam...[11] The success in Vietnam was not felt at home as media and other news outlets reported mounting casualties. This resulted in popular support for the ground strategy eroding which meant that Washington's support also began to quickly erode. The military therefore, had to conform to a new strategy that would lead to a quicker end to the war. A quicker end to the war would be done through politics, while the military tried to perform a saving grace offensive that would turn public opinion around and or give the United States an upper hand in negotiations with the North Vietnamese in and around 1970.

Politically, Tet was a failure for the Johnson Administration and his presidency. The ground strategy was tied into politics because as Scott Gartner states:

> The Johnson Administration was interested in military success in Vietnam, but it did not micromanage the ground war as it did the air war, where Johnson was known to pick specific bombing targets. Thus, senior decision makers of the Johnson Administration did not follow the course of ground combat in any except the most cursory manner, unless a particular engagement was unusually bloody or had captured a high degree of media attention. The administration did, however, depend upon enemy dead to evaluate the military situation. Like the military, the civilians trusted the figures. Director of Central Intelligence Helms "provided the President with the ... assurance that the U.S. strategy of attrition was working and that the reliance upon the body count of enemy dead was 'a useful indicator of the level of combat and a conservative, general estimate of the damage inflicted on the

8   Ibid.

9   Ibid., 123-124.

10   Ibid., 132-133.

11   Li, Xiaobing, "Conclusion: Perspectives on the War." In *Voices from the Vietnam War: Stories from American, Asian, and Russian Veterans*, 223-28, University Press of Kentucky, 2010, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.sju.edu/stable/j.ctt2jcvr2.31. 227.

enemy.' Helms stated that he believed the enemy casualty counts to be reliable, conservative and verified.[12]

The ground strategy in Vietnam was thus conducted mainly/solely by the generals who had not adapted to the new circumstances of the war. While militarily the war was going well with body count, General Westmorland was recalled to Washington because of mounting casualties during Tet and the failure to bring the war to a conclusion, which was something he had promised would happen for three years from 1965 to 1968. The Johnson Administration decided to change the military ground strategy by appointing a new supreme commander General Creighton Abrams. Abrams was sent to:

> [R]educe United States combat losses and get the South Vietnamese Army back into the war's mainstream. Abrams developed an alternative mission, the "one war" plan. For this mission the military developed new measures of performance. Although they still did not focus on U.S. casualties, "population security, not the body count, would be the criterion of success.[13]

This shift in ground strategy (which is another subject in and of itself) was due to a culmination of seeming military failures that caught the public's attention. Instead of viewing American casualties as a reason for the mounting failure, the military was unable to adapt, and under pressure from the government at home, was forced to abandon the key military strategy that began at Ia Drang Valley. The body count method of success no longer had a place post Tet Offensive, and the ground strategy going forward ultimately failed because of both military and political leaders failing to adapt to a new type of war. The new strategy of population security through pacification which was securing the population of South Vietnam from offensives like Tet and bringing the South Vietnamese back into their own war was still not enough. By 1969 America technological superiority and the body count had effectively sealed the fate of the war since the U.S. was unable to properly train the South Vietnamese military for the fight. The South Vietnamese military were still unprepared by 1969 since the U.S. ground strategy centered almost solely on the U.S. military, and not the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam).

The Vietnam War saw the deaths of nearly 50,000 U.S. soldiers because of bureaucratic and military blunders. The military was unable to adapt to the Vietnam War by 1968 and 1969 because of an overconfidence in American technological superiority which resulted in huge body counts for the U.S. and South Vietnam. While the military learned lessons early in Vietnam mainly from the Ia Drang Valley, confidence in an antiquated ground strategy helped seal the fate of U.S. involvement in Vietnam by 1969. The U.S. forces were unable to overcome the idea of body count and technological superiority and did not learn how to effectively combat the North Vietnamese for the duration of the war. While Creighton Abrams strategy of pacification worked towards the end of American involvement in Vietnam, the damage of earlier military strategy doomed the war in Vietnam.

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12   Gartner, Scott Sigmund, Strategic Assessment in War, Yale University Press, 1997, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.sju.edu/stable/j.ctt32btjb. 138.

13   Ibid., 142.

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See No Evil:
Libya, Syria, and Selective American Genocide Policy
Erin Davison

The Holocaust was the systematic, state-sponsored murder of six million Jews and approximately four million others by the German Nazis and their collaborators. The Nazis, who rose to power in 1933, deemed European Jewry as racially inferior and sought to exterminate them. This extermination was referred to as the "Final Solution" and achieved through four major pathways: killing members of a group, causing serious bodily or mental harm, inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction, and imposing measures to prevent reproduction. In 1948, in response to World War Two and the European Holocaust, the United Nations General Assembly voted to create the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Recognizing that international cooperation was desperately needed "to liberate mankind from this odious scourge," the Convention criminalized acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, ethnic, national, racial, or religious groups[1]. When the Genocide Convention was passed by the United Nations in 1948, the international community declared, "Never again." The history of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however, prove that "never again" has simply become, "again." Since the ratification of the convention in 1951, and the United States signing on in 1988, genocide has occurred despite the consistent pledges of US leaders. Rwanda, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Sudan, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Darfur are only a handful of countries whose populations have been brutally diminished as a result of mass killings.[2] All these instances of genocide experienced curiously varying levels of United States intervention. Presently, the current conflict in Syria is being hesitantly labeled as a genocide, though it does not cleanly fit the criteria provided by the UN's 1948 definition.

Why is genocide present in modern society? How is it possible that the United States intervenes in some cases of genocide but not others? It is important to understand what accounts for the lack of consistency in American intervention in cases of genocide. By cause of the Genocide Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the 2005 Responsibility to Protect, the United States is considered bound by international law to intervene in case of genocide.[3] This commitment directly impacts United States foreign policy, and by extension the public policy community. United States citizens and policy-makers should be concerned with US selectivity in genocide intervention for a multitude of reasons, two being that the existence of genocide directly opposes values that are fundamental to Americans and that the United States is internationally obligated to intervene in some capacity. The question of why the United States intervenes in some cases of genocide but not others, is therefore a very compelling one.

Scholars of international relations argue about the relative importance of power, internal politics, and ideology. The overarching question, how is it possible that the United States intervenes in some cases of genocide but not others, places this research in the middle of a lively academic debate between realists, constructivists, and liberals. These paradigms influence four schools of thought: power, American ideology, public opinion, and international institutions. Arguments include the reluctance to risk negatively impacting the US power position or being involved in an unwanted conflict, the influence of American ideology, like the promotion of human rights on foreign policy, and the impact of public opinion on foreign policy decisions.[4][5][6] The schools of thought then can be used to examine why the United States intervenes in some cases of genocide, but not others.

The most compelling school, however, is the school of international institutions and its argument that the

1   "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9 December 1948." Treaty Series - Treaties.un.org. December 9, 1948. Accessed December 10, 2016.

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3   "Office of The Special Adviser on The Prevention of Genocide." United Nations. Accessed December 18, 2016. http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml.

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5   Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics" International Security, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer, 1995), 71-81; Martha Finnemore, National Interests in International Society. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (1996), 11; Samuel P. Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions", Political Science Quarterly 97, no. 1 (1982), 1.

6   Piers Robinson, "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" Review of International Studies 25, no. 2 (1999): 301-09. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097596;
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likelihood of U.S. intervention in cases of genocide is dependent upon the strength of institutions. Therefore, U.S foreign policy concerning intervention in cases of genocide is determined by whether or not the United States is held accountable by the United Nations[7]. Without strong institutions, like the UN, the U.S. is able to choose whether or not to intervene based on internal factors other than obligation. Specifically, this research investigates whether the strength of an international institution, impacts the extent to which the United States intervenes.

To evaluate the impact of international institutions, specifically the United Nations, on United States genocide policy, the cases of the mass atrocities in Libya following the Arab Spring and the Syrian Civil War are compared. This pairing of cases provides an example of varying levels of intervention in two nations located in the same strategic region that underwent political discourse at the same time. In order to evaluate the strength of the United Nations, United Nations resolutions and the discourse of foreign policy elites surrounding these resolutions are utilized as sources. Then, the extent of United States intervention is examined using foreign assistance, security assistance monitor, and the physical text of President Obama's speeches; these sources measure US military, economic, and diplomatic intervention.

Through the research, it is evident that the strength of the United Nations is definitely a factor as to what extent US policy-makers choose to intervene in genocide. In Libya, as a result of a strong UN and the passage of resolution 1973, the outcome was high levels of US intervention, and a perfect example of the implementation of the responsibility to protect. In contrast, the case of Syria displays lower levels of intervention despite the intensity of human rights violations being arguably higher than those in Libya. These low levels of intervention can be attributed to a lack of consensus among the United Nation Security Council, which displays a lack of strength within the institution as a whole and the significance of states ignoring the UN position.

Understanding American Genocide Intervention: Four Perspectives

Scholars advance four theories to account for how it is possible that the United States selectively intervenes in cases of genocide. Three of these explanations focus on forms of influence: power interests, ideology, and domestic support. The fourth explanation examines how the strength of international institutions can impact United States decision-making. The first two schools examine national interests but in different terms. To adherents of the power school, national interest in terms of power is the means by which the United States chooses whether or not to intervene. In short, this realist-inspired school examines how concerns about a state's power position can motivate its policy concerning issues of genocide.[8] For example, if the United States does not gain anything from taking action, or their power position in a hierarchy of states is threatened by involvement, they are less likely to intervene.[9] In contrast, supporters of the ideology school examine how United States decision making can be influenced by ideology and leadership perceptions. While the power school lacks an understanding of social structure and inter-state relationships, this second constructivist-inspired school focuses on how social structure impacts state relations by examining how American identity, ideology, and values play a part in foreign policy-making[10]. The third school, the domestic politics school, credits the American domestic environment with influencing U.S. foreign policy. This liberal-inspired school stresses how public opinion, the media, and congressional-constituent interactions are important indicators of how foreign policy decisions are made.[11] These forces shape United States intervention policy. The final and most compelling school, international institutions, demonstrates that the strength of international institutions significantly impacts a member state's decision to intervene in cases of genocide.[12] International institutions have the ability to provide clearly defined guidelines for handling cases of genocide.[13] These guidelines are likely to be followed, and intervention in genocide by an external state is more likely to occur, if an institution is strong and there are clear incentives set forth.

As examined by the first school, a challenge exists between the American ideal that democracies protect and

7   Robert O. Keohane, and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory." International Security 20, no. 1 (1995), 39. doi:10.2307/2539214; Stanley Foundation, Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, Stanley Foundation, (2010), 5. http://ezproxy.sju.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/868221889?accountid=14071 (accessed September 17, 2016); Dave O. Bejamin, "Rethinking Nonintervention: The Challenge of the UN Charter and Protecting the Dispossessed." Public Integrity 12, no. 3 (07, 2010): 201-218;

8   Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Fifth Edition, Revised, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 4-15

9   Anne Hsiesh. "When Should We Intervene?" United States Naval Institute. Proceedings 130, no. 12 (12, 2004) http://ezproxy.sju.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/205980789?accountid=14071 (accessed September 17, 2016).

10   Samuel P. Huntington"American Ideals versus American Institutions." Political Science Quarterly 97, no. 1 (1982): 1-37.

11   Peter Viggo Jakobsen. "National Interest, Humanitarianism or CNN: What Triggers UN Peace Enforcement after the Cold War?" Journal of Peace Research 33, no. 2 (1996): 205-15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425437.

12   Robert O. Keohane, and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory." International Security 20, no. 1 (1995): 39. doi:10.2307/2539214.

13   Stanley Foundation, Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, Stanley Foundation, (2010), 11-210.

promote human rights, and the actual policy that is based on power interests and the belief that under anarchy states engage in self-help behavior. Anarchy requires the understanding that states act according to self-help principles (the belief that no other state can be relied on in terms of security) and are positional. As a result, cooperation is unusual and is used as a last resort; states maintain their positionality by considering who is gaining more, and will always do what is necessary to safeguard their power. [14] Realists and scholars advancing the power interest school of thought, see world politics as a zero-sum interaction and are concerned about the relative distribution of gains. Realists expect states to intervene in cases of genocide only if such action serves their power position. Respected scholars such as Morgenthau, one of the fathers of classical realism, equate power to interest and assign power seeking behavior to the natural urge of states to be driven to dominance.[15] As a result, despite genocide being viewed as universally immoral, the Power Interest School finds no importance in this norm and only examines cases of genocide in terms of power interests.

In *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* Samantha Power explains further how scholars and policy-makers ascribing to the power school of thought place national interests above humanitarian. Power answers the broader question of how it is possible that the United States intervenes in cases of genocide on occasion, by pointing to a repeated failure by the international community.[16] She attributes this failure to intervene in cases of genocide to structural features existing in the United States, as opposed to an indifference to moral responsibility. Reasons for non-intervention are abundant, but some that are widely held include loss of life, as well as power concerns and financial interests.

As defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention in 1948, genocide is the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group". The Convention called for not only perpetrators of genocide to be punished but for the signatories at the convention to take action in preventing and suppressing acts of genocide. Despite the Convention having laid out obvious criteria for identifying atrocities as a genocide, American leaders will avoid labeling some atrocities as such in cases where they hope to avoid involvement. They do not hesitate, however, to define atrocities as genocide when policy-makers are hoping to use public outrage to support a military action. Power includes examples of war crimes and atrocities in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina to showcase differing American responses. In the case of Serbian war crimes in Kosovo, the atrocities were immediately deemed genocidal because the United States had strategic interests that needed to be maintained. In contrast, American political leaders avoided labeling Bosnia a genocide despite the crimes against humanity being more obvious and widespread.

The second school focusing on forms of influence, the ideals school, examines American national identity. Alexander Wendt, a core constructivist scholar in the field of International Relations, explains that unlike realism, constructivists believe the fundamental structures of international politics are social rather than material, and perceive the broader American national identity as the primary structure shaping actors' interests.[17] American national identity is defined by political values like promotion of democracy, human rights, liberty, individualism, equality, and diversity. Proponents of the American Ideals school of thought see American interests as propelling U.S. foreign policy. As a result, the ideals school maintains that U.S. decisions to intervene in cases of genocide are directly related to the core beliefs instilled in American citizens.

Martha Finnemore's assertions in *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* build on Wendt's concept of security community and shared understandings. Conventional constructivism maintains that ideational structures suffuse intersubjective, understandings, also understood as a psychological relation between individuals.[18] In short, individual and state-level ideals impact understandings between groups and the international community. Intersubjective understandings guide states' behavior, interests, and goals; a state is more likely to pursue a policy that is acceptable within the larger international community.[19] In this sense, the United States' decision to intervene, or not to intervene, in cases of genocide is informed by American ideals as well as shared knowledge and norms amongst the international community. When both domestic attitudes and international norms compliment one another, the extent by which a state intervenes will be greater.

In a similar vein, Samuel Huntington's "American Ideals Versus American Institutions", asserts that most Americans would like their foreign-policy goals to reflect both the security and financial interests of the state as well as the values and ideals that define their identities as Americans.[20] This convergence of national interest and morality, however, is easier said than done. America, Huntington explains, has a history of preferring minimal intervention that makes it difficult for morality and interest to coexist; "Hence, the recurring tendencies in American history either to…avoid the problem of reconciling the pursuit of self-interest with the adherence to principle in a corrupt and hostile environment, or the opposite

14   Joseph M. Grieco "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." International Organization 42, no. 3 (1988): 485-507. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706787.

15   Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Fifth Edition, Revised, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 4-15

16   Samantha Power, A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide, New York: Basic Books, 2002.

17   Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics" International Security, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer, 1995), 71-81.

18   Martha Finnemore, National Interests in International Society (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996),

19   Finnemore, 14.

20   Samuel P. Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions", Political Science Quarterly 97, no. 1 (1982), 1.

solution, to set forth on a 'crusade' to purify the world, to bring it into accordance with American principles and, in the process, to expand American power and thus protect the national interest."[21]

Complementing Huntington, Samantha Power claims that the United States "remains divided against itself"; while both the American public and American policy makers consistently affirm the moral obligation to both prevent and prosecute genocide, they are hesitant to commit to making the sacrifices required to further this obligation.[22] At the time Power's article was published, there was widespread opposition to the United States joining the International Criminal Court. Power compares this resistance to the opposition seen during the Genocide Convention. Despite the fact that joining international forums and organizations help prevent and prosecute genocide, many American policymakers have recently become unwilling to sacrifice their sole policy making on the grounds of trying to maintain sovereignty and constitutional integrity. By constitutional integrity, opponents are referring to the U.S. Constitution authorizing only the state and the federal government to prosecute and try individuals for crimes committed within the United States, and the guarantee citizens have for a trial by their peers, which would be difficult to simulate abroad.[23] Powers asserts that those opposed are uncomfortable with U.S citizens being tried abroad, potentially in the Netherlands where the world tribunal is located. Presently, dissenters concerned that the United States air force pilots could be charged with crimes by Iraqi or Serb leaders, and the United States has been criticized by the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights for both the use of the death penalty and the presence of police brutality.[24] Due to the fear of leaving the United States vulnerable, the United States senate has not ratified the International Criminal Court treaty.

As displayed above, American ideals can act as the justification for or against intervening in cases of genocide. As explained by Power, while some interventions occur because the United States is promoting and maintaining these values, other cases of intervention in genocide or human rights violations do not occur because there is a gap between the ideals Americans believe and the institutions, such as Congress, that are supposed to further them.[25]

The third school focusing on forms of influence, the public opinion school, concerns itself with American domestic environment. The media helps shape public opinion, and by extension directly impacts foreign policy. The past three decades have seen an abundance of technologies allowing for news media to provide a consistent flow of stories and updates.[26] The ability of the global public to see events occurring around the world in real time had a tremendous impact on policy making. Piers Robinson explains that before news media expanded, policy-makers had time on their side when it came to deliberating foreign policy. Presently, Robinson claims, policy-makers focus on what the journalists are concerned with because that is what is being immediately broadcasted to the public. The "CNN Effect" refers to the concept that "real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events." Real-time television images of atrocities are furthered publicized by journalists and opinion writers, putting pressure on the government to "do something". If the pressure is unmanageable, the likelihood of the government "doing something" such as intervening in cases of genocide, increases.

In addition, the public opinion school maintains that acquiring and maintaining public approval is necessary in a post-Cold War, multipolar world where conflicts are seen as less direct threats. Intervention is not as compulsory as it once was, creating a higher need for legitimation. Peter Jakobsen explains that interventions can no longer be unjustified or only justified by a blanket threat of communism, as seen during the Cold War.[27] Using a selection of five post-Cold War UN peace operations as case studies, Jakobsen explains how humanitarian interventions are driven by a domestic support often created by to the CNN effect. Supporters of the public opinion school consider domestic support surrounding humanitarian intervention to be a necessary condition for action.

There are multiple models for examining the impact public opinion can have on foreign policy, and Lutfullah Mangi provides the pluralist model in ""Role of Congress and Public Opinion in US Foreign Policy-Making."[28] The pluralist model enforces the concept that all Americans are part of an interest group, and have the ability to influence policy decisions by organizing into groups and petitioning elected officials. By comparing different groups of Americans with varying levels of interest in influencing in foreign policy and the actions of their leaders, the public is seen as having an obvious and important impact on law-makers and foreign policy issues, like cases of humanitarian intervention. In sum, intervention is more likely to occur when domestic opinion promotes it, and less likely when there

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21   Huntington, 19.

22   Samantha Power, "The United States and Genocide Prevention: No Justice without Risk." The Brown Journal of World Affairs 6, no. 1 (1999), 19. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590218.

23   Power, "The United States and Genocide Prevention: No Justice without Risk." (1999), 23

24   Power, 23-24.

25   Samuel P. Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions", 1982.

26   Piers Robinson, "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" Review of International Studies 25, no. 2 (1999): 301-09. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097596.

27   Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "National Interest, Humanitarianism or CNN: What Triggers UN Peace Enforcement after the Cold War?" Journal of Peace Research 33, no. 2 (1996): 205-15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425437.

28   Lutfullah Mangi. "Role of Congress and Public Opinion in US Foreign Policy Making."
 Pakistan Horizon 48, no. 3 (1995): 39-54.

is little to no public support.

        The fourth approach--the international institutions school-- places emphasis on the ways international institutions both constrain and enable states.[29] In "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory," Keohane and Martin explain how scholars and policy-makers ascribing to the international institutions school of thought find relevance in international institutions by pointing to the provisions of checks, rules, penalties, and incentives for member states.[30] Adherents to the international institutions school of thought explain that international institutions lay the foundation for the United States to intervene in genocide, but without enforcement allows the United States to pick and choose when to intervene and when not to.

        After the Holocaust, the international community came together to label genocide as morally deplorable, and an event that could never happen again. The United Nations came into existence in 1945, and 1948 saw the creation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This declaration was in response to war crimes, atrocities, and genocide committed during the Second World War. Within the Declaration and subsequent Charter are numerous protections against atrocities that occurred during the Holocaust. The Charter acts as a treaty between member-states, and is enshrined in international law. Since 1948, numerous conventions have been held and treaties have been signed as additional protections to genocide, like the Genocide Convention.

        The strength of the United Nations as an international institution is examined in "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," a report from the Secretary to the United Nations. The Stanley Foundation, a U.S.-based think tank concerned with critical issues of peace and security, answers the comprehensive question of how it is possible that the United States intervenes in cases of genocide only sometimes by pointing to the failure of states to intervene and attributes these failures to weaknesses within the United Nations. According to the think tank, which is an policy institute performing research on relevant subject matters, the twentieth century has been, "marred by the Holocaust, the killing fields of Cambodia, the genocide in Rwanda and the mass killings in Srebrenica, the latter two under the watch of the Security Council and United Nations peacekeepers."[31] In addition, the Stanley Foundation, who push for a non-partisan, fair view of peace and conflict studies, questions whether sovereignty, "the essential building block of the nation-state era and of the United Nations itself," has been wrongly used as a shield behind which mass violence is inflicted on populations without punishment.[32] By asking whether the United Nations has had its credibility called into question because of their failure and the failure of their signatories to act, the Stanley Foundation provides an answer for why the United States intervenes in cases of genocide only sometimes. If the United States is aware they will not be held to their obligation by the international institution, it is less likely to pursue intervention in genocide.

        Dave O. Benjamin compliments the Stanley Foundation's findings in "Rethinking Nonintervention: The Challenge of the UN Charter and Protecting the Dispossessed". By dispossessed, Benjamin in referencing groups who have lost their physical space, such as a refugees and asylum seekers. Benjamin examines the United States's history of nonintervention, and contends that there is a scope for reinterpreting the UN charter and placing greater demands on the Security Council through pressure from nongovernmental organizations that increasingly represent the dispossessed. Greater demands on the Security Council, Benjamin concludes, are a potential first step for ensuring that member states are held accountable to the guidelines set by the United Nations.[33] When the United Nations provides a strong case for intervention and clear incentives, the United States will respond accordingly. If the United Nations does not do so, the United States can choose not to intervene.

        While each of the three schools gives an adequate reason as to how it is possible that the U.S. intervenes in cases of genocide only sometimes, the international institutions school is the most compelling because of the clear and obvious weaknesses within the United Nations that have allowed the US to base foreign policy actions on internal interests instead of international obligation. The first school insists that United States foreign policy decisions are a result of power interests. The power school, which sees U.S. genocide intervention policy through a realist lens, examines how power interests, positionality, and self-help principles influence intervention in cases of genocide. While adherents to the power school are correct in many of their assumptions, the claim that U.S. decisions to intervene in cases of genocide are based solely on power is a limited perspective. Power politics are an important aspect of intervention policy, but they cannot

29   Robert O. Keohane, and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory." International Security 20, no. 1 (1995), 39. doi:10.2307/2539214.

30   Keohane and Martin, 40.

31   Stanley Foundation, Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, Stanley Foundation, (2010), 5. http://ezproxy.sju.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/868221889?accountid=14071 (accessed September 17, 2016).

32   The Stanley Foundation, 8.

33   Dave O. Bejamin, "Rethinking Nonintervention: The Challenge of the UN Charter and Protecting the Dispossessed." Public Integrity 12, no. 3 (07, 2010): 201-218.

stand alone.

The second school of thought which focuses on American interests defined by ideology, takes on the question of how the U.S. pursues genocide intervention with a concentration on how deeply rooted American values, such as democracy, liberty, and the preservation of human rights affect these decisions. While this argument gives a good perspective on how ideology drives foreign policy, others argue that this approach cannot be upheld considering the gap between the philosophy of the American public and policy-makers, and their actual practice. This gap provides a conclusion that American values are not as influential in guiding genocide intervention policy, as a proponent of the ideology school might think.

The third school answers the question how it is possible that the United States intervenes in cases of genocide selectively by showcasing how domestic support and opinion shapes U.S. foreign policy. Adherents of the liberal-inspired public opinion school attribute the American domestic environment with influencing foreign policy. This school highlights how public opinion, the media, and congressional-constituent interactions are important indicators of how foreign policies decisions are made and concludes that a government is less likely to initiate an intervention without domestic support. Despite terrible atrocities, American citizens are not always supporters of intervention. While the third school provides a good approach, it is not comprehensive in it's exploration as to why the United States does or does not pursue intervention in cases of genocide. Like the first two schools, the public opinion school is limited in its explanation, focusing only on a few factors.

The final school, international institutions, provides the most thorough and compelling perspective as to why the United States intervenes in case of genocide only sometimes. The United States can be seen picking and choosing which cases of genocide to intervene in and which to ignore. This choice indicates a gap in international legal obligation and domestic responses to genocide. Ideally, the responsibility derived from a treaty-level obligation such as the duties to protect and prevent should be clear to the states, and policy makers, who accept them. Recurring failures to act, however, raises questions about the strength of these obligations and the institutions that create them. Legal controversies and ambiguities surrounding action suggests that there are weaknesses in the Genocide Convention and that international law has been sidelined in the policymaking of key member states. By extension, the institution of the United Nations is not strong enough to hold its member states accountable to their obligation to intervene in cases of genocide. Without strong institutions, like the United Nations, holding the United States accountable, the US is able to choose whether or not to intervene based on internal factors other than obligation.

The Impact of International Institutions on U.S. Genocide Intervention

Genocide and other mass atrocities are clearly defined in order for member states to effectively identify and respond to acts of genocide. These guidelines, particularly those within the responsibility to protect, allow for countries to respond to acts of genocide with legitimacy and with the support of the international community. Despite these guidelines, there are many cases when states choose not to intervene even if it goes against their moral and political obligation. In the case of the United States, the likelihood of U.S. intervention in cases of genocide is dependent upon the strength of institutions. Therefore, U.S policy concerning intervention in cases of genocide is determined by whether or not the United States is held accountable by the United Nations. Without strong institutions, like the United Nations, holding the United States accountable, the U.S. is able to choose whether or not to intervene based off internal factors other than obligation. US involvement in countries experiencing genocide shows that if the United States views the United Nations and norms furthered by the institution as strong, United States policy will favor humanitarian intervention. Conversely, if the United States perceives weakness in the United Nations and does not feel pressure to ascribe to the norms set forth by them, the United Nations will place foreign policy surrounding humanitarian and genocide intervention on the sidelines, and not intervene.

Evaluating the Impact of the Strength of International Institutions on the

Extent of U.S. Intervention

Choosing Cases for Analysis

Central to the argument of the international institutions school is the claim that a strong international institution

can influence the extent to which a state pursues intervention in cases of genocide based upon how salient the United States views the institutions norms to be. To investigate this claim, this paper provides a comparative analysis of two contemporary instances of genocide, Libya and Syria, and the United States response. In both instances, the United Nations had different approaches towards how to protect oppressed populations, and the extent of United States intervention varied as a result.

Libya and Syria are the best cases for examining how it is possible that the United States intervenes in cases of genocide in some cases but not others. This pairing of cases gives an example of varying levels of intervention in that the two countries located in the same strategic region and underwent political upheaval at the same time. In Libya, the outcome was high levels of intervention, and a pristine example of the implementation of the responsibility to protect. In contrast, Syria displays low levels of intervention despite the intensity of human rights violations being higher than of those in Libya.

These two instances allow for how the United States responds to an example set by the United Nations to be considered. Specifically, in the chosen cases, important factors such as power, American ideology, and public opinion are controlled. In regard to power, many policy- makers viewed the threat to United States positionality as being the same when considering intervention in Libya and Syria. American ideology is a faulty argument; if American ideology motivates the US, then the US would always be motivated to intervene in cases of genocide based on ideals for the promotion and maintenance of human rights. This is not apparent in United States foreign policy making. In 2012, there was strong public sentiment against the United States intervening in both Libya and Syria. In response to the question "Does the U.S. have a responsibility to do something about…", only twenty-five percent of participants in a Pew Research Center study supported intervention in Syria and twenty-seven in Libya.[34] Thus public opinion cannot have been an important factor as it was very similar in both these cases, yet the U.S. intervened militarily in only one.

Operationalizing the Strength of the United Nations

Variation existing between these two cases can be examined with qualitative and discourse analysis. The independent variable concentrates on the strength of an international institution. In order to understand the strength of an institution, the concept of strength must be clearly defined. In the context of this paper, strength is referring to an institution's ability provide clear incentives and maintain consistent state perceptions of the institution as a creator of international norms. To evaluate the strength of an institution and connect it to levels of United States intervention, two kinds of sources can be examined: the physical texts of United Nations Security Council Resolutions and dialogue surrounding the resolutions and implementation of norms of intervention in the cases of Libya and Syria found in UN press releases and statements by UN officials.

Political Scientists like Roxanne Lynn Doty explain that how elites, including members the UN Security Council, talk about the world creates a reality that structures what is possible.[35] In other words, the language the Security Council uses has consequences for their actions and those of others. If the UN portrays a nation, such as Libya, as desperately needing intervention, the United States will in turn view Libya as such. If a diplomat, like former US Ambassador to the UN Susan Rice, perceives intervention as positive, the United States will have higher levels of intervention by extension. Thus choice of language is very important, as it has direct effects on the speaker and others.

In addition, constructivist scholar Martha Finnemore explains that the norms that the United Nations put in place for the international community create a reality that structures what is possible for member states.[36] In other words, choices made by actors in the United Nations have consequences concerning the behavior of member-states. If the United Nations creates a strong sense of accountability surrounding the norm of intervention, the United States is more likely to intervene in cases of genocide. If the United Nations fails to uphold the norm, the United States is less likely to intervene.

Examining the text and linking words with action helps to prevent any potential problems with source reliability. Themes presented in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) texts can be examined and an observer can decide whether or not the words within the text correspond to the actual actions of the UN. Thus, the discourse and action analysis combined provide a good way of capturing the United Nations strength.

Operationalizing United States' Level of Intervention

The dependent variable concentrates on the extent of United States intervention in cases of genocide. Intervention can be defined as action by states, typically by means of foreign policy, to influence events within other states. In the context of this paper, three forms of intervention are discussed; military, economic, and diplomatic. In operationalizing the dependent variable, military intervention is examined using US government publications that provide the amount and extent of US military involvement in Libya and Syria. Security Assistance Monitor is a government-sponsored website

34   "Little Support for U.S. Intervention in Syrian Conflict." Pew Research Center. Www.people-press.org. March 15, 2012.

35   Roxanne Lynn Doty. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines." JSTOR. International Studies Association, 1993. Web.

36   Finnemore, 11.

that analyzes US security and defense assistance programs and displays annual military aid. This measure of intervention is valid because the Security Assistance Monitor is a unbiased, legitimate program created by the Center for International Policy. The information the program provides is collected from government documents and publications, and thus can be trusted as sound. Economic intervention, in the form of aid, can be evaluated using Foreign Assistance, a government website. This website allows US economic aid to be examined specifically in reference to Libya and Syria.

Finally, diplomatic intervention can be examined using speeches given by President Barack Obama on the topics of Libya and Syria. These addresses provide clear examples of diplomatic relations between the United States and both Libya and Syria and evidence as to how the United States intervened in both nations diplomatically. These sources are valid because they are found on a government website, providing legitimacy, and were given by the the President who represents American foreign policy.

In sum, this research design provides a sufficient test of the hypothesis. The two cases, Libya and Syria, provide variation and control in a highly disputed field. The operationalization strategy is carefully thought out and is dependent upon reliable sources and factors. However, it must be acknowledged that government documents and data may not reveal the entire truth behind the situation, usually in protection of national security. In addition, this research examines news media which has the potential to hold a bias. Despite this, the preliminary research is useful in helping evaluate the hypothesis through a comparative case study. Ultimately, the analysis is seeking to find that due to flaws in a "norm" of intervention and weakened structures within the UN, the US is able to choose at what level they want to intervene in cases of genocide.

United States Intervention in Libya and Syria: Assessing the Impact of the United Nations

After decades of the United States and the international community as a whole failing repeatedly to intervene in cases of genocide, United Nations member states accepted the responsibility to protect their populations from war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. In addition, member states agreed that in the instance that a state fails to protect their populations, the international community is responsible to intervene in accordance with the UN Charter, the Genocide Convention, and through the Security Council- and protect the oppressed populations. This is known as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

In early 2011, amid a wave of popular protest in countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa, largely peaceful demonstrations against oppressive regimes brought rapid transfers of power in Tunisia and Egypt. In Libya, however, an uprising against the four-decade rule of Muammar al-Qaddafi led to civil war. As a result of this violence, the international community acted to protect Libyan civilian protesters through a range of military, economic, and diplomatic measures. Libya is one of the first, and most obvious, examples of the implementation of the Responsibility to Protect.

Similarly, in Syria in 2011, the conflict devolved from peaceful protests against the Assad regime to a violent insurgency. The conflict is a civil war of government against people as well as a deeply religious conflict between Assad's minority Alawite sect, aligned with Christians and Shiite fighters from Iran and Lebanon, and Sunni rebel groups. As of March 2016, 470,000 Syrians have died as a result of the ongoing conflict and the international community is experiencing the largest refugee crisis in the 21st century. Despite this, the United States has been reluctant to intervene. Unlike Libya, the conflict in Syria has only seen indirect and low levels of intervention. A difference in methods of intervention displays the gap in the extent the United States chose to intervene. In the case of Libya, there are high levels of intervention. In the case of Syria, there are low levels of intervention. The difference in United States responses help account for the varied affect the strength of the United Nations as an international institution has on the U.S intervening in cases of genocide.

Libya: A Pristine Example of the Responsibility to Protect

Finding the value of the independent variable in the Libya case. The strength of the United Nations, and their norms surrounding intervening in genocide fluctuate based upon a multitude of internal factors. In the months following the outbreak of violence and subsequent protests in Libya, the United Nations immediately pursued a path to implement interventionary measures. As a result of this firm course of action, the United States intervened and prevented a potential genocide.

To evaluate the strength of the United Nations in the case of Libya, the physical text of Security Council resolutions passed in response to the crisis must be evaluated first. In 2011, the Security Council comprised of fifteen countries; permanent members France, Russia, China, the United Kingdom and the United States and non-permanent members Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Colombia, Germany, Gabon, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal, and South Africa. The 2011 resolution, United Nations Security Council (UNSCR) 1973, authorized "all necessary measures" be used to protect Libyan civilians from pro-Gaddafi forces. The Security Council expresses their commitment to the Libyan cause

in the following passage;

> Expressing grave concern at the deteriorating situation, the escalation of violence, and the heavy civilian casualties…

> Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against the civilian population may amount to crimes against humanity…[37]

This section emphasizes that resolution 1973 is purely concerned with defending the civilian population in Libya from violence perpetrated by the government. This specification leaves little room for claims that UN member states are intervening for any reason other than protecting the Libyan people. The choice of wording and specification in this passage is important because it gives the United States, as a NATO member, more legitimacy when pursuing intervention. The following passage reinforces the intentions of the security council;

> Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya...determining that the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations…[38]

The specific mention of the situation in Libya as "a threat to international peace and security" paves the way for action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter which authorizes the use of force. Considering Qaddafi's actions of unleashing violence against his own people, his government clearly failed to live up to its Responsibility to Protect its own population. As a result of this failure, the international community has grounds to step in and protect Libyan civilians. The following paragraph is essential to the resolution. It authorizes member states, including the United States, to take "all necessary means" to protect Libyan civilians. This authorization provided a wide latitude for international operations;

> Authorises [sic.] member states that have notified the secretary-general, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, and acting in co-operation with the secretary-general, to take all necessary measures, notwithstanding paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011), to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory, and requests the member states concerned to inform the secretary-general immediately of the measures they take pursuant to the authorization conferred by this paragraph which shall be immediately reported to the Security Council[39];

This resolution provides for an authentic, non-consensual military intervention and the adoption of the principles found in the Responsibility to Protect. The United Nations' discourse within the resolution can be connected to their actions. Charter VII and Resolution 1973 authorized member states to take all necessary means to protect civilians. Citing the Qaddafi government's failure to protect its own citizens, Resolution 1973 affirmed Libya's responsibility to protect and led to an immediate ceasefire, instituted a no-fly zone, and authorized "all necessary measures...to protect civilians and civilian populated areas." In response to Resolution 1973, NATO quickly began a bombing campaign, and effectively halted Qaddafi's forces' advance towards Benghazi.[40] The language used by the UNSC in Resolution 1973 and the subsequent actions taken NATO, structured how the United States viewed the crisis in Libya. In this instance, the reality the United Nations structured was an example of intervention that the United States felt obligated to follow.

To further examine the strength of the UN, the response to and dialogue surrounding UNSCR 1973 can be

37   United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1973 (2011)", 1. Distr.: General, 17 Mar. 2011. Web.

38   United Nations Security Council, 2.

39   United Nations Security Council, 3.

40   North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "NATO and Libya (Archived)." NATO. Accessed November 14, 2016. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_71652.htm.

examined. At the time of the intervention in Libya, Susan Rice was the United States Ambassador to the UN. Rice was a NSC staffer during the genocide in Rwanda who has been quoted saying, "I swore to myself that if I ever faced such a crisis again, I would come down on the side of dramatic action, going down in flames if that was required."[41] In the case of Libya, Rice acknowledged the moral imperative that was ignored during Rwanda, and advocated for United States involvement in an intervention. Her remarks concerning Resolution 1973 and the resulting intervention provide an example of how an elite's discourse can shape a broader audience's understanding;

> This Council's purpose is clear: to protect innocent civilians. On February 26, acting under Chapter VII, the Security Council demanded a halt to the violence in Libya and enabled genuine accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity by referring the situation to the International Criminal Court. We adopted strong sanctions that target Libya's leadership... But Colonel Qadhafi and those who still stand by him continue to grossly and systematically abuse the most fundamental human rights of Libya's people. On March 12, the League of Arab States called on the Security Council to establish a no-fly zone and take other measures to protect civilians. Today's resolution is a powerful response to that call—and to the urgent needs on the ground[42].

In the passage above, Ambassador Rice clearly reaffirms the promise within Resolution 1973 that the purpose of an intervention is to protect Libyan civilians. Rice's address was directed towards the American public, committing the United States to the plight of the Libyan people. She concludes by reinforcing the promise that, " *the future of Libya should be decided by the people of Libya. The United States stands with the Libyan people in support of their universal rights[43].* " Rice's remarks, stressing the importance of intervention, have the ability to influence US policy makers to support a multilateral intervention in Syria.

Finding the value of the dependent variable in the Libya case. Throughout the uprisings in Libya, and in their aftermath, the United States can clearly be seen implementing UNSC Resolution 1973, and using all necessary means to protect Libyan civilians. For the purpose of this paper, intervention is defined as action by states, typically by means of foreign policy, to influence events within other states. In the form of military intervention, the United States has contributed $101.00 K to Libya since 2011[44]. In 2013, the amount of military intervention peaked at a total sum of $33,719,968[45]. A graph of United States military intervention since 2011 follows:

Chart 1: United States Military Aid in Libya (2011-2016)
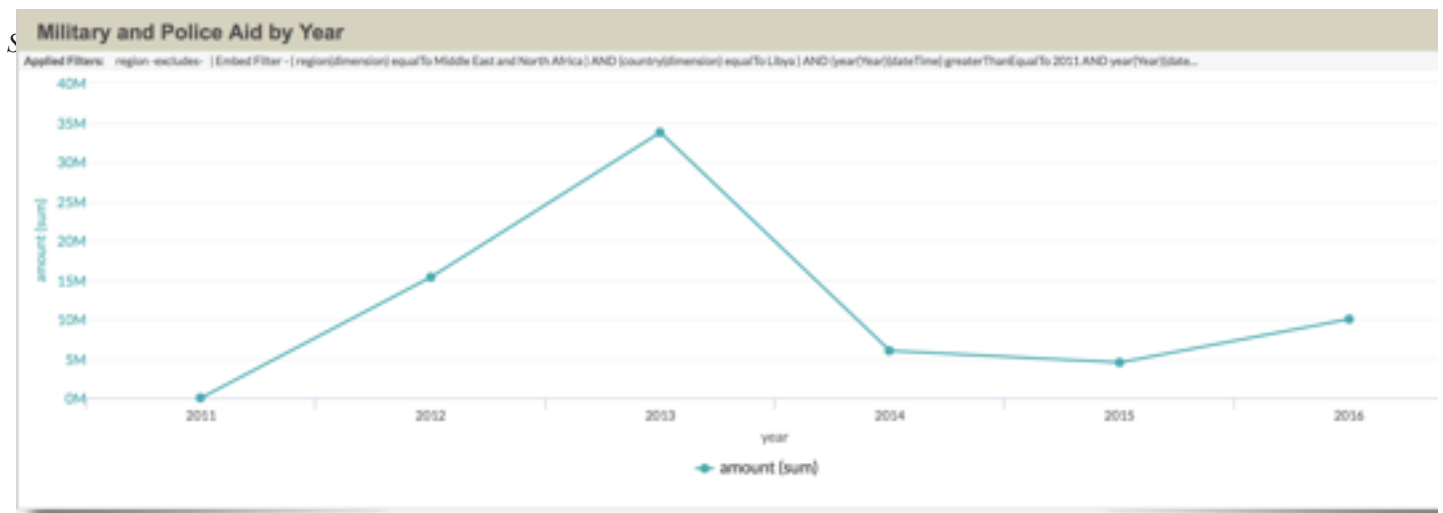
41   Massimo Calabresi. "Susan Rice: A Voice for Intervention." Time. 2011. Accessed November 14, 2016. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2061224,00.html.

42   Susan Rice. "Explanation of Vote on UN Security Council Resolution 1973, Libya." U.S. Department of State. 2011. Accessed November 14, 2016. http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/158576.htm.

43   Rice, 2011.

44   "Foreign Assistance.gov." Libya. Accessed November 15, 2016. http://beta.foreignassistance.gov/explore/country/Libya.

45   Security Assistance Monitor. "Middle East and North Africa." http://securityassistance.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/middle-east-and-north-africa.

` In this chart we see that there was a steady increase in military aid from 2011 to 2013 and then a sharp drop in 2014. The initial increase accounts for US involvement in the 2011 NATO-led military intervention. Beginning in 2014, there is a steady decline in military aid allocated for Libya which could attested to a decrease in state-led violence, and a resulting decrease in the need for US intervention. This decline could be related to the attack on the US embassy on September 11, 2012 that resulted in the death of four Americans, including Ambassador Stevens, and the US abandoning its consulate location. Today, there is a rise in military aid again but it is not nearly as high as it was in 2013. This constant change in the allocation of aid can account for the constantly changing Libyan environment. Economic intervention can be examined using the government website Foreign Assistance. This site provides breakdowns of how US funds were allocated in Libya. In 2011, the total funding spent in Libya was $101,000 and it was entirely in the form of humanitarian intervention. A visual representation of 2011 economic funding is seen below;

Chart 2: Economic Intervention in Libya (2011)


Source: *foreignassistance.org*

This graph displays the monetary assistance the United States granted Libya during the onset of Qaddafi's democide and the resulting protests. In 2012 funding expanded to $141,026, in order to include economic development and peace and security. In 2013, funding increased to $10,009,000. The increase in funding from 2012 to 2013 was as a result of the

United States bolstering peace and security efforts. Visual representations of this expansion are seen below;

Chart 3: Economic Intervention in Libya (2013)
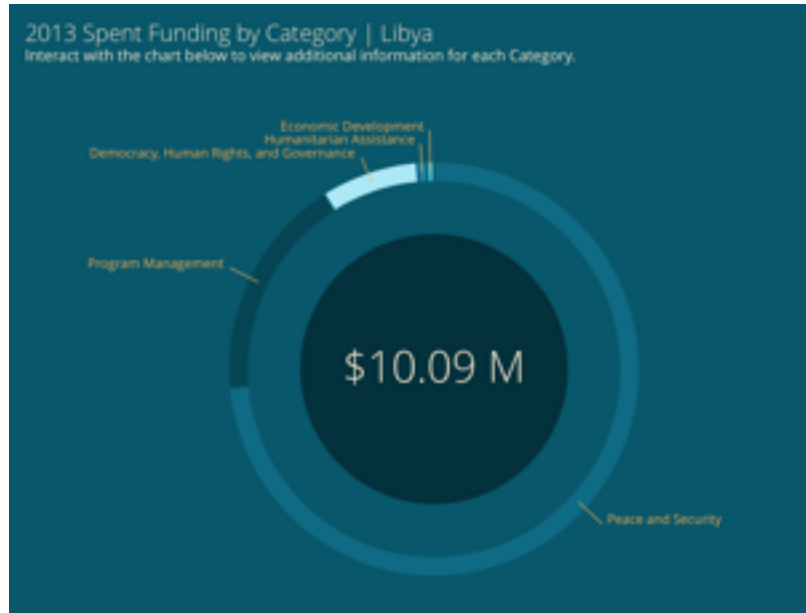
The charts above represents the continued economic intervention in Libya by the United States. Examining United States economic intervention during the climax of the conflict in Libya, showcases the extent by which the United States responded to United Nations resolutions.

The final form of intervention to be examined is diplomatic. United States diplomatic intervention can be examined through speeches given by President Obama. In "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Libya", an address given in March of 2011, President Obama commits the United States to intervening in Libya. The extent of United States diplomatic intervention can be measured by the text below;

> Qaddafi declared he would show "no mercy" to his own people. He compared them to rats, and threatened to go door to door to inflict punishment. In the past, we have seen him hang civilians in the streets, and kill over a thousand people in a single day. Now we saw regime forces on the outskirts of the city. We knew that if we wanted -- if we waited one more day, Benghazi, a city nearly the size of Charlotte, could suffer a massacre that would have reverberated across the region and stained the conscience of the world. It was not in our national interest to let that happen. I refused to let that happen. And so nine days ago, after consulting the bipartisan leadership of Congress, I authorized military action to stop the killing and enforce U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973[46].

President Obama assesses the Qaddafi regime's failure to protect its own civilians, as laid forth in the Responsibility to Protect. He then continues to explain how, because of the scope of these atrocities, the United States will be following the United Nation's lead and enforcing UNSCR 1973. Obama continues to explain the intentions of the United States;

> The United States will not be able to dictate the pace and scope of this change. Only the people of the region can do that. But we can make a difference[47].

In this passage, President Obama echoes the promises made in UNSCR 1973 that intervention is being pursued purely in a humanitarian nature in order to prevent atrocities, and that only the Libyan people can decide what political and cultural changes their nation will experience. Obama continues, by urging Americans who may be opposed to intervention to embrace his perspective;

> My fellow Americans, I know that at a time of upheaval overseas -- when the news is filled with conflict and change -- it can be tempting to turn away from the world. And as I've said before, our strength abroad is anchored in our strength here at home. That must always be our North Star -- the

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46   Barack Obama. "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Libya." The White House. 2011. Accessed November 14, 2016. https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/28/remarks-president-address-nation-libya.

47   Barack Obama, 2011.

ability of our people to reach their potential, to make wise choices with our resources, to enlarge the prosperity that serves as a wellspring for our power, and to live the values that we hold so dear.

But let us also remember that for generations, we have done the hard work of protecting our own people, as well as millions around the globe. We have done so because we know that our own future is safer, our own future is brighter, if more of mankind can live with the bright light of freedom and dignity[48].

In the passages above, President Obama connects the prosperity of the American public to the prosperity of Libya. He echoes UNSCR 1973 by asserting that the Libyan people need United States intervention. President Obama's speech provides a clear case for diplomatic intervention as a result of a strong United Nations.

In sum, these documents and data show the extent to which the United States intervenes in cases of genocide when influenced by a strong United Nations. Through these data sets I can find a connection between the strength of the United Nations and the level of American intervention in cases of genocide. In the case of Libya, the United Nations provided a clear path towards interventions, prompting the United States to follow by example.

Syria: A Continued Lack of Intervention

Finding the value of the independent variable in the Syria case: The strength of the United Nations, and their norms surrounding intervening in genocide, change based upon an assortment of internal factors. In the case of Syria, the structure and strength of the Security Council greatly impacted attempts at intervention. In 2011, the Security Council comprised of fifteen countries; permanent members France, Russia, China, the United Kingdom and the United States and non-permanent members Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Colombia, Germany, Gabon, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal, and South Africa.

Despite the war in Syria being consistently discussed in United Nations forums, member states and the Security Council could not achieve a consensus about whether or not to pursue interventionary measures. In the case of Syria, the United Nations Security Council did not adopt a resolution like that of UNSCR 1973 authorized in Libya. While a resolution was drafted in 2011, it was vetoed by permanent security council members Russia and China. China and Russia both cited concerns about sovereignty and Syria's territorial integrity, but supported a dialogue between the parties in conflict.[49] Russia also did not agree with certain political approaches to handling the conflict, particularly the proposed sanctions against Syria. Those who supported the resolution could argue that the existence of a veto amongst the permanent members is a weakness in the structure of the United Nations. Those who opposed the resolution, would not criticize the veto in this instance.

As a result of a lack of resolution in 2011 and a continued lack of consensus continuing into 2016, I will use dialogue by International Policy elites surrounding the veto of the resolution's draft and the crisis in Syria in general to measure the relative strength of the United Nations. In a United Nations press release from 2011 the goal of the proposed Security Council resolution was explained:

(The Resolution) would have demanded an immediate end to violence and urged all sides to reject extremism, expressing "profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people including women and children".

The resolution would have demanded that Syrian authorities immediately stop using force against civilians and allow the exercise of freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and other fundamental rights. It would have called for the release of all political prisoners and peaceful demonstrators.

Reaffirming the need to resolve the crisis peacefully, the failed resolution would have called for a Syrian-led political process, including the Syrian opposition and all sectors of society, to address the

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48   Barack Obama, 2011.

49   "Security Council Fails to Adopt Draft Resolution Condemning Syria's Crackdown on Anti-Government Protesters, Owing to Veto by Russian Federation, China | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases." United Nations. October 4, 2011. Accessed December 02, 2016. http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10403.doc.htm.

legitimate aspirations of Syria's population in an environment free from fear and extremism."[50]

The 2011 resolution draft would have been a first step in preventing the mass atrocities and crimes against humanity taking place in Syria. In the same 2011 Security Council press release, Vitaly Churkin, provided a statement that defended the Russian and Chinese veto.

> The Russian Federation could not agree with the accusatory tone against Damascus, he said, nor the ultimatum of sanctions against peaceful crisis settlement. The Russian Federation's proposals on the non-acceptability of military intervention, among others, had not been taken into account. The collapse of President Bashar al-Assad's Government could provoke a conflict, destabilize the region, and create a destructive impact on the Middle East. The situation could not be considered apart from the Libyan experience. He was alarmed that compliance with Security Council resolutions in Libya had been considered a model for future actions by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It was important to see how that model had been implemented. The demand for a ceasefire had turned into a civil war, the humanitarian, social and military consequences of which had spilled beyond Libya. The arms embargo had turned into a naval blockade on west Libya. Such models should be excluded from global practice.[51]

Churkin uses the events surrounding the NATO-led intervention in Libya to validate the Russian Federation's veto and the country's belief that military intervention in the conflict in Syria is not acceptable. He continues by explaining that vetoing this resolution does not mean that Russia supports the Assad regime;

> "We're not advocates of the Assad regime," he said, stressing that the violence was unacceptable, but that the reason for such dramatic events was not only rooted in the hard actions of Syrian authorities. The "radical" opposition had not hidden its extremist bent, hoping for foreign sponsors and acting outside the law. Armed groups supported by "diversionary" supplies were taking over the land, killing people who complied with law enforcement. Many Syrians did not share the demands for quick regime change. They favoured [sic] gradual change, which was starting to be implemented. The best way out of the situation was to refuse a confrontation and bring parties together to devise intra-Syrian political process.

Citing concerns about the opposition, Churkin proposes that the only way to mend the crisis in Syria was through an "intra-Syrian political process". This leaves no range for any significant international arbitration or the implementation of the Responsibility to Protect seen in the case of Libya. In obvious contrast to her Russian counterpart, Susan Rice expressed indignation over the inability of the security council to effectively address and prevent human rights violations in Syria;

> Susan Rice said her country was outraged that the Council had failed to address serious human rights violations and a growing threat to international peace and security in Syria, adding that two members had vetoed a "vastly watered down text that didn't even mention sanctions". She affirmed, however, the need for tough, targeted sanctions and an arms embargo to protect the population. Following tonight's vote, she maintained, the people of Syria could now see who supported their aspirations for freedom and democracy and who chose to prop up "desperate, cruel dictators". The latter would have to answer people around the world who desired freedom and democracy.

> Noting the condemnations levelled against Syrian authorities by international as well as regional critics, she said that the arguments against strong Council action grew weaker every day. Today's text was not about Libya, or about military intervention; that suggestion was a ruse by those who would rather sell arms to the Syrian regime than stand with the people of the country. The Human Rights Council had not even been able to send human rights monitors to the country. She asked those opposing strong action to change their course. She pledged that the crisis in Syria would stay before the Council, and that she would keep pressing the case until the body rose to its responsibilities[52].

Susan Rice admonishes Churkin and the Russian Federation, who attributed Russia's veto of the resolution to the events

50   United Nations, 2011.
51   United Nations, 2011.
52   United Nations, 2011.

surrounding Libya and his belief that "the situation could not be considered apart from the Libyan experience.". She claims that concerns over Libya is just a ploy, and that Russia is more concerned with selling the Syrian regime weapons than the welfare of Syrian civilians.

As seen by the lack of a 2011 resolution, and numerous failed resolutions in the years following it is obvious that the United Nations Security Council has failed to fulfill is basic function; maintaining international peace and security. It has also failed to uphold its Responsibility to Protect the Syrian people, despite its obligation to do so. The lack of action and subsequent language of the Security Council will structure what kind of intervention, if any, is possible for the United States.

In sum, the lack of action by the Security Council and subsequent language by foreign policy elites displays the failure of the United Nations Security Council to fulfill is basic function; maintaining international peace and security. It has also failed to uphold its Responsibility to Protect the Syrian people, despite its obligation to do so. This inaction and divided discourse will transcend into how the United States chooses to address the conflict in Syria.

Finding the value of the dependent variable in the Syria case. Unlike the case of Libya, Syria did not experience a NATO-led coalition that influenced the United States to intervene. The Syrian crisis has displaced more than one-half of Syria's population, including creating more than 4 million refugees and 6.5 million internally displaced persons[53]. As of 2016, The United States is the single-largest global donor of humanitarian assistance to help those affected by the conflict, but they have not provided the same kind of intervention seen in the case of Libya. For the purpose of this paper, intervention is defined as action by states, typically by means of foreign policy, to influence events within other states. The amount of military intervention seen in Syria has fluctuated since 2011. The curve of United States military intervention since 2016 can be seen as follows:

Chart 3: Military Intervention in Syria (2011-2016)

Source: Security Assistance Monitor

In this chart it is clear that at the peak of the conflict in 2011, the United States only committed a total of $12,145 in military and police aid[54]. It is also important to note that, despite the civil war in 2013 featuring attacks on civilians via ballistic missiles and chemical weapons, military aid dropped off the following year. Between 2014 and 2015, however, the aid quickly rose to $517,000,000. This can be attributed to an escalation in violence in the region, the growing refugee crisis, and the resulting public pressure to provide Syrians with some form of relief. The chart above represents the United States following a United Nations example. Despite violence in Syria after the Arab Spring affecting civilians to an extent similar to that seen in Libya, the United Nations Security Council did not implement a strong resolution authorizing the Responsibility to Protect. As a result, the United States intervened militarily in Syria at a rate significantly lower than in the case of Libya.

Economic intervention will once again be examined using the government website Foreign Assistance. This site provides a breakdown of how US funds have been allocated in Syria. Foreign assistance does not provide information on

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53   "World Report 2014: Syria." Human Rights Watch. 2015. Accessed December 04, 2016. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/syria.

54   Security Assistance Monitor. "Middle East and North Africa."

US funds in Syria in 2011. A visual representation of 2013 funding, however, is seen below;

Chart 4: Economic Intervention in Syria (2013)

Source: Foreign Assistance

  This graph displays the monetary assistance the United States granted Syria during one of the peaks civilian-targeted violence. In 2013, the United States contributed $190,034,000 in economic assistance. Ninety-Seven percent of economic aid in this fiscal year was given in the form of humanitarian assistance. While military assistance in 2013 dropped off the following year, economic aid in the form of humanitarian assistance grew. This growth in 2014 can be

related to a need for increased humanitarian assistance as a result of the increasing violence, and is displayed below:

Chart 5: Economic Intervention in Syria (2014)
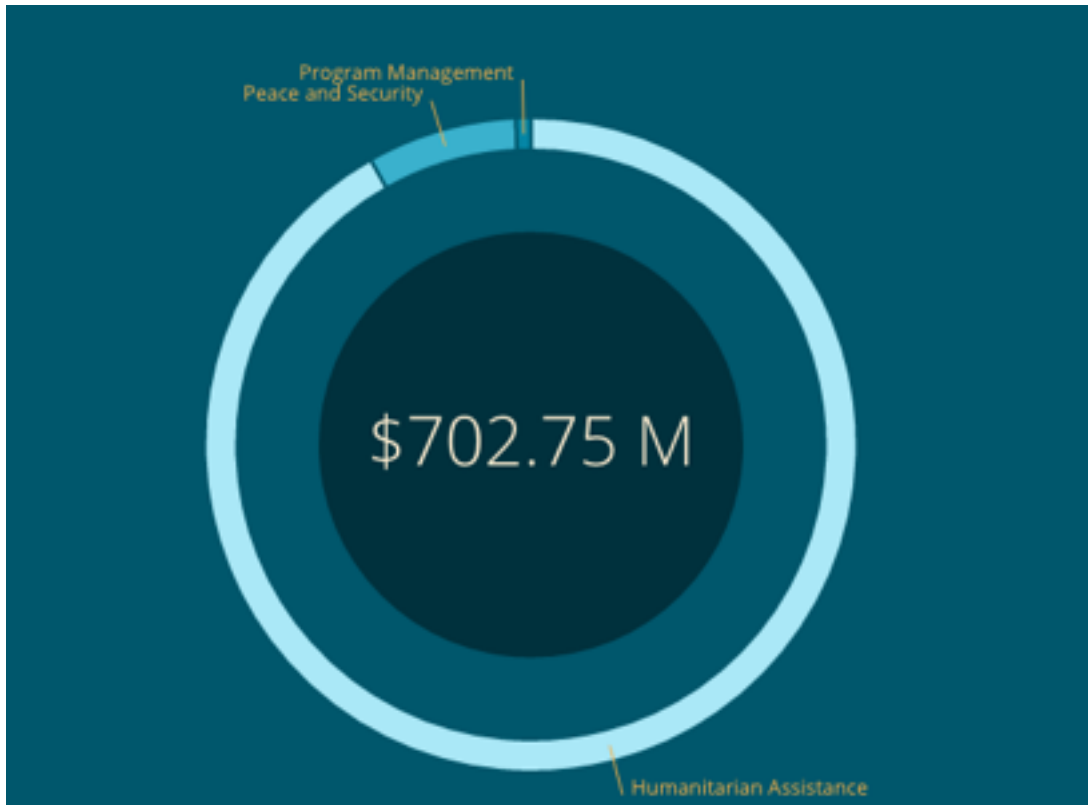
Source: Foreign Assistance

The chart above represents the committed economic intervention in Syria by the United States. Examining United States economic intervention during one of the climaxes of the conflict in Syria, showcases the extent by which the United States responds to an example set by the United Nations. As a result of the international community expressing concern regarding the egregious loss of life in Syria, the United States committed a significant sum to provide humanitarian assistance.

The final form of intervention in the case of Syria that can be examined is diplomatic. Similarly to the case of Libya, United States diplomatic intervention can be examined once again through speeches given by President Barack Obama. In " Statement by President Obama on the Situation in Syria", an address given in August of 2011, President Obama does not commit the United States to intervening in Libya. The extent of diplomatic intervention can be measured by the text below:

> The United States has been inspired by the Syrian people's' pursuit of a peaceful transition to democracy. They have braved ferocious brutality at the hands of their government. They have spoken with their peaceful marches, their silent shaming of the Syrian regime, and their courageous persistence in the face of brutality – day after day, week after week. The Syrian government has responded with a sustained onslaught. I strongly condemn this brutality, including the disgraceful attacks on Syrian civilians in cities like Hama and Deir al Zour, and the arrests of opposition figures who have been denied justice and subjected to torture at the hands of the regime[55].

President Obama assesses the obvious failure of Assad's regime to protect it's citizens and continues by showcasing how the United States has condemned Syria's actions and encouraged others to do the same;

> The United States opposes the use of violence against peaceful protesters in Syria, and we support the universal rights of the Syrian people. We have imposed sanctions on President

55   Barack Obama, "Statement by President Obama on the situation in Syria." The White House. 2011.

Assad and his government. The European Union has imposed sanctions as well. We helped lead an effort at the UN Security Council to condemn Syria's actions. We have coordinated closely with allies and partners from the region and around the world. The Assad government has now been condemned by countries in all parts of the globe, and can look only to Iran for support for its brutal and unjust crackdown.

The future of Syria must be determined by its people, but President Bashar al-Assad is standing in their way. His calls for dialogue and reform have rung hollow while he is imprisoning, torturing, and slaughtering his own people. We have consistently said that President Assad must lead a democratic transition or get out of the way. He has not led. For the sake of the Syrian people, the time has come for President Assad to step aside.[56]

President Obama expresses his support for the Syrian people, and declares his wish that President Assad will relinquish power. He continues, however, to explain that the United Nations will have a largely hands-off involvement in the crisis of Syria;

The United States cannot and will not impose this transition upon Syria. It is up to the Syrian people to choose their own leaders, and we have heard their strong desire that there not be foreign intervention in their movement. What the United States will support is an effort to bring about a Syria that is democratic, just, and inclusive for all Syrians. We will support this outcome by pressuring President Assad to get out of the way of this transition, and standing up for the universal rights of the Syrian people along with others in the international community.

We recognize that it will take time for the Syrian people to achieve the justice they deserve. There will be more struggle and sacrifice. It is clear that President Assad believes that he can silence the voices of his people by resorting to the repressive tactics of the past. But he is wrong. As we have learned these last several months, sometimes the way things have been is not the way that they will be. It is time for the Syrian people to determine their own destiny, and we will continue to stand firmly on their side.[57]

While President Obama's address to the country on the state of Libya, also delivered in 2011, connects the prosperity of the American people to the prosperity of Libya, Obama does not make any connections in the case of Syria. President Obama is intervening diplomatically by condemning the violence in Syria, but he stops short of having any significant involvement. President Obama's speech does not provide a case for intervening at any great length in the crisis in Syria. This can be correlated to the lack of response by the United Nations.
These documents and data evaluate the extent by which the United States intervenes in cases of potential genocide when influenced by a strong United Nations. Through the data sets, I can find a correlation between the strength of the United Nations and the extent by which the United States intervenes in genocide. In the case of Syria, the United Nations provided no path for intervention, resulting in the United States to follow by example.

The Role of the United Nations on United States Genocide Policy

An examination of how the strength of the United Nations influenced United States genocide intervention in Libya and Syria is instructive, but not entirely conclusive. In the case of Libya, the United Nations acted as a strong, unified institution and implemented the Responsibility to Protect. In this instance, there was obvious saliency surrounding the United Nations norms and the United States responded to UNSCR 1973 with obvious military, economic, and diplomatic interventions. The case of Syria, on the other hand, experienced a lack of significant international arbitration and no meaningful intervention from the United States due to deep power divisions within the permanent members of the

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56   Barack Obama, 2011.

57   Barack Obama, 2011.

United Nations Security Council. In both case analyses, the discourse of the United Nations Security Council and foreign policy elite corresponds with the subsequent intervention, or lack thereof, pursued by the United States.

Is the United Nations' completely responsible for United States genocide prevention and intervention? Upholding such a causal claim is difficult, as a myriad of factors can be said to have influenced US intervention. While it is disheartening to say that power politics and realism have more influence in US policy making than humanitarian considerations, a clear argument can be made that the United States chooses the extent by which they intervene, or not intervene, based upon whether or not they want to. In foreign policy, there is never truly one factor that propels decision making.

Still, the impact the United Nations has on structuring what is inherently possible for the United Stations is undeniable. The United Nations motivates the United States to intervene, or not to intervene in cases of potential genocide and provides their actions with legitimacy. In cases where a resolution is passed by the Security Council, and the United Nations creates a strong sense of accountability surrounding the norm of intervention, the United States is significantly more obligated to intervene to some extent. It can be argued that, in the case that Russia and China do not veto a resolution on Syria and there was a strong resolution, the United States would see an increased involvement in the war-torn state because of the strength of the Responsibility to Protect. However, because of the divisions within the Security Council and lack of political consensus, the United States is able to follow the UN's example of inaction and given room to be selective in how and when they choose to intervene in Syria. In essence, this research suggests that the United Nations has the ability to hold the United States accountable to treaty-level obligations concerning intervention, but when the UN is not strong it allows for the United States to sideline issues of genocide in their policymaking.

Presently, the international community is attempting to navigate an extremely divisive global landscape. These divisions do nothing to protect disenfranchised populations, and if anything, contribute to the maintenance of entrenched regimes, social and political oppression, and civilian-targeted violence. The past two decades have seen numerous instances of genocide, and the current international discourse is doing very little to prevent more. This research suggests that, if strong, the United Nations has the ability influence its' member states to stand up for human dignity in the face of oppression and provide significant and legitimate intervention in issues of potential genocide. Even in cases where the United Nations it not the most influential factor, it's stance on justice can be a guiding structure for the international community. And it is that guidance that can be fundamental in promoting human rights and protecting against mass atrocity and genocide.

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AFRICA & ASIA

"A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people."
- Mahatma Gandhi

Visual Art as an Indicator of Ethnic Identity for Displaced Post-Colonial Algerians
Abigail Sweetman

Nothing is resistant to change. While this is a statement that can be considered applicable to phenomena as fundamental as light refraction, it's similarly applicable in countless other disciplines. Cultures, ideas, and concepts of what it means to belong find themselves particularly susceptible to contamination by outside sources. Cultural syncretism is difficult to localize in many instances, but the assimilations and convergences characteristic of colonizing endeavors provide a rare opportunity to more accurately define the time and place that cultural change occurred. Subsequent colonizations of Algeria produced violence, cultural confusion, and new identities of Algerian ethnicity. Visual art produced by Algerians after the French colonial period show a marked increase in ethnic identification as a basis of construction in contrast to pre colonial identities that showed aspects of primordialism.

In order to explore the methods by which French-Algerian artists defined their identities, the highly nuanced concept of ethnicity must be explored further. Ethnicity, as an idea, has exceptionally human qualities. It's both inherent and imposed- by constituting a characteristic by which individuals may define themselves; it's susceptible to all of the facets by which these definitions occur. However, when post-colonial identities are being considered, ethnicity becomes a conglomeration of the identities colonists impress upon the colonized and those actively and willingly expressed. The dual nature of the ethnicities experienced by Algerians allows them to be defined by the constructs of primordialism and constructionism, with less palpable, but still present, elements of circumstantialism.

For the purposes of this analysis, primordialism will be defined as an ethnic identity that is bound by its intrinsic nature. Thus, if ethnic identity was experienced solely on primordial lines, an Algerian individual would be Algerian because they were born that way. Primordial identities insist that ethnicity exists because there are inherent qualities that make one individual different than another. As Algerian identity will later be explored on the basis of constructionism and circumstantialism, primordial thought is not considered the sole truth of ethnic identity in this instance. However, modern Algerian identity bears some facets of this thinking. For many people- including some of the artists that will be explored later, being Algerian begins with either birth or heritage. This is especially true for Algerians in France, or French-Algerians, or other identities that imply that someone bears the characteristics and customs that socially considered as more indicative of a North African, not European, origin. Primordialism is a definition of identity that implies it cannot be altered by environment or personal expression of identity. Thus, for those Algerians who see their Algerian-ness as innate and immutable, primordialism is the most accurate ethnic description.

However, identities- particularly post-colonial ones- are rarely as innate and immutable as this would suggest. For modern Algerians, identity is something that is constructed. Particularly when transplanted to a European nation, some Algerians will try to downplay parts of their identity to assume more Western customs- even simple outward things like physical appearance, name, or living quarters might suggest a non-Western identity, some Algerians would rather express an identity less indicative of geographical origin. In this, ethnic identity is expressed in terms of constructionism- where the aspects of expressed identity are subject to change, particularly on the basis of social or economic benefit. This is particularly true for Algerians living in France, as it is not socially advantageous to express a strong Algerian ethnic identity[1]. However, the experience of those who consider themselves or who are considered Algerian by others in other European nations (France, in particular) introduces a different facet of identity that will be explored more thoroughly. Circumstantialism is a third method of looking at ethnicities that places situational value on ethnic formation. Circumstantialism is also important to consider while analyzing modern Algerian identity in art because the experience of living somewhere else while experiencing a personal association with the colonial implications of Algeria form a different kind of community- and the feelings associated with this kind of situation are integral in forming the ideas that were manifested in artistic expression.

In order to understand why Algerians define themselves the way they do, Algerian history must be more thoroughly examined. Algerian history, like Algerian identity, has had influence from many different empires and cultures. As it's a region that's geographically situated on the western edge of the Mediterranean Sea, it's relatively accessible by both European and Middle-Eastern regions. Due to the region's proximity to the Fertile

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[1]   Fellag, Nora. "The Muslim Label: How French North Africans Have Become "Muslims" and not "Citizens"." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 13, no. 4 (2014): 1-25.

Crescent, Algeria was populated by Amazigh (pl. Imazighen), a name which serves as a collective descriptor for the pre-Arab peoples who lived in decentralized communities throughout North Africa by as early as 2000 BCE. While Amazigh was the self-identified name to describe Algeria's original inhabitants, they were called 'Barbar' by Arab conquerors that gave cultural distinction by identifying the Amazigh languages as other than Greek or Latin, and the people that spoke them as 'barbarians'. This name was meant to identify a race from the believed descendants of Noah. While the Amazigh were first called 'Barbar', time and differences in translation gave rise to the modern term 'Berber' which is now the most common name for indigenous populations of North Africa.

The Berbers were first dominated by the Phoenicians, and a brief period of relative autonomy was succeeded by integration of this region into the Roman Empire. A key characteristic of Roman North Africa was the suppression of Berber cultures and customs- the Romans Resentment of these practices caused constant rebellion and revolt during this time. Further conflict was established after the onset of Christianity- before this time, the primary established religion was Judaism. Berbers that converted to Christianity were seen as supporting the Roman Empire, which, for many, was an unacceptable social action. However, there is some historical ambiguity regarding the claims of this conflict, because the primary Christian group in North Africa (the Donatists) expressed frustration with the corruption of the Roman Empire. However, it's important to note that North Africa, and specifically Algeria, experienced early influence from multiple cultures and religions[2].

Decline of the Roman Empire allowed a brief conquest of North Africa by the Germanic Vandals and return of Berber culture. Vandal domination of the area was much unlike that of the Romans- instead of obliteration of local culture, the Vandals simply loosened Roman power on the area and signified a more autonomous capability for the area. After this point, Islam began to spread by nature of Arab military expeditions, which led to succession of many North African regions by the Umayyad Empire. While many Berbers successfully converted to Islam, their Arab leaders did not see them as equals, and Berber suppression occurred in the form of taxation, marked difference in social and political rights, and slavery. While interactions between the Berbers and the Umayyads were not necessarily mutually beneficial, conversion to Islam was largely successful. If the region was not largely Islamic before Umayyad presence, the time during and after Umayyad presence saw a large-scale turn towards this religion. Berbers eventually successfully revolted against their Umayyad rulers, the influence of Umayyad culture remained. This was followed by several more cycles of conquest, repression, and revolt -with similar themes of overriding local cultures and customs in favor of celebrating those of the invading ones. The Napoleonic Wars placed Algeria in the hands of the French Empire in 1830, continuing a perpetual cycle of domination over North African land and people[3]. Algeria has a history of performing as a cultural conductor- used as a medium to project certain values and customs without the expectation that it would contribute its own properties during their implementation.

By 1830, Algeria was no stranger to foreign rule. However, this colonial period is worth particular attention because its end, 1962, is closest to the modern period and many ethnic frustrations expressed by Algerians are made in reference to French colonization, even if questions of Algerian identity may not, in reality, be so simply dismissed as being the product of European colonization. After initial control was achieved, the French seized land and resources to propel their activities over that of anything of Muslim or Berber nature. Many poor or working classes of French citizens moved to Algeria, called the *colons* (colonists) or the *pieds-noirs* (meaning 'black-feet'- the origin of this term is debated, but could be in relation to working barefoot). Quickly, a hierarchy formed with the Europeans at the top and indigenous Algerians at the bottom. Dissent gradually grew, but the land was important enough for France that French interest in the area grew as well. By 1848, Algeria was no longer a colony, rather integrated into France itself[4]. After this point, it became more and more difficult to not be 'European' in Algeria- Muslims were not granted citizenship, taxes were higher, they had less access to education, and their religious practices were suppressed[5]. As Algeria was almost entirely Muslim at France's acquisition, these measures suppressed the indigenous people of the area. Algerian-spurred groups for political reform started as early as 1908, with the Young Algerians, who asked France's prime minister of the time, Georges Clemenceau, for full citizenship[6]- voting expansion occurred, but on a small scale. More groups formed from there' the *Star of North Africa*, a newspaper, formed to protect North African political interests, and called for freedom of press and association and institution of Arabic school, in addition to other demands. It was banned in 1929, which increased radicalization. Another group, the AUMA (Association des Uléma Musulmans Algériens) formed in 1931 to call for reform that would allow freedom to practice Islam. This group gained popular support, and the French responded by refusal of religious freedoms. Animosity grew, so the French drafted the Violette Plan which would allow limited full citizenship for the Muslim elite. It was never enacted, but its suggestion implies French attitudes towards Muslims. Animosity increasingly

2   Metz, Helen Chapin. "Algeria : Country Studies - Federal Research Division, Library of Congress." *American Memory from the Library of Congress - Home Page*. Library of Congress, 01 Dec. 1993. Web. 20 Apr. 2016.,7-11

3   Ibid, 15

4   Ibid, 29

5   Ibid, 33

6   Ibid, 35

grew, and an underground revolt group, eventually named the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) formed with the goal of Algerian independence. Their guerilla retaliation, which was extensive and often public backlash against ordinary Europeans, not an army, led to independence from France in 1962[7].

The cycles of colonization the Algerian land and people have experienced over centuries of existence are manifested as unique ethnic identities. However, proof of this can be difficult to localize. Sources documenting ethnic assertion often aren't common or accessible. In many cases, if questions of identity at a particular place and time are to be answered, they must be extrapolated from the political climate and related documents and actions. This is why art-visual art, in particular, is such a useful primary source when identifying feelings of ethnic identity. Art is often a reaction or reflection on how the artist self-identifies, so it can be interpreted to gather data on how individuals define their ethnicity and how they're affected by either their certainty or confusion in what that is.

In order to examine modern Algerian post-colonial frustration and reciprocal ethnic identity, I examined six different contemporary artistic works by four Algerian artists. One artist (Patrick Altes) explicitly defines his work as a reflection of Algerian diaspora. The other artists- Kader Attia, Houria Niati, and Zineb Sidera, define Algerian identity by exploring the confliction of trying to identify an 'Algerian' past with the constant occlusion of Western ideas and influence. In order to identify a change in the way Algerians define themselves *after* colonization, these works were observed for traditional Algerian (Amazigh) art styles and Algerian art during the Umayyad period. As each piece represents identity expressed in a different way, they will be analyzed individually. By extracting the key elements of these different art traditions and how artists interpreted them to be a part of their identities in the modern period, the multifaceted ways in which Algerians see themselves is more easily defined.

The first piece, Patrick Altes' "Blue Masquerade" (Figure I, Page 15, top image) is specifically constructed to represent the artist's feelings of cultural displacement. Altes described the exhibition containing this piece (Frayed Ideologies, 2015) by stating:

> "In a world with constant, often rapid and brutal transformation, our identity remains defined by our attachment and sense of belonging to a specific land. Straddling two worlds refers to this delicate and often uneasy balancing act that we experience when living in a culture different from the one we originate and the sense of uneasiness and not anchored that it elicits. This restlessness can be construed as a disadvantage or enjoyed for its liberating aspect. There is a mirror effect between outer fractures in the world and the inner turmoil we are experiencing. Sitting on the fence is no longer an option as moral dilemmas concern us all."[8]

Altes was born in Algeria during the French colonial period and uses the significant movement of Algerians to France after the revolution of the late 1950s/early 1960s to inspire his work. In his artists' statement, he states: "What I know is that I certainly don't feel completely French and that there is a bit of emptiness somewhere. Moreover, and maybe because I am a bit of a utopian, I also believe that there is a bit of French-ness in the hearts of the Algerian people"[9]. Knowing this, his work can be more easily examined as an ethnic descriptor. Blue Revolution (and the rest of the works in this series) are composed primarily of torn paper in addition to other media, but the use of paper is particularly significant: it's an emulation of Algeria's Arabic past and its influence of art. Paper allows some use of traditional Arabic art styles- characteristically, calligraphy and arabesque patterns. These elements of Arabic art are significant because the predominantly Muslim nature of the Umayyad dynasty prevented the idolatrous depiction of animals or people in art. Thus, Altes' piece can be seen as having heavy Arabic influence- however, the piece, as a whole, is strongly reminiscent of modern art, in the Western sense. This is significant because , while the artist explicitly states that his pieces are meant to emulate the confusion of an Algerian identity, the 'African' elements of the art seem to emulate a connection with being Muslim (or being considered as Muslim), not being ethnically 'Berber' or African'. This work is meant to show a disparate whole- with elements juxtaposed, meant to show texture and confusion by composition in parts. Altes sees his identity, and perhaps the identity of Algerians as a whole, as a collage of pieces and cultural elements that have been weathered by time and violence but have yet to form into something homogenous.

The second piece, Patrick Altes' 'The Hanging Gardens of Babylon 3" (Figure II, page 15, bottom image) is from the artist's 2013 series 'The Myth of Origins'. This series gives a literal interpretation of belonging on a geographical basis. Altes depicts floral and abstract motifs over the image of a coastline (presumably that of Algeria, although this is uncertain). The more expressive elements don't conform to the map- rather, they are superimposed to give the effect that they are two distinct images that simply exist in the same space, but are not interrelated. Thus, Altes explores ethnic identity as something that is more of a basis of construction and influence, rather than something that emerges from association with a specific geographic region. This series is meant to explore the "notions of transition, alienation, and

7   Ibid,46

8   Scherly, Eva. "Patrick Altes. Frayed Ideologies." Wall Street International. May 22, 2015. Accessed April 20, 2016. http://wsimag.com/art/16302-patrick-altes-frayed-ideologies.

9   Altes, Patrick. "About." Patrick Altes. Accessed April 24, 2016. http://patrickaltes.com/about-2/.

lack of/need for cultural reality"[10]. This piece, in particular, shows a shift in thinking- that ethnicity and identity is not something inherent, but rather something that is formed. As in the first piece, the visual elements are more characteristic of Islamic mosques and mosaics than traditional Berber art (jewelry ,leatherwork, and textiles), showing that this artist saw ethnic expression as synonymous with Islam and its various manifestations, not geographical origin or commitment to a Berber past.

The third piece, Kader Attia's 'Kasbah', (Figure III, page 16, top image) is a piece of installation art that uses scrap metal to form a roof structure reminiscent of poverty and related difficulties. The name of the piece is particularly significant, because 'Kasbah' is something that originally was used to describe the old, sacred part of Muslim cities[11], but, in recent times, has been stigmatized as the Muslim district of any cities- particularly in France. As an installation piece, spectators were asked to walk over the piece, which consisted of many uneven and unstable pieces. As an ethnic descriptor, 'Kasbah' can be seen as a statement on what it means to be Algerian in France- an identity that is often ridden with poverty because it's an identity that's unfavorable[12]. As witnessed in the first two pieces, Attia chooses to comment on aspects of Algerian culture that are profoundly Muslim. This work can be interpreted as criticism of the social structures that allow poverty to occur, but titling the work 'Kasbah' gives a strong indication that Attia is choosing to remark on Islam identity as an aspect of what it means to be Algerian.

The fourth piece, Kader Attia's 'Open your eyes' (Figure IV, page 16 bottom image) is slideshow that juxtaposes ideas of the Western world with images of African cultural items. It's a piece that examines the line separating identities- and, to an extent, whether they exist at all. The premises of using these images was to look at idea of repair- on one side, showing rudimentary facial reconstruction from WWI veterans, and the other side depicting repaired artifacts of various African origins with similar visual compositions. By comparing these pieces, Attia forces the viewer to question if there is a difference between what is considered 'modernity' and what is considered 'antiquity', and that 'Western' and 'non-Western' may not form distinct categories when examined more closely. Attia may not specifically define his project as the explicit questioning of what it means to be Algerian or French, but it shares all the common elements of other artistic endeavors that attempt to explore, ask, or answer those questions. Algerian identity in the modern post-colonial period is one of conflict between asserting an Algerian identity or a French one- as one French-Algerian mentioned in a recent New York Times interview, many feel as if they are distinctly *not* French, but simultaneously bear an identity that is not

Algerian. Attia's visual juxtaposition bears a similar theme of misconception and frustration.

The fifth piece, Houria Niati's 'Dichotomy' (Figure V, page 17, top image) examines identity in a more personal respect that isn't as overtly present in the other sources. As this piece is a self-portrait, the elements of Algerian identity can be examined as the way that the artist personally sees herself. She used snapshots of textiles and portraits of women and used a projector to layer them on her face and giclee prints, resulting in the confluence of multiple art forms and influence in single digital works. This piece, in particular (part of a series of similar works), shows the influence of mosaics characteristic of the Umayyad period of architecture. Other works in this series include portraits of women, showing that the artist considers herself part of the meshwork that constitutes Algerian identity while simultaneously discerning that she uses parts of expressed Algerian-ness to constitute her own meaning of ethnic identity. While the previous artists explored (Altes and Attia) explore identity more on the basis of what it means on a larger scale, Niati's series is significant because it shows that, on an individual basis, a theme of disjunction consistently occurs when modern Algerians define themselves.

The sixth and final piece, Zineb Sidera's 'Sugar Routes II' (Figure VI, page 17, bottom image) gives a simultaneous economic and cultural snapshot of postcolonial identity. This photo is part of an exhibition Sidera compiled in 2015 called 'Sands of Time', and was taken in a sugar silo in Marseille. Sugar was intentionally manipulated to look like sand marked tire tracks, and, while simply composed, the implications of displaying this image reveal a lot about identity. Sugar is an international commodity, and is shown to erase lines of cultural distinction through composition of many different parts, that, like all of the analyzed works of Algerian identity, conglomerate to form a disparate whole. Sidera poses questions of worldwide economic relations, and, through photographs like these, explores the idea that these mechanisms both enhance and suppress differences between regions.

These pieces culminate in a dual argument of constructionism and circumstantialism, which results in an identity based on religious definition. When 'traditionally Algerian' components were found in these pieces, they were more characteristic of influence from the Umayyads than influence of characteristic Berber art. Attia and Sidera commented on ethnic identities in more general ways that could be interpreted as a general identification of an 'African' origin- however, any distinct artistic themes found in these pieces were primarily shown as a fact of Islamic identity (or perception of

10   Altes, Patrick. "The Myth of Origins." Patrick Altes. Accessed April 22, 2016. http://patrickaltes.com/paintings-2/the-myth-of-origins-2/.

11   "Kasbah of Algiers." - UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed April 20, 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/565.

12   Zerdoumi, Amir Jalal. "For French-Algerians and Algerian-French, No Place to Truly Call Home." The New York Times. 2015. Accessed April 23, 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/16/world/africa/france-algeria-immigration-discrimination-racism.html.

which), *not* a localized identification of traditional Algerian artistic elements. Thus, identity is circumstantial, because identity is found in the characteristics of the beliefs and cultures of a Muslim identity- Altes alludes to Muslim calligraphy and patterns, Attia remarks on the state of Muslim slums and the lines between the colonizers and the colonized, Niati references patterns characteristic of mosques, and Sidera references Muslim trade routes. While these artists propel an image of their identity, that identity undoubtedly contains an Islamic past, whether the artist practices that faith or not. This is a marked change from precolonial identity, which had a basis of primordial influence, and artistic expression, if it differed from 'traditional' Berber art, was a circumstantialism reflection on the ruling foreign power of the time. For post-colonial Algerians, the primordial aspects still bear some presence, but are far less evident than they were for pre-colonial Algerians.

However, when Algerians are present elsewhere- the diaspora mentioned by Altes and what seems to be the case for many, Algerian identity is not fixed. Rather, it is something that is expressed differently by any individual that bears that title. Identity plays more of a role for some than for others- there is harsh stigmatization against Algerians in France, probably as some result of bitterness with loss in trade relations, but, again, the French seem to pay little mind to what denotes an 'Algerian' in contrast to what denotes a 'Muslim'. Thus, Islamic aspects of an individual's life would be intentionally downplayed to lessen the effect of such a thick identity. In England, where several of the artists are based, one woman stated: "My country was colonized by the French and independence came at an expensive price. So being British is out of the question."[13]. The assigned identity of 'Islamic-ness' in place of distinction of Algerian-ness is similar here, with one English woman remarking after a conversation " I don't like these people, Pakistanis, I don't like foreign people."[14]. In this respect, a more loose identity can be formed between Muslims in other European nations, because, to Europeans, they clearly aren't European, but they don't feel as if they belong anywhere else. These questions are explored in the aforementioned pieces of art, which attempt to construct an identity based on these feelings of displacement.

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13   Dugan, Emily. "The Real Stories of Migrant Britain: An Algerian Scientist Adjusts to Life Working in a Kebab Shop." The Independent. July 01, 2015. Accessed April 20, 2016. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-real-stories-of-migrant-britain-an-algerian-scientist-adjusts-to-life-working-in-a-kebab-shop-10359294.html.

14   Ibid.

Visual Index

Figure II- Patrick Altes, *Blue Masquerade*, 2015, Mixed media and collage on canvas, 120 x 80 cm, Lahd Gallery

Figure II- Patrick Altes, *The Hanging Gardens of Babylon 3*, 2013, Mixed media on canvas, 150 x 100 cm, Janet Rady Fine Art

Figure III- Kader Attia, *Kasbah*, 2009, Installation,
Centre de Création Contemporaine de Tours

Figure IV-Kader Attia, *Open Your Eyes*, 2010, Two sets of 80 35mm black-and-white and color slides. Projection (each): 63 x 102 3/8″ (160 x 260 cm), The Contemporary Arts Council of The Museum of Modern Art and Committee on Media and Performance Art Funds

Figure V- Houria Niati, *Dichotomy*, 2007, Computer manipulated images and giclee on canvas, www.hourianiati.com

Figure VI- Zineb Sidera, *Sugar Routes II*, 2013, C-type photographic print, 144 x 180 cm, The Third Line

The Rise and Fall of Empire: Comparing India and Algeria's Paths Towards Freedom
By: Katherine Anthony

Two continents connected by an ocean. Two rapidly changing countries, connected by colonization and imperialism. This is the story of a race for independence. Peaceful versus violent, India and Algeria has very different stories to tell. The end result may be the same, yet the pathway each takes is extremely different. Considered the largest country on the continent of Africa, Algeria has a history of oppression. Widely known for being a part of the Ottoman Empire beginning in the year 1525, and later controlled by imperialist France following their conquest of the territory in 1830, Algeria's history is full of inconsistency. Similar to this case is the one of India, the largest country on the South Asian Subcontinent. Swapping the French out for the East India Company, a British imperialist program, these two countries can be considered similar and different for many reasons.

"Colonization will not stop with the conquest: in time, it will invade everything."[1] This quote, by Marshal Thomas-Robert Bugeaud is a perfect depiction of what would eventually occur in Algeria. Invaded in 1830 by France, Philip Chiviges Naylor writes in his book *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* that Algeria was not necessarily established as a "nation".[2] Although there was no central government, the region did feel a strong sense of community. Under the Ottoman rule, the Algerians were given the rights of a sovereign state. This changed after the city of Algiers fell to the French. As a majority Islamic country, the French colonization lead to not only territorial winnings, but also cultural. At the time, France, a predominantly Catholic country would prove its rule over such a large Islamic piece of territory.

France held other colonies during its time in Algeria. Spanning from Asia, to North Western Africa, the French were not a stranger to colonization. The colonies of The Middle East arrived in 1860, when Lebanon and Syria came under French control. The late 18th century and early 19th century saw expansion in North America. Canada, which would eventually become an English territory still practices parts of the French culture today. Algeria and its story are a set of bookends to the story of the second French colonial empire.

The way the French ruled Algeria sets the background for why the bloody war for independence took place. As mentioned prior, Algeria is a predominately Muslim country and following the colonization by the French this did not change, but rather increased as indicated by History World: "from 1830 to the mid-20th century, the Muslim population also increased greatly, from 3 million to about 9   million. As in any such situation, the settlers ensure that economic and political power is exclusively theirs. And as elsewhere, the underprivileged majority begins to make itself heard during the 20th century".[3]
Outbreaks of rebellion between the French and Muslim Algerians continued until the 1880s. Once the rebellions were silenced by their colonizers, the French constitution declared Algeria to be a "French proper", a direct part of France culture, rather than a colony. This would mean Algeria was technically a part of France. Those residing in Algeria of European decent were given rights as if they were in France. They could elect their own governments for example. Muslims on the other hand could not hold the office of mayor or assistant mayor. They were allowed on a local level to run government, under the supervision of the French Army. The world Wars would prove to be difficult for this region. World War II saw many colonial troops from French Algeria being sent to fight.

Following a century of fighting with France over whom would have control of the Indian subcontinent, The United Kingdom, formerly through the East India Company would rule over India until 1947. The British Raj which translates to British "rule" began following an Indian rebellion in 1857. Following this rebellion power was transferred from the British East India Company to the crown under Queen Victoria
Rule under the United Kingdom was very organized as detailed in the website dedicated to Colonialism in India, Gateway For India. In 1861 The Indian Councils Act, High Courts Act and Penal code were passed.

1   Marshal Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, De La Colonisation de l'algérie
2   France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation by Phillip Chiviges Naylor (p. 6)
3   http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ac92

British continued to expand the railways and telegraphic network and in 1868 new Ambala – Delhi railway line was started.[4] Following the proclamation which made Queen Victoria the empress of India in 1877, a Hindu resistance movement was taking form. Many involved in this movement would die for their cause, allowing for them to become martyrs of Hinduism.

India is divided among two major religions which would cause a rift in the near future. oth Islam and Hinduism had a large following in this region. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 under the rule of Womesh Chandra Banerjee, a Hindu. 1905 saw the first "divide and rule" policy in Bengal, where the British empire divided the region into Hindu and Muslim regions. . By doing this British had hoped to increase tensions between the Hindus and the Muslims. [5] Yet in 1906, the Muslim League was formed. Although Muslims had a fair representation in Congress some of them wanted a separate platform for Indian Muslims.[6] By the partition of Bengal in 1905 British successfully sowed the seeds of division between Hindus and Muslims that lead ultimately to the partition of India in 1947. Ghosts of the British 'divide and rule' policy, continue to haunt independent India and Pakistan in present times with continuing tensions and border disputes.[7]

As mentioned prior in the Algeria case, The Indian population was a major part of the World Wars of the 20th century. In both World War I and World War II, a large Indian population served in the military under the British crown. By the end of the World War I in 1918, the numerical strength of Indians in British Indian Army had increased to nearly 600,000.[8] The colony began to feel the stresses of being under the rule of someone so far away from the action. January 9, 1915, saw the beginning of a new phase in India's struggle for independence with arrival of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to Bombay from South Africa. Two major events took place at the Lucknow session of the Indian Nation Congress in 1916. First, the moderate and hardliner groups were united. Second, the Muslim League put aside old differences and joined hands with the Indian National Congress.[9]

In 1954 the Algerians saw the creation of the National Liberation Front or the FLN. This group would eventually see the rise of a free, independent Algeria, but not without consequence. Guy Pervillé's book *Pour une histoire de la guerre d'Algérie: 1954-1962*, translated into English states "the decolonization war was an external war fought between France and the FLN, but it was not the only war going on during this period. And internal civil war was also fought due to the increase in French supporters against the FLN supporters. The wars were both categorized by guerilla warfare, and torture used by both sides. [10] The war, which would last 7 years began on November 1st, 1954, known today as "Red All Saints' Day" in Algeria. From Midnight to 2 am on the 1st, 30 bomb attacks took place on police and military. In total, 7 were killed. The FLN took responsibility for this attack and it was named Toussaint Rouge by the French.

Alistair Horne writes in his book *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* about the leaders of the Algerian Revolution. An important leader in not only the nationalist movement, but the war itself was Ferhat Abbas. On May 8th, 1945 the Sétif Massacre took place. The French Army as well as many other civilians killed over 6,000 Algerians. Abbas gained major popularity following this event, and with it He founded the Democratic Union o the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA). Abbas was also a major leader in the FLN which was founded by a 5 man leadership: Mostefa Ben Boulaïd, Larbi Ben M'hidi, Rabah Bitat, Mohamed Boudiaf and Mourad Didouche. The group would later be joined by almost all the nationalist organizations in Algeria. On the French side, the colonial power which had just lost Indochina, was determined not to lose another anti-colonial war, particularly not in its oldest and nearest major colony, which was regarded as an integral part of the republic.[11] The struggle to put the war down would be the major reason France would fight.

By the end of the war and the beginning of the cease fire in 1962, the FLN would be considered responsible for over 16,000 Algerian civilians killed and over 13,000 disappeared between 1954 and 1962. Pervillé mentions in his work that after the ceasefire of March 19th, FLN is thought to have massacred between 60,000 and 70,000 harkis: Muslim Algerians who had served in the French army and whom the French, contrary

4   http://www.gatewayforindia.com/history/british_history3.htm
5   Ibid.
6   http://www.gatewayforindia.com/history/british_history3.htm
7   http://www.gatewayforindia.com/history/british_history3.htm
8   Ibid.
9   Ibid.
10   Guy Pervillé, Pour une histoire de la guerre d´Algérie, chap. "Une double guerre civile", Picard, 2002, pp.132–139
11   Alistair Horne, A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954–1962 (1977).

to promises given, had denied a "repatriation" to France.[12] The reputation of the FLN given to the party during the war would stick with the history of Algeria to the present.

A distinct and rather important but overlooked difference between most revolutionary movements of the 20th century and Algeria's is that of their involvement of women in revolutionary causes. Women operated in many different roles throughout the revolution. Meredith Turshen, author of *Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims* states the following: "Women participated actively as combatants, spies, fundraisers, as well as nurses, launderers, and cooks".[13]When looking at these roles one by one, it is obvious when calculating the time and place, more women worked in non-combat roles than their counterpart. In is interesting to note however, these women went rather unnoticed in comparison to those who worked in combat. Those whom worked in the FLN got the most recognition.

Originally, when the idea of women as combat soldiers came up in conversation among the FLN, the officers wished to create them to be fictional. In Marinia Lazreg's *The Eloquence of Silence,* she writes of the FLN creating a "myth of the female warrior and the wish to idolize her as a martyr and linchpin in the war".[14] This idea of a "female warrior" drew women into their combat roles, and the FLN used this as well as the notion of "freedom" linked with the strong nationalistic motivations of the FLN to draw more females into their roles, whether they be non-combat or combat. The internal workings of the FLN were completely different from these external workings. . In Natalya Vince's *Transgressing Boundaries: Gender, Race, Religion, and "Francaises Musulmannes during Algerian War of Independence* she includes a quotation from an FLN commander named Si Allal: "it is forbidden to recruit djoundiates (female soldiers) and nurses without the zone's authorization. In independent Algeria, the Muslim woman's freedom stops at the door of her home. Woman will never be equal to man".[15] This quote brings to light the problems Algeria would face in its future as a predominantly (99%) Muslim nation.

The rigorous obstacles faced by women when entering combat came from not only their personal lives, but the FLN in general. If married, many husbands were against activity in the FLN. Barbara Gates quotes in *The Political Roles of Islamic Women: A Study of Two Revolutions – Algeria and Iran* the following: "Some men did not wish to subject women to any additional danger outside of the Signiant risks of simply living in Algeria at this time". [16] Natalya Vince also argues once they entered the FLN they faced additional requirements, "from investigation of adultery which was punishable by death, to the test of her virginity".[17] Trust was a major factor for FLN commanders, and often even after their acceptance into the resistance movement, Neil Macmaster argues in *Burning The Veil* that "these women were deported from Algeria. Most were removed by 1958".[18] Due to this fear of deportation, many women in the FLN stuck to Laundry, cooking, or medical work.

In India, an Independence movement was brewing. As mention prior, Gandhi had arrived in 1915 to a colony bursting at the seams. As seen in Sangram Purohit's 1982 film *Gandhi,* "Mohandas Gandhi, also known as Mahatma Gandhi received his education in London. After becoming a lawyer, he moved to South Africa. Following being thrown off a train because he was a colored person sitting in a first-class seat, Gandhi took that emotion and used it to begin to fight the injustices that many people of color faced at the time".[19]

12   Alistair Horne, A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954–1962 (1977).

13   Turshen, Meredith. "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims". Social Research Vol. 69 No. 3 (Fall 2002) p. 889-911, p.890

14   Lazreg, Marnia. The Eloquence of Silence. London: Routledge, 1994 p. 130

15 Vince, Natalya "Transgressing Boundaries: Gender, Race, Religion and 'Fracaises Musulmannes during Algerian War of Independence." French Historical Studies. Vol. 33 No. 3 (Summer 2010) p. 445-474, p.445

16   Gates, Barbara The Political Roles of Islamic Women: A Study of Two Revolutions - Algeria and Iran. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1987 p. 78-79

17   Vince, Natalya "Transgressing Boundaries: Gender, Race, Religion and 'Fracaises Musulmannes during Algerian War of Independence." French Historical Studies. Vol. 33 No. 3 (Summer 2010) p. 445-474, p.445

18   MacMaster, Neil. Burning the veil the Algerian war and the "emancipation" of Muslim women ; 1954 - 62. Manchester: Manchester U Press, 2012. Print.

19   Purohit, Sangram Singh J. "MAHATMA GANDHI - GANDHI MOVIE - VIDEO CLIPS ON GANDHIJI." Gandhi - Mahatma

After his move to India, Gandhi went relatively unknown, but under his leadership, Indians began to use a different method to get freedom over the next few decades.[20]

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Indian National Congress Party had supported the British, but they had demanded freedom for India after the war. The British did not agree to this proposal.[21] In 1942 the leaders of the party met in Bombay and adopted a policy which would force the British out of India. Under Gandhi's slogan of "Do or Die" the party called this policy the "Quit India Movement', as stated in Ramachandra Guha's book *Makers of Modern India*. Gandhi wanted this movement to be peaceful and it spread rapidly throughout India. Gandhi's wishes were not kept in certain regions and in order to stop it, he fasted. . Gandhi wanted this movement to be peaceful and it spread rapidly throughout India. Gandhi's wishes were not kept in certain regions and in order to stop it, he fasted. This shut down the violence.[22] The British arrested over 100,000 people, and dropped bombs on the people who demonstrated against the Raj. All of the leaders of the national Congress Party were arrested as well as Gandhi's wife, Kasturba. Following the Second World War and the increase in an Indian independence movement, the British released all prisoners and went to talks with the National Congress Party.

Algeria declared its Independence on July 5th, 1962. With such a declaration came the decline and later extinction of the French Fourth Republic, which had begun in 1946 following the dissolve of Vichy France. Nabila Ramdani writes in her article titled "Fifty Years After Algeria's Independence France is Still in Denial" how when many think of 1962 they do not think of Algeria, but for Algerians the largest country in Africa and the Arab world, called time on a savage period of history in which some 1.5 million Algerians died, most in aerial bombing raids and *ratissages* – a word used to describe the way in which army units "combed through" cities and towns slaughtering those they came across. Hundreds of thousands more were tortured as an entire nation was made to pay for resisting the might of an overseas "master" to whom it had been subjugated for 132 years. France has not gotten over its defeat in Algeria and is still clearly in denial[23]

India and the United Kingdom have a different relationship today. Many Brits live in India and many Indians live in the United Kingdom. With relatively good relations these two have come a long way from where we left off. In August of 1947 India received independence. This did not solve everything, however. One of the darkest periods in history for India would follow: The Partition. Divided into Muslim and Hindu territories along the Punjab river by a man whom had never visted the region, the new countries of Pakistan and India were formed. If you were Muslim living in India you moved to Pakistan, and vice versa. This causes a lot of havoc among the population and is still an emotional issue to this day when discussing Pakistan and India. More than 1 to 2 million people died while crossing the border established by the British on the Punjab. Families were separated, what had once been home was now enemy territory. East and West Pakistan - regions which were created out of their large Muslim populations, but were situated with a large Hindu territory in the middle, would later be partitioned even further in 1971 into Pakistan and Bangladesh, declaring three vastly different states out of the former Indian Empire.

versus violence and hatred versus friendship are how we can draw a line in the sand today.

Gandhi - Mohandas Gandhi - The Father of Nation. N.p., n.d. Web. 4 Mar. 2017.

20   Ibid.

21   http://www.gatewayforindia.com/history/british_history3.htm

22   Ibid.

23   Ramdani, Nabila. "Fifty years after Algeria's independence, France is still in denial | Nabila Ramdani." Opinion. Guardian News and Media, 05 July 2012. Web. 04 Mar. 2017.

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COMMUNISM
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INTRODUCTION

In the course of human history, the world has seen civilizations experiment with new forms of government, each one evolving to the demands of the time period. The twentieth century is no stranger to this phenomena, as it witnessed the rise of communism. With its roots in Eastern Europe, key events occurring throughout the 1900s, such as industrial revolutions, the World Wars, and the Cold War, led to communism growing and sinking itself into countries around the world.

Communist philosophy not only engulfed the political beliefs of some countries, but also the culture and day-to-day activities of these societies. While some found benefits within communist principles, such as equality for all citizens and a classless structure, others found the flaws and restrictions that communism brought when put to practice, both as a government philosophy and a way of life.

In this section, these collegiate scholars offer the perspectives on Communism in the 20th century through political, social, and spiritual lens. This section is divided geographically, beginning with the Soviet Union, then expanding to countries primarily influenced by the Soviets in the Twentieth Century.

Jennifer Rodgers, Editor

COMMUNISM:
A RUSSIAN AND SOVIET PERSPECTIVE

"Give me four years to teach the children and the seed I have sowed will never be uprooted."
- Vladimir Lenin

Engineers of Human Souls: Invoking Soviet Ideology in Soivet Art
Abigail Sweetman

The Formation of Political Imagery

Images are exceptionally powerful tools. Visual cues have a dual capacity to create connections between disparate groups and elucidate subtle differences in otherwise homogenous communities. A political body that has the skill to use and manipulate imagery is a body that increases its power and accessibility. From the state to the individual level, the human experience is one of constant manipulation to produce images, visual or otherwise, that represent a conceptual ideal. There are many excellent examples of these ideals, and strong evidence of these images can be found in the early state-building days of many nations. Russia, and the Soviet Union, used a exceptional examples of visual and conceptual idealization. Russian leaders carefully curated images that represented ideals of the state, and exempted others as being unrepresentative of social and political directions. Idealization through images in the Russian geopolitical sphere is a process that has shifted and refined through specific actors in politics and art.

While imagery can be seen as both visual and conceptual sets of experiences, officials of Russian states used ideology from the periods they occupied to form sets of aesthetic principles that would be used to set limits on creative disciplines, specifically visual art. The integration of state ideals into visual art limited who created art and what was seen as art, changed how the state ideology was represented, and allowed officials to use artists to produce propaganda and limit creative dissention. While Russian artists were censored or encouraged through multiple methods, the act of censorship helped form new avenues for nonconformist art. The desire to reflect national ideals with imagery is not a unique creation, but degrees of pressure exerted on artistic expression resulted in a unique visual history that reveals the unusual result of extreme artistic politicization.

A Brief History of Art as a Political Tool in Russia (1672-1851)

Two Examples of Portraiture As Early State Tools

Painting is an art form that necessitates individuality in implementation. Thus, identifying a national consciousness through pieces of art can only be achieved through certain styles and subjects. Examples of nationalist art are not specific to time periods or geopolitical lines- these works can be found throughout Russian history. Official portraits of leaders can be considered early forms of 'state art' because they project images of nationality through idealizing tsars as symbols of the state they governed.

A 1672 Kremlin portrait of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich(r. 1645-1672) (see **Fig. 1,** page 24) is ornately decorated with church symbols, including a collar with precious stones and clothing embroidered with gold thread, but most notably a double-headed eagle motif on his staff, adopted by Ivan III in the late 15th century. The clothing Aleksei wears in this portrait was not characteristic of 17th century Russian nobility, but *was* easily recognizable as the accouterment of Byzantine rulers[1]. The Byzantine Empire fell in 1453, but Russian saw themselves as its heirs and chose to depict themselves thusly. The imagery is not done in a realist style, favoring a more stylized and traditional Muscovite style. As a culturally longstanding visual tradition, Muscovite art was traditionally paintings and tapestries that featured rich colors and exaggerated features. Behind the portrait is Cyrillic script detailing Aleksei's official title. The choice of symbolism here is necessary to interpret this portrait as an early piece of nationalist art. This work was done by Kremlin artists, which at the time, was less of a group of individual artists and more a collective body that produced art. The Kremlin artists chose to give an image of a Russian ruler that was not authentic, but any deviations from authenticity served to benefit the image of the tsar and his rule. By heavily decorating a contemporary ruler with recognizable Byzantine symbolism, artists clearly intended to connect Russian rulers to a distant past. Russian Orthodoxy was adopted from Byzantium in 988. The use of Byzantine symbols in 1672 may come from a wish to depict Russian Orthodoxy as the most superior or authentic form of Christianity, by tying it directly to the source. No matter the purpose,

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1   Valerie A. Kivelson, and Joan Neuberger, eds. *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*. Yale University Press, 2008. 112.

the result is the same: an identifiable Russian leader is characterized in a work of portraiture that claims non-Russian elements as part of Russian culture to portray a specific and flattering image that combines aspects of church and state and claim the history of Byzantium as something inherently Russian.

A 1717 portrait of Peter the Great (1721-1725) (see Fig. 2, page 25) gives a similar pattern of attributes, but the attributes used are starkly different. His portrait is devoid of religious symbolism; the tsar is shown instead in military regalia. Script under the painting is not in Cyrillic, but in Latin. Additionally, the painting is ornately decorated with leaves and textile detail common in Western European painting at the time. While Alexsei's portrait uses some ideas of Russian ethnic symbolism to connect rulers to an idea of a Byzantine legacy, there is no imagery in Peter's portrait that can be attributed as distinctly Russian. However, there is overt imagery that depicts Peter the Great as a Western monarch: the Western style of the portrait is an initial indicator, but the additional choices of Latin (the Western intellectual language of the time), and military rather than religious clothing indicate a stronger desire to emphasize non-Russian traits that made looking at Russia, and the Russian tsar, as a Western power. This is significant because Peter the Great's rule was characterized by moves towards Western ideology in culture, military, art, and literature[2]. His depiction as a Western monarch shows that the state image of this leader was curated in a specific way to highlight his place as a Westernizing leader.

Formation of Patrimonial Views of Russian Art

While Peter the Great's portrait, in some sense, represents deviation from previous ideas of an ethnically-Russian national consciousness as shown through art, the period of his rule helped propagate ideas that would later be used as scaffolding for nationalist art in the Stalinist period. This time (officially as well as popularly) saw the emergence of art and artistic styles that were identified as Russian.

In 1851 a "Note for the Survey of Russian Antiquities" issued by the existing monarchical governing body determined what art and artifacts could be considered historical artifacts. While 1700 was the cutoff date established at this time, many older pieces were denied designation as Russian antiquities because they were designated as derivatives from Byzantine culture. Further measures attempted to create more effective ways to establish and preserve a national history through visual art, but disagreements arose as to what shared history *was*. After Peter the Great's largely successful move towards Westernization, there was a trend to discount religious artifacts as belonging to the Orthodox Church, but *not* belonging to Russian culture. This history of art and artifacts is not organic. It is curated to exclude certain aspects of artistic history and include others in order to compile an image that fit parameters of what the Russian state should be and where Russian history should have come from.[3]

The Russian Revolution of 1917,and later formation of the Soviet Union in 1922, changed predispositions against imagery or art incongruent with Russian political images. A secular, socialist state isn't likely to preserve religious imagery. However, a state like this **does** need to accomplish certain goals with art and imagery that can only be achieved in very specific ways. Art in this climate must create a sense of unity. It must be accessible and effective in forming a sense of common history and experience. Many valuable pieces of art and artifacts existing in Russia prior to 1917 were either property of the former nobility and religious in nature, which was problematic for a regime that often condemned both private property and division of society through religion. New state-builders had to derive value from the remnants of an opulence that was a facet of revolution. The Bolsheviks looted and auctioned off most artifacts from the collections of churches and the nobility, including formidable numbers of Orthodox paintings and artifacts.[4] These works weren't seen to be representative of the image of the new state. It's notable that certain paintings and images were not only viewed as unworthy of protection, but were physically removed from the state for profit. Thus, state-forming was dependent on exemplifying new economic and social ideals through multiple avenues, including placing

2Kagarlitsky, Boris, and Renfrey Clarke. "Peter the Great." In *Empire of the Periphery: Russia and the World System*, 140. Londin; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008.

3 Ekaterina Pravilova "Private Possessions and National Art." In *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia*, Princeton University Press, 2014. 200.

4 McMeekin, Sean. *History's Greatest Heist: The Looting of Russia by the Bolsheviks*, Yale University Press, New Haven; London, 2009. 68.

limitations on visual art.

The Implementation of Soviet Realism (1917-1935)

Avant-Garde, Malevich's Black Square, and Productionism

Post-World War I Europe was an exceptionally formative period in art of all disciplines. The exhaustive and needless loss of a significant portion of European youth led to growth in existentialist thought that led many artists to explore the parameters of their respective media. Artists didn't want to depict the world they were living in, so they expanded the limits of what art could look like, represent, or accomplish. The avant-garde movement was composed of art and artists that were often radical, experimental, and reactionary to social and cultural norms. François Fosca, a mainstream art critic of the time, remarked that "Modern art had sacrificed truth to self-expression through form."[5] To the emerging Communist party, the growing success of surrealist and experimental modern art was problematic. Goals of the early communist party involved restructuring ideas of classism into something equally accessible by everyone. Surrealist art, created as a movement of the avant-garde to harness the unconscious mind in artistic works, challenged these ideals in a myriad of ways. Surrealist pieces were primarily created and consumed by wealthy intellectuals. Deviation from realism signified rebellion; the rejection of previously held ideals for art was a refusal of order. To the early communists, surrealism was anarchist, bourgeois, and unsupportable.

In Russia, the avant-garde movement was seen as reactionary to changing society, technology, and the same post-World War I existentialism that influenced other avant-garde movements.[6] Artists were influenced not only by a sharp knowledge of mortality, but advances in technology corresponded to a turn from religion. Many artists believed that God was dead, so there was no longer a need to emulate him.[7] Individuals who lived through an unprecedented extent of earthly destruction had to respond and interpret outcomes radically. One of the most characteristic pieces of the early avant-garde period was created in Russia in 1915. Kasimir Malevich, a Ukraine-born artist who gained fame and notoriety for his piece influential *Black Square* (see Fig. 3) defied all previous ideals of art: instead of painting an identifiable subject, this work puzzles the viewer by simply depicting a black square on canvas. Calling his art Suprematism, Malevich declared that, "To the Suprematist the visual phenomena of the objective world are, in themselves, meaningless; the significant thing is feeling".[8] Malevich's work was radically formless-- its abstraction blatantly denied nature.[9] Traditionally, the quality of art was appraised by how closely it reflected its subject-- an object of the natural world. Realism set limited goals, because nature is a completed whole; it necessitates that its fragments are also completed wholes.[10] The avant-garde artist depicts an unnatural world with different properties. Surrealist pieces function outside of the bounds of reality--they are, by definition, boundless. Under these considerations, Malevich's *Black Square* is characteristic of the avant-garde movement. By choosing to represent abstract feeling instead of a concrete subject, Malevich subverts ideas of artistic parameters.

Malevich can represent the idea of the avant-garde comprehensively-- while he was more radical than other artists, his work contained ideas that were circulating at this time[11], but his work can also reveal necessary information about Russian artistic ideals. Malevich himself saw his work as a secular representation of Russian iconography[12]- the same idealized images that were prosecuted as antiquated in the 18th century and physically removed from the Russian geopolitical sphere in the 20th century. Malevich saw his images as representing something mystical and boundless, cognizant of religious iconography. However, this boundlessness is precisely what made the avant-garde movement contrary to Soviet ideals.

Surrealist artists had to create a new world, and have absolute power over that world. Their work

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5 Grant, Kim. *Surrealism and the Visual Arts: Theory and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 238.

6 Groys, Boris. *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*. London: Verso Books, 1992. 12.

7 Ibid.14.

8 Kasimir Malevich, *The Non-Objective World: The Manifesto of Suprematism* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2003), 67.

9 Philip Shaw, 'Kasimir Malevich's *Black Square*, in Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (eds.), *The Art of the Sublime*, Tate Research Publication, January 2013, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/philip-shaw-kasimir-malevichs-black-square-r1141459, accessed 11 November 2017.

10 Groys, "Total art of Stalinism". 20-21.

11Ibid.18.

12Ibid.18.

reflected a demand to change reality, and challenge society. These ideas were destructive to a Soviet state, which demanded cooperation from individuals and control by the state. To counter this, the Soviet state started to praise productionism, or a utilitarian take on modern art that praised functionality instead of aesthetic value. The *Journal of the Left Front of the Arts*, or LEF, was a Soviet publication that focused almost exclusively on productionist art. One of the journal's editors, craftsman and journalist Nikolai Chuzhak, attested that "Art as a method of knowing life…is the highest content of old bourgeois esthetics. Art as a method for building life-- this is the slogan behind the proletarian conception of the science of art"[13]. LEF theoreticians saw artists like Malevich with autonomous artistic goals as counterrevolutionary. By praising art for function and denouncing those that used art in ways that could be argued as unnecessarily intellectual or classist, the Soviet state started to form ideas of what art should look like and how to integrate new ideals into imagery.

Creative Unions Under Stalin

On April 23, 1932, the Party Central Committee, the main political organizing body behind the Soviet state, issued a resolution entitled "On the Restructuring of Literary and Artistic Organizations".This created three creative Unions that all "creative workers" had to join in order to continue their work.[14] Dissatisfied with the freedoms artists had, the Party moved to exert its control through unions. Initially, this appeared to be a development that could offer significant benefits for artists: there were several powerful creative groups at the time that had large levels of control on creative output. The Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia, or AhKRR, was formed by individual artists and became known as a voice for how communist ideals should be exemplified in visual art.[15] The oppressive influence of groups like these across all artistic disciplines led many to believe that party control of art and artists would actually allow for more freedoms-- the formation of unions necessitated the disbanding of creative groups.   However, Soviet control of artists led to unforeseen changes.

Under the creative unions, artists that would have previously worked independently became state employees. Artists were formerly responsible for supplying the materials and attracting the buyers necessary to continue their work, a process that was much less reliable than state appropriation of material and funds. Thus, Union formation led to levels of income stability uncommon for artists at the time, and their financial compensations led to the development of an elite artist class. A cursory view of developments in Soviet art, literature, and music shows that this was a particularly fruitful time, most likely due to the fact that artistic production was highly incentivized monetarily. Some artists used the union system to request funds far beyond what they needed, creating an interesting paradox: artists' Unions were created as part of a system intent on destroying class systems, but unregulated and inconsistent financial appropriation within these unions created an upper class of cultural intelligentsia.[16] However, while some artists were able to become quite wealthy practicing their crafts, these opportunities weren't open to everyone. The achievements of acceptance into studios or obtaining funds from the union were often highly tied to an artist's fame or connections. After 1932, unions became the sole source for artists to receive commissions, sales, exhibitions, housing, studio space, paint, canvas, printing presses, and foundries.[17] In a state that idealized equality, equal opportunity was nothing more than a concept.

During World War II, requests for financial support from artists' unions waned significantly, as the need for a Soviet artistic image became relatively less important than the concerns of wartime. After this period, being an artist became lucrative once again, but there was an important caveat: while working as an artist could come with formidable benefit and power, working as an artist in a union under Stalin meant sacrificing autonomous creative power. Economic systems that don't rely on markets can have particular difficulties for certain professions, but the problems that arose under the Soviet system for artists were especially profound. After 1932, artists could not sell their work or obtain materials without joining an artists' union, and had to submit to party control in order to work.. Creation became an exceptionally limited luxury and the implementation of socialist realism as a state principle subverted and remaining creative control. Soviet policy

13   Groys, "Total art of Stalinism". 27.
14   Tolz, Vera. "'Cultural Bosses' as Patrons and Clients: The Functioning of the Soviet Creative Unions in the Postwar Period." *Contemporary European History* 11, no. 1 (2002): 92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20081818.
15   Groys, "Total art of Stalinism"..35.
16   Ibid. 93.
17   Wallach, Amei. "Censorship in the Soviet Bloc." *Art Journal* 50, no. 3 (1991): 78. doi:10.2307/777221.

for artistic support led to restrictions on artistic freedom that threatened the organic integrity of art as a whole.

The Implementation of Soviet Realism

A convincing argument can be made implying that the most important Soviet output was not a concrete product, but rather an abstract image. The Soviet story was one that highlighted anything proving the unlikely realization of a social and economic utopia. Considering this, it became incredibly important for Soviet leaders to limit artistic freedoms and silence any voices that might destabilize the state-mandated image. However, determining what that image was required some development. Essentially, Soviet actors had to define both the ideals behind state images and the means of enforcing them. These problems were combatted through the concept of socialist realism, a style of idealistic realism in art and literature which was established as the official style of Art and Literature at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934. Andrei Zhdanov, a prominent member of the Communist Party, and Maxim Gorky, an influential Soviet writer, proposed the doctrine. It was used to govern art and literature until the mid-1980s.[18] When it was proposed in 1934, the idea of Socialist Realism didn't appear as a fully-formed set of rules for artists to follow. In proposing this ideology, Zhdanov invoked Stalin by vaguely, but patriotically stating:

> "Comrade Stalin has called our writers 'engineers of human souls.' What does this mean? What obligations does this title impose on us? First of all, it means that we must know life so as to depict it truthfully in our works of art-and not to depict it scholastically, lifelessly, or merely as "objective reality"; we must depict reality in its revolutionary development.... Soviet literature must be able to show our heroes, must be able to catch a glimpse of tomorrow."[19]

The congress proposal allowed for the official acceptance of aesthetic ideology that had been growing in popularity in the years leading up to this time, with creative groups of independent artists such as the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia, or AhKRR (and the equivalent group in literature--- the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, or RAPP), and publications like LEF. In actuality, a concept was agreed upon at this meeting--- words were attributed to a possible mode of artistic governance. Stalin approved the term socialist realism shortly after this congress, and it was meant to apply to all disciplines that were governed by creative unions, but particularly applied to literature.[20]

There were some significant difficulties that accompanied how this doctrine was established. As mentioned, the 1934 implementation of socialist realism was exceptionally vague--- other than the term itself and a general idea of what it represented, there were no official parameters that outlined what the tenets of socialist realism included or excluded, which left significant room for interpretation of each piece and each artist up to governing bodies. A 1934 edition of *Pravda,* the official newspaper of the Communist Party, stated that socialist realism demanded

> "truthfulness from the artist and a historically concrete portrayal of reality in its revolutionary development. Under these conditions, truthfulness and historical concreteness of artistic portrayal ought to be combined with the task of the ideological remaking and education of working people in the spirit of socialism"[21]

While specific goals for socialist realist works are stated, the physical properties of these works are not stated. Thus, there is a significant portion of subjectivity in determining whether or not an artist effectively displayed

18   Efimova, Alla. "To Touch on the Raw: The Aesthetic Affections of Socialist Realism." *Art Journal* 56, no. 1 (1997): doi:10.2307/777789. 76.
19   *"Decree on the Reconstruction and Artistic Organization"s,* reproduced in John Bowlt, ed., Russian Art of the Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism (New York: Thames and Hudson), p 293-294.

20   Groys, "Total Art of Stalinism", 33.
21   As quoted in Pisch, Anita. *The Personality Cult of Stalin in Soviet Posters, 1929–1953: Archetypes, Inventions and Fabrications*. Australia: ANU Press, 2016. 94.

these ideals. It can be inferred that this lack of specificity was intentional---regulating officials had the power to decide what socialist realism meant in each individual instance, giving creative unions more regulatory power. A simultaneous, deleterious effect of these choices affected artists: artists became more vulnerable to identification and prosecution as counterrevolutionaries, due to the lack of specific legislature and the highly subjective nature of creative works.[22]

While creative groups were officially disbanded with the advent of creative unions in 1932, the leaders of AhKRR effectively became the leaders of the new artists' unions, and the work they did in creative groups essentially became what the nebulous term socialist realism was based off of. Thus, any emerging artists attempting to work in this time had to force their art into styles previously popularized by leading artists. Creatively, this was directly stifling: by 1935, the principles that dominated the loose definition of socialist realism had been circulating for at least a decade. Artists were unable to produce or conceptualize anything new. If they refused to cooperate with socialist realism, they could be denied entrance into a union and therefore rendered unable to receive compensation or materials to continue their work. Allegiance to creative autonomy could also be dangerous. Even if an artist practiced careful imitation of styles that seemed to represent socialist realism, they were not protected from a subjective interpretation of their work that could flag them as counterrevolutionary and enemies of the Soviet experiment.

Characteristics of Soviet Realism Under Stalin

There was no official definition of socialist realism, but there are some conglomerating characteristics that can help define the purpose and application of revolutionary principles to visual art. In a 1992 work examining principles of art under Stalin, Boris Groys, a Soviet-born art critic and philosopher, stated that -

"Socialist realism was not created by the masses but was formulated in their name by well-educated and experienced elites who had assimilated the experience of the avant-garde and been brought to socialist realism by the internal logic of the avant-garde method itself, which had nothing to do with the actual tastes and demands of the masses."[23]

Groys gives an excellent interpretation on where socialist realism comes from and how it would seem attractive to Soviet state-builders in the 1930s. Previous discussion of creative unions and the implementation of socialist realism as a state policy outlined the classist nature of leading groups of artists. The most influential artists formed a cultural elite class that was highly influenced by other artistic disciplines that were coming into power at the time. Their power and influence laid an aesthetic scaffold for what would become state policy- an interesting phenomenon because the artists that formed ideas of proletariat art were, in fact, the least connected to the working masses. In fact, these figures often worked very hard to distance themselves from the proletariat majority. Even if an artist's origin was humble, the opportunities presented a successful artist could propel them to a more elite status.

However, the influence of the avant-garde (and the argument that socialist realism was, in fact, part of the avant-garde movement) can help explain what visually would define a socialist realist piece. As denoted by the title, socialist realism necessarily does not include abstraction, but socialist realist pieces shouldn't be interpreted as strictly true-to-life. Socialist realism depicts the ideal of Soviet life. Instead of portraying actual subjects, a successful socialist realist artist would show ideals. Rather than show an actual Soviet factory, which may be outdated or dirty or bleak, a socialist realist artist might depict the ideal factory, with new, up-to-date technology and happy workers. A useful interpretation of socialist realism would be to look at each piece as propaganda. Paintings characteristically used light colors, and evoked positive emotive qualities. Socialist realism was supposed to be art of the people, and convey the image of achieved utopia. Art that was bleak, overly complex, or negatively emotive was not acceptable under socialist realist principles. Art had to represent what everyone was expected to participate towards. Rather than showing an individual view or perspective, art was more useful when it showed the state's ideals, which were supposedly formulated to be the ideals of the people. In theory, this would be an effective state policy- by compensating artists to utilize their talents in a

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22   Efimova, "To Touch on the Raw", 76.
23   Groys, "Total art of Stalinism", 9.

Soviet state, the Party could effectively use existing artists and methods to produce propagandistic pieces.

These ideas are best demonstrated through an artist and a piece that show strong indications of socialist realism. Fyodor Shurpin, a young Soviet landscape painter from a peasant background in Kuryakino, produced a 1948 piece entitled "The Morning of Our Motherland" (see Fig. 4). This work is an exceptionally characteristic piece demonstrating socialist realism. This painting, displayed in Moscow's Triatakov's Gallery, was seen as so demonstrative of Soviet ideals that it was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1949.[24] The Stalin Prize, created in honor of Joseph Stalin's 60th birthday, was meant to be a Soviet alternative to the Nobel Prize. This prestigious award in art and culture could designate art, and artists, that embodied Soviet ideals--- and, in this case, socialist realism[25]. Slightly stylized, Shurpin achieves a dreamlike quality through large brushstrokes and a pastel palette. The work is dominated by a striking image of Stalin looking proudly over lush farmland, showing clearly the realized success of the Soviet experiment. A background of power lines and trucks implies that this moment was captured in the midst of progress and productivity. Shurpin managed to capture the spirit of the revolution in an image that wasn't necessarily true to life, but did represent the goals of the state visually. From a modern artistic standpoint, this piece isn't particularly useful- it's a well-done portrait and landscape, but doesn't offer anything unique or revolutionary artistically. However, it has remarkable qualities for a socialist realist piece; this painting gives positive, emotive imagery that is easily understood and difficult to misinterpret.

Resistance to Socialist Realism- Nonconformist Art and Artists

Unofficial Art as a Concept

By 1935, the parameters for official Soviet art were set. The 1932 creation of creative unions and 1935 approval and implementation of Soviet Realism as the official, state-mandated aesthetic doctrine. However, while a lot of art was certainly created within the party confines of creative unions and within the artistic confines of Socialist Realism, official art cannot comprehensively describe all visual art created in the Soviet Union from 1935-1991. Some artists were able to operate outside of Soviet approval, and their work is crucial to understand the Soviet art community during this time.

While terminology for state-approved art is consistent in most literature as official art, terms for art and artists that did not meet these criteria is much more varied. While unofficial art is an intuitive descriptor of imagery produced outside of Party approval, terms like nonconformist, contemporary art and contemporary Russian art are often interchangeably used to describe the same material.[26] For the sake of this discussion, unofficial art will be used exclusively as the term. While, according to Soviet officials, non-mandated art might have been seen as directly harmful, it's important to note that many of these artists did not necessarily see themselves as dissidents. The parameters of socialist realism were by no means concrete. An image that was patriotic for one artist might have been condemning for another.[27] Of course, there were artists who blatantly attempted to depict Soviet reality instead of the propaganda preferred by the Stalinist regime. But for most unofficial artists, their work was not a call for regime change or a statement against the Communist Party. Most unofficial art was a call for widened artistic parameters. Unofficial art, therefore, wasn't always created to make a statement- rather, it was more likely created and reinterpreted as counterrevolutionary later.[28]

The Thaw: Art After Stalin (1953-1987)

The strict censorship of art that was characteristic of the Stalinist period started to ease in 1953, beginning with subtle, but notable, developments. In 1953, the Pushkin Museum in Moscow started to show 18th century Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings. These works were by Western artists and were previously and viciously castigated as symbolization of bourgeois, Western opulence. Because these works

24   Bassin, Mark. "The Morning of Our Motherland: Fyodor Shurpin's Portrait of Stalin." In *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*, edited by Kivelson Valerie A. and Neuberger Joan, 214-17. Yale University Press, 2008. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1n6.46.
25   Oliver Johnson. "The Stalin Prize and the Soviet Artist: Status Symbol or Stigma?" *Slavic Review* 70, no. 4 (2011): 821-822. doi:10.5612/slavicreview.70.4.0819.

26   Esanu, Octavian and Boris Groys. "Mapping Moscow Conceptualism." In *Transition in Post-Soviet Art: The Collective Actions Group Before and After 1989*, 50. Central European University Press, 2013.
27   Wallach, Amei. "Censorship in the Soviet Bloc." *Art Journal* 50, no. 3 (1991): 76. doi:10.2307/777221.
28   Ibid. 78.

often had frivolous subject matter that was highly individualist based on artist's technique and perspective, these works weren't seen to emulate the ideas of the Soviet state. These pieces represented individualism, which was an enemy to the nature of the Soviet state, which required collective thought. The exhibition of these pieces in a Moscow museum is not insignificant. By 1962, the works of American artists, including, perhaps most notably, the famous abstract expressionist Jackson Pollock, became accessible for Soviet audiences to view in state – operated museums.[29] Khruschev's rule and the process of de-Stalinization, while potentially freeing for artists, was no less uncertain or terrifying. The censorship imposed upon them was no less forceful, but the ideology behind such censorship shifted slightly. While, before 1953, a painting of Stalin would be sure to be praised as a necessary and characteristic piece of USSR values, his death and later questioning of his role as a leader meant that artists had to shift what they were glorifying and why.

In the process of de-Stalinization, art of the Stalin period became largely inaccessible. Some artists had to repaint or alter works created in the Stalinist period to realign their message, while large quantities of sculptures, frescoes, mosaics, and buildings were simply destroyed to erase the image of Stalin.[30] Artists were charged with presenting the Soviet image, which was under constant change, and there were conflicting messages on what content was safe for artists to produce. Young Soviet artists, who were born much later than the immediate post-revolutionary period of 1917 and more likely to be disillusioned with USSR ideals, were often unsure as to what they were permitted to do. In 1962, a dozen young, experimental, abstract artists were invited to present their work as a small part of a larger exhibition in the Moscow Manezh Gallery, celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Moscow Section of the Artist's Union.[31] Nikita Khrushchev famously attended this exhibit, and upon seeing work by modernist sculptor Ernst Neizvestny, he shouted- "Dog shit! Filth! Disgrace! Who is responsible for this? Who is the leader?" to which Neizvestny boldly responded: "You may be Premier and Chairman but not here in front of my works. Here I am Premier and we shall discuss as equals".[32] While Neizvestny was later jailed, Khruschev later respected him as an artist and individual. When he died in 1971, his family asked Neizvestny to create a sculpture for his grave at the Novodevichy Cemetary in Moscow.[33] This entire instance shows that the thaw didn't stop censorship, but simply changed the nature of it.

Under Stalin, unofficial art wasn't a significant problem. Art or artists who had counterrevolutionary images, or the inferred intent of creating them, would be cut off from unions and studios or purged. After Stalin, the possible punishments for creating counterrevolutionary art were reduced, but government repression of artists persisted. Unions, the government institutions that controlled artists, were still the governing bodies of art and literature, but the probability of being purged for oppositional work was less likely. However, while the severity of punishment may have been reduced, artistic expression could still be inhibited by the Soviet state. The most notable instance of government suppression of artistic oppression after Stalin occurred on September 15, 1974. Oscar Rabin, a prominent unofficial artist, organized an exhibit of unofficial art in a vacant lot in Moscow. Rabin applied for permission, and all of the artists were of the impression that they were demonstrating legally. In an act of strength, plainclothes KGB officers destroyed the exhibition with bulldozers, discarding the remnants in a dumpster.[34] Rabin applied for the necessary permissions and attempted to display art legally. These artists didn't propel themselves as political dissidents- however, they *did* wish to exhibit art that didn't adhere to the (nebulous) characteristics of socialist realism, and such public expression was dangerous to their art and their reputations.

Some artists could get circulation for their work by publishing in the Paris magazine *A-ya*, which used photographs of unofficial Soviet art smuggled out of the USSR. This magazine, published in part by the CIA, was immediately condemned by the Soviet regime. If an artist's work was found in this magazine, they were often subject to signing incriminating documents or questioning[35]. The Soviet newspaper *Kul'tura* condemned *A-ya*, categorizing it as an "anti-Soviet journal…which breathes with genuine, unquenchable hatred for our country" and "just one more act of psychological warfare against the Soviet government, the Soviet people, and

29   Ibid. 78.
30   Groys, "Total art of Stalinism".9.
31   Wallach, "Censorship in the Soviet Bloc". 84.
32   Croizier, R. (1999). The Avant-Garde and the Democracy Movement: Reflections on Late Communism in the USSR and China. *Europe-Asia Studies, 51*(3). 487.
33   Ibid. 488.
34   Wallach, "Censorship in the Soviet Bloc". 82.
35   Easanu, Groys "Mapping Moscow Conceptualism",50.

the Soviet way of life…".[36] The magazine was eventually pressured to stop publication in 1987, but the official response to a relatively small publication that didn't even operate in the Soviet sphere is particularly useful to analyze to observe conditions for artists during this time.

Moscow Conceptualism

Looking at unofficial Soviet art in Moscow requires observing the intersections of art, history, and politics in a similar vein as those during and after the time of Peter the Great and his campaign of Westernization. While Westernization brought new developments to Russia, it's imprudent to assign a holistic qualitative value to these changes. These were simply the beginnings of a trend of upholding some disciplines and cultural qualities as more worthwhile than others. The developments of socialism, progress, and the Enlightenment had suppressive effects on many traditional Russian cultural practices and institutions, most notably imagery and practices of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Revolution and subsequent successions of power further served to repress this ideology. Unofficial artists sometimes identified their work with the same mysticism and lyricism found in traditional Orthodox works. Like Malevich, who can be observed as a representative figure of early avant-garde in Russia, later artists used elements of Orthodox iconography in their works. Not all artists referenced a specific connection to Orthodox iconography, but the nature of their works may suggest common themes.

A Moscow movement used these themes. Coined Moscow Conceptualism' or Moscow Romantic Conceptualism, this school of artistic thought struggled to find a sense of identity within the Soviet Union. While conceptualism became popular in the West starting in the1960s, Moscow Conceptualism is seen as similar but distinct. Western conceptualism often replaced one thing with another. Western artists were inspired by pieces such as Duchamp's 1917 "*Fountain"* which replaced a piece of creative sculpture with an industrially-produced object. Later artists, such as American artist Andy Warhol, would apply those same concepts to create pieces like the1964 "*Brillo Boxes*", a piece of sculpture that was a precise replica of a factory-made object. Thus, conceptualism, for Western artists, relied on identifying something as art that traditionally would be viewed as an object of everyday life. A Western conceptual artist might take a toothbrush, an unremarkable object that isn't seen as art in most circumstances, and place it in a framework to be viewed as art to highlight the conceptual nature of visual media. Moscow Conceptualism, while formed on similar concepts, occurred later, starting in the 1970s but reaching its height in the late 1980s. It relied on a form of conceptualism that relied on absence, not on replacement. Sven Gundlakh, an artist credited as one of the founders of Moscow Conceptualism, explained that "One can understand that conceptualism and the Soviet cultural system were the same, producing not things, but the ideas of things".[37]Instead of the optimistic socialist realist pieces, which showed a more complete, more functional union, Moscow conceptualist pieces emphasized the abstraction of empty ideology.

Thus, Moscow Conceptualism can't be described by any concrete set of visual characteristics, but can be more easily placed by time and influence. Moscow Conceptualist artists often drew on older Russian imagery like iconography, and merged ideas of Western conceptualism with early avant-garde ideology to produce works that did more than ask questions. The mysticism and boundlessness evoked by Orthodox iconography, early avant-garde, and even, to some extent, Socialist Realism is less present in Moscow conceptualist pieces. These works don't seek to ask questions: they seek to answer them.

There are several artists and works that can be examined to show how Moscow Conceptualist principles were manifested. Alex Sundokov, born in Soviet farmland in 1952, was trained in painting at the Stroganov Institute, the institution of choice for artists whose talents would be utilized in large-scale public works such as murals. His work uses ideas behind photography to create an artistic form of parody or satire that also exemplifies Moscow Conceptualism.[38] Sundokov's 1987 piece "*Prolonged and Undiminishing Applause*" (*See Figure 5*) uses already-circulating images of Soviet officials to make a different statement. In 1987, retouched images of the politburo were widely available, almost as forms of religious icons. A Western consumer of images would be familiar with the use of Jesus and his disciples at The Last Supper; images of the politburo were similar retouched and circulated to give a similar sense of idealism and mysticism. Sundokov takes

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36   Wallach, "Censorship in the Soviet Bloc", 83.
37   As quoted in Easanu, Groys "Mapping Moscow Conceptualism",55.
38   Bown, "Three Soviet Figurative Painters." 220.

one of these images and uses oil on canvas to replace the faces of a crowd with blank white canvas, and removes any distinguishing features of clothing. Additionally, Sundokov gives each member of the audience a disembodied pair of clapping hands, giving the overall impression of a thoughtless and robotic crowd of men.[39] Here, a Moscow-trained artist uses images of a Soviet state and removes certain aspects (i.e. the faces of the men) without replacing them to represent the image the way he sees reality. In a Western conceptualist piece, anything removes may be replaced by something different, but Moscow Conceptualism requires the absence of something expected.

New Victories, New Challenges- 1987-Present

Policies of perestroika and glasnost under Gorbachev helped unofficial artists reform connections with the West and, to some extent, instated levels of creative freedoms that artists had not experienced in a very long time. However, after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, artists had to find ways to use their new freedoms to form art systems, markets and spaces in which to work. Because these institutions weren't formed, public art became a common and acceptable way to promote artistic creativity.[40] Later, under Putin's oil reforms, some Russians had capital to invest in contemporary art, which which largely lost public support after the formation of creative unions in 1932.[41] In a population heavily influenced by an experiment that drastically reduced spheres of economic, social, and political spheres, Soviet imagery was no longer seen as useful or necessary, so socialist realism was no longer incentivized. There is less of a need to categorize each specific movement of Russian art after 1991, because creativity was, in a sense, unfettered.

One important shift that came from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was the emergence of a patron class. Instead of relying on the government to support artists, local and foreign figures could make the conscious choice to consume the works of Soviet artists. Artists no longer were funded by the state in the production of official art or renegades producing unofficial art outside of the wishes of their leaders[42]. New and different markets led to the disintegration of the techniques that emerged from 1935-1991. The collapse of a state also saw the collapse of the aesthetic scaffolding that supported or opposed its ideology, and visual art can be seen as a component of this collapse. After 1991, the frustrations, struggles, and triumphs of a shift towards a market economy were just as present in the arts as they were elsewhere.

Even though the events of 1935-1991 in Soviet visual arts created unique stories of both artist and the art they produced, creative limitation was not unique to the Soviet Union. Each political body tends to exercise whatever control they can over state imagery. In this instance, extreme control limited who could be artists and what art they could produce, but, at the same time, these limitations had a hand in influencing counter-movements. Artists used the situations and limitations they were under to emphasize the iconography of the past and present to tell their stories, even when their stories were seen as less interesting or less important than the collective Soviet story. Censorship and state control limited global influence, giving the Soviet artist mere glimpses into how art was evolving elsewhere. Thus, observing Soviet artists from 1935-1991 allows a unique opportunity to look at the progression of art when outside influence is limited. Movements like Socialist Realism and Moscow Conceptualism show that the effects of censorship produced artistic content that didn't follow the trends of other areas. While a complete picture of this time, these artists, and their influence can never be fully realized, the works of this time leave a lasting idea of how art can be utilized in the formation of political imagery.

39   Ibid. 220.
40   Chukhrov, Keti. "Art after Primitive Accumulation: Or, on the Putin-Medvedev Cultural Politics." *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, no. 26 (2011): 127. doi:10.1086/659304.
41   Ibid.128.
42   Ibid. 132.

Visual Index

Figure 1-Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, from The *Great Book of State*, Moscow Kremlin, 1672. Hughes, Lindsey. "From Tsar to Emperor: Portraits of Aleksei and Peter I." In *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*, edited by Kivelson Valerie A. and Neuberger Joan Yale University Press, **2008**. **52**.

Figure 1. *Peter the First, Emperor of the Russians*. Engraving by Jacobus Houbraken (1717-18), original oil painting by Karl Moor, 1717. Hughes, Lindsey. "From Tsar to Emperor: Portraits of Alexei and Peter I." In *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*, edited by Kivelson, Valerie A. and Neuberger Joan, 51-56. Yale University Press, 2008. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1n6.14. p 52.
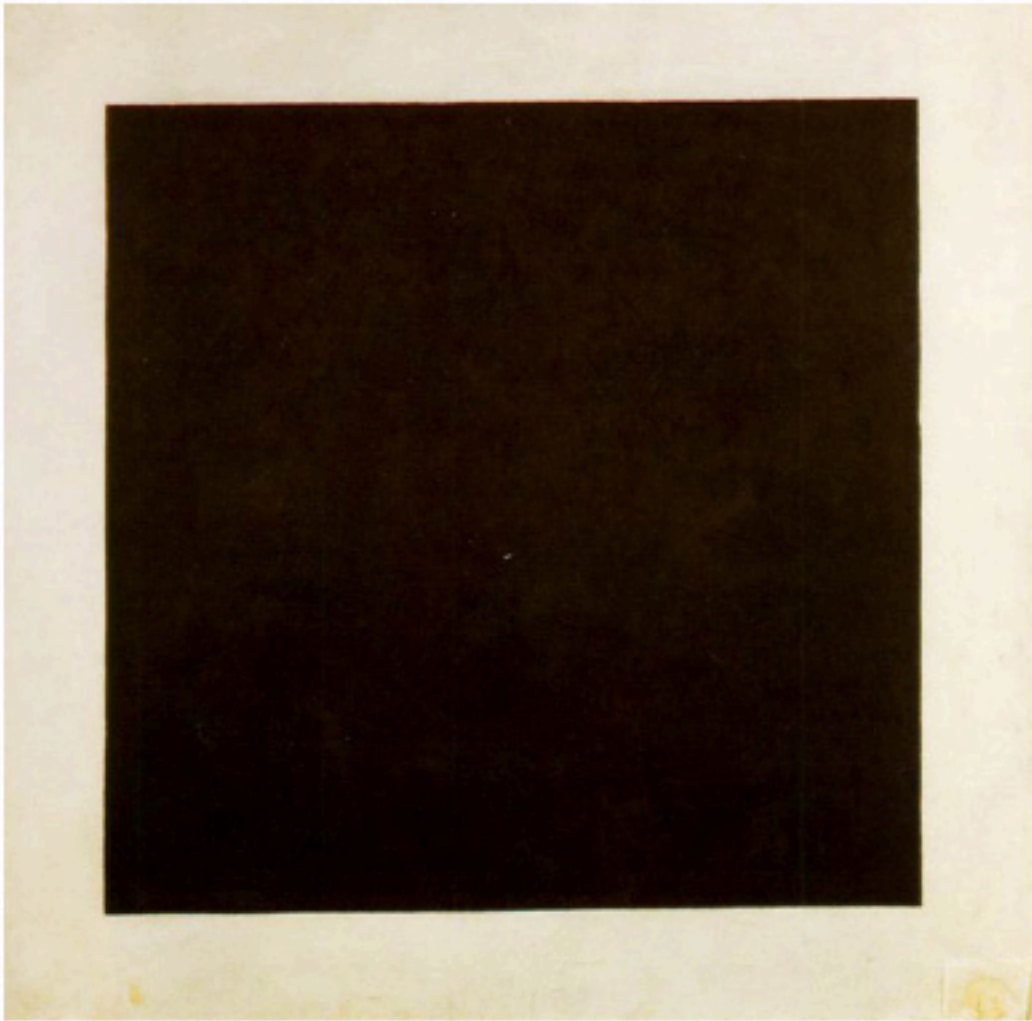
Figure 3- Kasimir Malevich, *Black Square* Philip Shaw, 'Kasimir Malevich's *Black Square*', in Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (eds.), *The Art of the Sublime*, Tate Research Publication, January 2013, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/philip-shaw-kasimir-malevichs-black-square-r1141459, accessed 11 November 2017.

Figure 4 - Fyodor Shurpin, *The Morning of Our Motherland* 1948. **Oil on canvas, 66 x 232 cm** *The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow* - © *VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2016. The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. From* http://postwar.hausderkunst.de/en/artworks-artists/artworks/the-morning-of-our-motherland-der-morgen-unseres-vaterlandes

Figure 5- Alex Sundokov, *"Prolonged and Undiminishing Applause" (1987). Oil on canvas. From* Bown, Matthew Cullerne. "Three Soviet Figurative Painters." *The Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1032 (1989): 220.

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State of Children with Mental Disabilities in Russia: 1958-1991
Jennifer Rodgers

Introduction

The culture of Russia during the Soviet Era was defined by its commitment to Marxist theories and practices. A main part of Marxism highlights the need for human equality within society based on the extreme gaps seen between the working class and the elite class during the 19th century. However one of the dilemmas Marxism highlights when trying to create a culture with human equality is the lack of knowledge that the working class has on their rights as individuals. This alludes to the concept of the need for an education system within a Marxist society.

For Russia, during the Leninist era, this ensured all children's right to a "free, compulsory general and polytechnical education for all children of both sexes up to 16 years of age".[1] This was the first time in Russian history that the general public was guaranteed some form of prolonged, state-funded, public education. Within a society such as Russia there are millions of people, each with different learning styles and education levels. However, another characteristic of Russian society was the emphasis on the needs of the group, not the individual.[2] This Marxist principle was enmeshed into the Soviet education system. Because of this, individualization was extremely discouraged and that all members of the Russian community should collectively work together to better the society as a whole.

But what if a student needed differentiated instruction in order to succeed? Did the student come first in order to prepare them to be a contributing member of the society or did they fail within the system? These are the question that will be looked at in concern to how the Russian government and the society incorporated individuals with mental disabilites into educational institutions such as primary and secondary schools. The development of the Soviet Union emerged with international discussion and research concerning mental disabilities, especially within children and their ability to function in generalized settings. The purpose of this paper in to construct an image as to how the Soviet Union, specifically Russia, perceived, diagnosed, treated, and educated children with mental disabilities from the end of the 1950s-1991 with the formal fall of the Communist state of the Soviet Union.

In order to accomplish this task, the paper is broken down into different sections. This paper begins with background of mental disabilities before 1959, as well as an overview into the general education system of the Soviet Union. It follows with the government policies and institutions that played key roles in the research developments and placement of students within schools, proceeding with an in depth analysis in the diagnosis process. The paper then continues with how students with mental disabilities were treated in different types of schools, finishing with whether or not the fall of the Soviet state helped or hurt children with mental disabilities.

Background

Historical background

Previous to the formation of the Soviet Union, there had been over 100 years of some form of state supported, but mostly private supported education and aid for those deemed handicapped, under the Russian monarchy.[3] However, most of these schools focused on physical disabilities such as eye impairments or deafness. The emergence and development of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin provided some difficulties when determining the state of children with mental disabilities. Under Lenin, Russia underwent drastic social, economic, and political changes. Many of these changes focused on broad and sweeping reforms, encapsulating entire communities within the Russian population. This can be seen in the government policies under Lenin. For education, as seen in the introduction, children were grouped together and entitled to a free

1   Maurice J. Shore, *Soviet Education, Its Psychology and Philosophy*, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947) 352.
2   Jason Aronson and Mark G. Field, "Mental Health Programming in the Soviet Union," *American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry* 34, no. 5 (October 1964): 917.
3   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia: Historical Aspects," *Journal of Learning Disabilities* 31, no. 2 (1998): 181.

education regardless of their mental or physical capabilities. In the case of those with disabilities, Lenin's centralization of the government placed it as the primary provider and regulator of funds and policies associated with what they were entitled to educationally, professionally, and socially. With the Soviet government the People's Commissariat of Education, later the Ministry of Education, was the institution to hold majority power over these decisions within the government.[4]

Under Stalin, there were a few more actions taken in concern to pediatric mental illnesses, but these developments presented many contradictions. In the government policies passed under Stalin's rule, "special schools" were to be created for students with disabilities that could accommodate their specific learning needs. However, these special schools focused primarily on physical disabilities, such as hearing and visual impairments. Mental disabilities still had yet to gain a formal recognition as a concern that needed to be addressed in Soviet society.

With the centralization of the government, it became easier to develop areas of studies due to the collectivization of information within a singular institution. In the case of disabilities, Defectology became the primary academic discipline for research in the field of mental disorders. With that emerged the Institute of Defectology in 1929.[5] Renowned psychologists, such as L.S. Vygotsky and Pavel Blonsky, whose research and findings on educating individuals with mental disabilities is still used in modern day schools, supported the Institute as well as conducted their research and experiments within this institution.[6]

However much of the findings and publications from the Institute during the Stalin period were discredited and borderline illegal based on the beliefs and policies during this time. In the 1930s, a general ban on testing children's cognitive and motor skills was instated as well as censorship on public discussions about these types of topics, making it extremely difficult for scientists and educators, involved in the field of disabilities, to produce research and solutions to some of the problems they saw within these children's ability to function within the society.[7] To add to these bans, in 1936 a public denouncement from the government claiming that pedologists were corrupting the education system by diagnosing more children with disabilities then there actually were, forcing the government to create more special schools and taking funds away from other institutions in need of them.[8] Pedology, at the time, was considered the scientific research field for education, while pedagogy focused on the practical side of education, or the physical act of teaching. Pedology ultimately was deemed as a pseudo-science, or not a legitimate field of study due to its beliefs in anti-Marxist principles.

One of these principles was the focus on the individual over the community. Often times in the realm of mental disabilities, an individual with a diagnosis is looked at as separate, or unique from that of his or her peers, or even other individuals diagnosed with the same disability. Their treatment plan may require different teaching methods or a team of doctors and therapists that work with one child. Overall, those in the Russian community who rejected a subject area such as Pedology, saw the study of mental disabilities as a primary focus on one individual based on the amount of time effort and resources it could take to assist in bringing them to a level where they could become a contributing member within a community.

General Education Background: Pre 1958

For the Soviet Union, the main goal of education was to produce a literate population. For Soviet leaders, they saw literacy as the one skill an individual needed to actively participate and be knowledgeable of the communist principles, leading to an active member in the political community of Russia.[9]

With the centralization of education, the government had virtually total control over schools: the content of the curriculum, methods on how the material would be taught, who would be qualified to teach, even what

4   V.I. Lubovsky, "Defectology: The Science of Handicapped Children," *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 20, no. 3 (1974): 298.
5   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 182.
6   Jane E., Knox. "The Changing Face of Soviet Defectology: A Study in Rehabilitating the Handicapped." *Studies In Soviet Thought* no. 3 (1989): 217.
7   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 182.
8   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 182.
9   Nigel Grant, *Soviet education*, (Baltimore: Penguin books, 1964): 30.

the exams would be comprised of.

In her book, *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals*, Elizabeth Moos provided a flow chart as to how students worked their way through the Soviet education system. Children were first exposed to some form of educational institution at the age of three to six months. From that age to three years, children stayed in a nursery school. At the age of three, students would then move up to kindergarten and stay there until the age of seven. After kindergarten, students moved up to the Eight Year School where they would be until the age of 16. Once a student completed Eight Year School or reached the age of 16, he or she did not have to attend school, by law. However, after Eight Year School, students could continue onto polytechnical or vocational schools where they would study between two to five years. After that students would either join the work force, or continue onto higher education or university.[10]

In the Soviet education system, students were not formally introduced to the academic learning process until the first year being in the general schools. In Russia, children do not begin to learn reading, mathematics and other basic school subjects before the age of seven, it was believed that learning these subjects would be detrimental to child's brain development.[11] Upon entering general schools, students would either enter in a seven-year or ten-year program students were subjected to Comprehensive Schooling. Students were initially grouped in to academic levels solely by their age, with no deviation in the material or teaching style regardless of whether or not the student was struggling with the material or accelerating with it.[12] Should a child not learn the materials necessary to move forward to the next grade level, they would have to repeat the grade again.[13]

In the curriculum of the Eight Year School, there were 8 general subject areas, with variance within each subject in concern to what topics students were learning and for how long they were required to learn these topics in a general education class.[14] Students were expected to have working knowledge about Russian language and literature, science, social studies, mathematics, one foreign language, arts, physical education, and polytechnical/ production work.[15] This was the curriculum that the Soviet government deemed as the essential knowledge an individual would need in order to function properly within their community.

Within these classes, there was heavy influence from Soviet principles and "moral" education. For example, in a typical literature class, students would have read books either by Soviet authors or texts that conveyed communist principles.[16] Even the general environment of the schools screamed fundamental Soviet principles. The system of Comprehensive Schooling pushed for a collectivist view on society by making sure no one was given special attention based on their learning needs. With that, students were influenced both directly and indirectly to be formed into ideal citizens for the Soviet Russia society.

Governments Role: Protector or Inhibitor?

Khrushchev Era

With the Soviet government's control over all aspects of society, the policies they passed that directly addressed education and the state of mental health within the Soviet citizens, as well as actions and shifts in power they may not have directed towards these specific areas, affected them one and the same. One of the greatest shifts in power that sparked a change throughout the Soviet system was the rise of Khrushchev. The end of Stalin's control of the Soviet Union and the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader of the Soviet Union became a turning point for those involved in the both education and mental health. First, Khrushchev uplifted the bans on surveys allowing for more censuses to be taken, providing accurate data on the populations and specifics groups within the Soviet Union. This allowed for accurate representation and statistics on the number of students in the Soviet Union as well as student with disabilities.

In 1958, Khrushchev and the Soviet government passed a new educational reform, which altered the

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10   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals*, (New York: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1967): 20.
11   Susan Jacoby, *Inside Soviet Schools*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974): 71.
12   US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (ED). "Soviet Commitment to Education: Report of the First Official U.S. Education Mission to the U.S.S.R. with an Analysis of Recent Educational Reforms. Bulletin, 1959, No. 16.": 47.
13   Nigel Grant, *Soviet education*, 44.
14   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education*, 33.
15   Nigel Grant, *Soviet education*, 81-84.
16   Nigel Grant, *Soviet education*, 25.

make up of the Soviet education system by shifting from a seven year to Eight Year School system and placing a heavier emphasis on polytechnical education at all grade levels.[17] The 1958 Educational Reform was a response mainly to the economic issues that Russia experienced in the 1950s due to a decrease in population size after World War II, increase in industry, which inevitably led to a demand for more people in the labor force.[18]

The 1960s also became a time period where Russian academics involved in the study of disabilities began to focus on mental health.[19] Mental disabilities became a concerning issue that needed to be addressed through research and studies to assist individuals in becoming functional members of the Russian society.[20] The emphasis on educating those with mental disabilities may have been influenced in a few ways. First was that increased desire for more workers in the labor force. From the 1950s- 1960s, the Russian society saw a drastic migration from the countryside into the cities due to heightened industrialization under Stalin.   Khrushchev's government saw a need for more members of the Soviet society to enter the work force based on a decrease in grain production.[21] Combining this knowledge with the new education policy that focused on polytechnical education, it is plausible that specialists may have focused educating those with mental disabilities so that they could enter the work force to fill in positions where the government needed workers.

Another reason for an increase in mental health research and diagnosis/treatment strategies may be attributed to an increase in international communications. The successful launch of Sputnik in 1957 drew the international community to look at how the Russian state of the Soviet Union accomplished such a task. This included analyzing the Russian education system in detail. Much of the resources about Soviet education from foreign authors as well as addressing mental disabilities in the classroom began in the 1960s. This research and communication Russian academics had with the international community was only made possible with Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" of Soviet society, including opening up relations between the Soviet Union and the Western world. This allowed for academics of the western world to travel easier into the Soviet Union in order to conduct research and report on specific areas of society.

Gorbachev Era

The time period of 1985-1991 will be looked in more detail later in the paper, however it should be addressed that policies under Gorbachev did have immense effects on the mental health and education spheres of society. The two main policies, Perestroika and Glasnost both looked to create a Communist government, with a human face. The goals of Perestroika focused primarily on economic freedoms. Glasnost looked to loosen the government's hold on leisure activities and the personal lives of Soviet citizens.

Institute of Defectology: Soviet Enemy or Savior?

One of the main institutions that concerned themselves with all children with disabilities was the Institute of Defectology. The Institute of Defectology found itself as a growing power of influence in the world of educating the mental disabled in the second half of the 20th century. Before, the Institute experienced difficulty holding a high reputation in society due its continually discrediting of the main specialists. However, the practices in physical disability kept the Institute afloat because of the more generally accepted belief in educating students with just physical disabilities. This can be attributed to the notion that children with physical impairments could still academically perform at their age level with slight modifications to how they learn. This all changed in 1960 with the heightened awareness to educate children with mental disabilities.

Within the Institute of Defectology, there were subdivisions, with each one focusing on a specific disability. For example, oligophrenopedagogy, would be the study of how to educate children with mental disabilities.[22] In these subdivisions, a team of psychiatrists, psychologists, educators, speech therapists, and doctors worked together to not only conduct research, but also diagnosis and develop treatment plans for the children. Between 1960 and 1991, the Institute looked to address mental disorders that were not as obvious at

17   Blair A. Ruble, *Leningrad: Shaping a Soviet City,* (Berkeley: University of California Press1990): 141.
18   Nigel Grant, *Soviet education*, 99.
19   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 183
20   "All Children Must Go to School." *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 4, no. 46 (December 1952), 24.
21   Richard M. Mills, "The Formation of the Virgin Lands Policy." *Slavic Review* 29, no. 1 (1970): 58-59.
22   V.I. Lubovsky, "Defectology: The Science of Handicapped Children," 299.

a glance, compared to physical disabilities.[23] This revealed that not only was the Institute progressed towards addressing disabilities such as autism, Emotional Behavioral, and schizophrenia, but also the society began to accept mental disorders as a societal topic of discussion.[24]

Diagnosis of Children with Disabilities: Quality over Quantity

In order to understand this newly developing field of mental disabilities in the latter half of the 20th century, analyzing the diagnosis process is not only beneficial, but also necessary. The Institute of Defectology played a crucial role in assessing and evaluating children to determine whether or not they had a mental disability. Under the Institute, Russian psychologists developed the driving theory behind the types of methods they used to diagnosis the children who were recommended for assessment. In Russia, it was perceived that a student should be given qualitative assessments. Russians did not believe in standardized tests and IQ, they believed that there was no way to assess the quantity or capacity of what an individual's brain could comprehend. Instead they believed in looking at the way an individual was already capable of doing and the quality as to how they went about performing the task at hand.[25]

The first step in obtaining an official diagnosis is the referral process. In Russia this came in a few forms. Sometimes a referral came as early as the first year of a child's life. In Russia, parents had to bring their children to a polyclinic 16 times in their first year, and then every two months the second and third year.[26] Some children's mental disabilities were discovered at this age and treatment plans were placed into effect immediately. However, should a student pass through these clinical examinations without receiving a diagnosis, the school could refer them to the Institute if they presented valid evidence.[27]

In order to conclude whether or not a child had a disability and to what level they were handicapped, there were multiple components to the overall evaluation in order to provide a dynamic and multifaceted look into the child's academic, social and intellectual skills. This evaluation consisted of interviews, both from the child being evaluated, the parents, schoolmates or friends, formal observations of the child in multiple environments for at least one full academic school year, any medical records, and multiple assessments to determine the child academic skills, such as reading comprehension, problem solving, and behavior/social skills. These assessments would provide feedback based on how the student solved each of the problems, specifically looking at the amount of time and how much assistance a student needed with each problem.[28] Each answer received a certain amount of points based on the feedback the individuals giving the test observed. It should also be noted that during these assessments it is not a child and one evaluator, but a team of specialists, such as a defectologist (special educator), psychologist, neurologist, and speech therapist.[29] Depending on what is being evaluated with the student, the specialist presenting the test materials can change up.

One basic assessment given in this evaluation was called "odd man out". Jean Nazzaro described the process of how this activity was presented to the child based on personal observations when Nazzaro visited the Soviet Union in 1973.

"A card is presented with four pictures on it. For example, a picture of a cat, a dog, a horse, and a carrot, is shown to the child. The child is asked, 'Odd man out. Which one doesn't belong?' If the child misses the item…they test the limits of the concept by pulling out one of the sections of the card so there are six pictures instead of four. Now there is a dog, a cat, a horse, a cow, a pig, and a carrot. They say again, 'Which does not belong?' They continue to increase the cues. If the child still does not get the answer, they push in the section and they pull out another section on the other side. Now the child sees a turnip, a potato, a carrot, and a cat. Again they ask, 'Which one does not belong?' If he still does not get it, they ask him to name all the objects on

23   V.I. Lubovsky, "Defectology: The Science of Handicapped Children," 303.

24   Klara S. Lebendinskaya and Olga S. Nikolskaya, "Brief report: Analysis of autism and its treatment in modern Russian defectology." *Journal Of Autism & Developmental Disorders* 23, no. 4 (1993).

25   Ivan Z. Holowinsky, "SPECIAL EDUCATION IN EASTERN EUROPE: Assessment and Evaluation in the Soviet Union." *Journal Of Special Education* 10, no. 1 (1976): 108.

26   Jean Nazzaro, "Mental Retardation in the Soviet Union," *Education and Training of the Mentally Retarded* 8, no. 3 (1973): 166.

27   Jean Nazzaro, "Mental Retardation in the Soviet Union," 167.

28   Ivan Z. Holowinsky, "Special Education in Eastern Europe," 108.

29   Jean Nazzaro, "Mental Retardation in the Soviet Union," 167.

the card, and then ask him which one does not belong."[30]

 Based on this example of how a typical assessment was administered to children in the Soviet Union, it showcased how Soviet specialists could determine the cognitive level of a child. Which could serve as valid evidence to determine what type of disability and the severity of that disability. A test such as this one would have tested the student's thought process and ability to associate different objects into groups.

Once the assessments were completed, the specialists confer about their observations and notes about how the child processed and completed each task they were given, along with looking at the other information, such as interviews, medical records, and performance in the classroom. In order for a child to be diagnosed and have a formal treatment plan, this team of specialists would all have to agree on the diagnosis and treatment plan based on the observations and notes they had on the evaluation process.[31]

Treatment Plans: Education is the Key

The Institute of Defectology implemented many forms of treatments in order to assist children and their families with how to diminish symptoms and work to make sure the child had a chance to function independently. A very common part of treatment involved medicine, but was not abused. According to a study case report on Autism studies, the researchers exclaimed that drug therapy was only meant to be used at the lowest affective dosage in order to prevent any dependency on drug usage that could inhibit the child's brain development any further.[32] Psychological treatment could also be placed into a treatment plan, should the child's disability hinder the child's psychological maturity level.

One of the final ways the Institute treated children with disabilities was through education. Throughout the research the continual and most frequently discussed point of treatment was implementing special instruction within a different school setting. Within the Soviet Union, there did exist "special schools" each one tailored to a different education population. In the case of disabilities, the schools were broken down based on disability.[33] In the 1960s, there was a push for early interventions services as early as preschool for students with mental disabilities.[34] This meant children could get diagnosed earlier and would begin to receive treatment services sooner. When it comes to treatment plans for children with mental disabilities, the earlier the child begins to receive support and treatments, the higher chance the child will have at becoming independent. However, in the Soviet general schools, a student was not formally introduced to education until the age of seven and unless an adult could see a physical difference in the child's demeanor, then there was an increased risk in the child not receiving a diagnosis/ treatment until the age of eight at the earliest.

Special Schools: A Crack in the System

For the purpose of this paper, the only special schools classified as institutions addressing the learning needs of the mentally disabled will be examined. Once a student received a diagnosis, the Institute of Defectology would then determine which school the child should be placed in. For a child to be placed in a special school for mental disabilities, the team must prove that the child had naturally occurring damage to the central nervous system and in turn failed one to two years of schooling due to said damage.[35] If they could present that case based on the information collected in the diagnosis process, then the children would be relocated to the special school immediately.

 In this type of school, children typically lived there six days out of the seven-day week in order to be closely monitored.[36] The schools employed educators, pediatricians, nurses, therapists, and other personnel in order to ensure that the students were receiving both an adequate education and medical services.[37] Class sizes could be

30   Jean Nazzaro, "Mental Retardation in the Soviet Union," 168.
31   Jean Nazzaro, "Mental Retardation in the Soviet Union," 169.
32   Klara S. Lebendinskaya, "Brief report: Analysis of autism", 678.
33   US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Soviet Commitment to Education," 52.
34   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 183
35   V.I. Lubovsky, "Defectology: The Science of Handicapped Children," 300.
36   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education* 68.
37   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education* 68.

no bigger than sixteen students and the overall student population could not exceed 200 students.[38]

The curriculum of this special Eight Year School resembled that of the elementary, or first four years in Eight Year School.[39] This curriculum encompassed both academic material as well as basic polytechnical training, which would allow for students to have some type of background in work skills so that the government could find jobs for them within the respective community. In the case of these special schools, it was apparent that differentiated instruction became a teaching method, which may reveal a changing shift in the traditional Soviet principles to make exceptions for specific groups in based on their needs and situation.

Children typically stayed in the special school until the age of eighteen where it was decided whether or not they would join the work force either as an independent worker or in a collective sheltered workshop; or if their disability prohibited them from that, then they would be placed in another school or home for adults with "abnormalities".[40]

General Schools: What about students without a Diagnosis?

By 1992, there existed 1,452 special schools for students with mental disabilities, which accommodated 216,614 students.[41] While this number seems high, student population size reached into the millions during this time, meaning that there was a high possibility that students with an undiagnosed mental disability, fell through the system. Since many of these children diagnosed first went through part of the general education system before receiving treatment services, or never received a diagnosis based on a lack of knowledge about certain mental disabilities, it should be outlined what a typical Russian school looked like between 1959-1991.

"Changes in teaching methodology come slowly."[42] This quote came from an interview with Gradislava Klimova, director of the House of Educational Workers in Russia. Her analysis of the Soviet education system during the Gorbachev era revealed the lack of change seen in the system.   In the case of curriculum and how the school was structured in the second half of the 20th century, the only differences seen based on government policy were the emphasis on polytechnical education and the change from a seven or ten year school system to the eight year school system. By 1960, the general make-up of what a typical Soviet school looked like at the end of the Soviet era was fully implemented. Slight variations occurred within the schools, such as an initiation of electives in curriculum in 1966 in order to spark interest in other fields of studies.[43]

In a news article written by a Russian teacher, she described her experience with handling students who were deemed "difficult children". In her article she discussed on one student refused to pay attention in class or do the work assigned her response to these blatant acts of disrespect to the teacher's authority was, "I silently grabbed the fellow by the collar and shook him until, quaking with fear, he started vowing that he would never misbehave again."[44] This physical aggression was only the beginning to what some students with undiagnosed disabilities may have experienced on a daily basis. In class, students were expected to adhere to the strict lessons and keep up with the course material no matter their level if understanding for the material.

For teachers they found it frustrating to produce students with a quality Soviet education while making sure the number of students they were assigned passed their final exams to move onto the next grade level. It was only in the second half of the 1980s at educators began to call for differentiated and diversity in instruction in order to accommodate students with different levels of education within the general school setting.[45] These demands followed with the enactment of Perestroika, potentially opened up doors for teachers and students

38   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education* 68.
39   V.I. Lubovsky, "Defectology: The Science of Handicapped Children," 301.
40   Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education,* 69.
41   Nikolai Malofeev, "Special Education in Russia," 183-4.
42   Ben Brodinsky, "The Impact of 'Perestroika' on Soviet Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 73, no. 5 (January 1, 1992): 379.
43   John Dunstan and Avril Suddaby, " The Progressive Tradition in Soviet Schooling to 1988" in *Soviet Education Under Perestroika* (London: Routledge, 1992) ,6.
44   E. Kostyashkin, "Pedagogical Reflections: Difficult Children," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 18, no. 47 (December 1966), 42-43.
45   John Dunstan, " The Progressive Tradition in Soviet Schooling to 1988," 6.

alike to call for equity in the realm of education.

Perestroika: The Beginning to the End

Perestroika, as explained by Mikahail Gorbachev, was " a more or less well considered, systematized program… to outline a concrete strategy for the country's further development and a plan of action."[46] Simply put, it was a government policy that loosened the government central control in the economic, social, and political sectors. For education, Perestroika offered multiple opportunities to challenge preexisting notions in education and implemented new forms of teaching styles.

In the interview with Director Klimova, she highlighted some of the reasons why Perestroika benefited the overall education system. Of these reasons two heavily contribute to the potential progression of the Soviet education system. First was freedom in teaching style.[47] With this freedom came variation and flexibility in how curriculum material could be presented to students, allowing for the differences in learning capabilities to be addressed within the same classroom. With difference in teaching styles the general curriculum was also opened for interpretation, allowing for variation in education materials.[48] In the tradition Soviet education setting, the only material used to teach was the state approved textbook, where teachers read from textbook while students quietly followed along. The option to remove the textbook, allowed for curriculum materials to be other books, or pictures/videos, even classroom discussion, which was never heard of before the enactment of Perestroika.[49]   These two changes in Soviet schools allowed for students with mental disabilities to have information presented in a different way at a different speed through different methods of teaching.

Because of these changes in the general schools, educators and specialists alike proposed integrating students with disabilities back into the general classroom.[50] Some schools even succeeded in implementing "correctional classes" where students with mental disabilities would go for class time in a general education school. These correctional classes would offer students to attend schools under the pretenses that they would socially experience school in the way neurotypical students did, while offering the government a cheaper way to educate all students.[51] Ultimately Perestroika served as one of the more progressive and beneficial policies for children with mental disabilities.

Conclusion

After an assessment of the Russian society based on an in depth analysis into its interactions between government policies and societal practices in concern to how children with metal disabilities were seen, the formal diagnosis for Russia is Bipolarity. The intense swings in mood between what was provided on paper vs. the reality of what students with mental disabilities were given in schools revealed a conflict in beliefs that resulted in a collapse in the education system following the implementation of Glasnost and Perestroika. The original beliefs about children with mental disabilities in that they needed to conform to the majority to help the majority began to change based on changes and demands that developed within other areas of Soviet society as well as influences from outside sources. With that emerged the perception that people with mental disabilities could contribute more to society and be functioning members if their needs as an individual were met in the early stages of their life.

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46   Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, *Perestroika : new thinking for our country and the world*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 27.
47   Ben Brodinsky, "The Impact of 'Perestroika' on Soviet Education," 379.
48   Ben Brodinsky, "The Impact of 'Perestroika' on Soviet Education," 380.
49   Ben Brodinsky, "The Impact of 'Perestroika' on Soviet Education," 380.
50   John Dunstan, "Reform of the Soviet General School and the Likely Effect on Children with Learning Difficulties," in *Soviet Education Under Perestroika*, (London: Routledge, 1992), *110.*
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Identity Under Persecution: The Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union
Stephen Fera

Introduction

The Russian Orthodox Church, much like the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, has a rich history of political and social involvement. Similar to ts counterparts to the west, the Russian Orthodox Church (or ROC) has a pyramid-shaped organization with a Patriarch at the head of the spiritual institution. The Patriarch is, for all intents and purposes, the papal figure for the ROC and the Russian believers; and, he wields similar political influence that the papacy has held for centuries during the pre-modern and early-modern periods. The growth of church power and authority depended on the imperial government and its relationship to the aristocracy and the crown. In 1917, the political fabric of the Russian Empire was torn apart by communist revolutionaries. Communist rule still was statist and centralized in power like the tsarist government, however the dynamic that was created between the Communist Party and the Russian Orthodox Church was one that was unique and complex.

In accordance with Marxist ideals, a faith-based and spiritual society is not conducive to a productive state.[1] Many believers and clergy were oppressed in one way or another, and the amount of destruction that parishes were met with was astonishing. While the position of Patriarch posed no serious threat to the Soviets, they still carried out their agenda to leave the church in destruction and disarray by attacking both the laity and Orthodox priests. The Church that remained was then used as a tool by the USSR to exert influence over believers and even to gather intelligence; yet members of the ROC still experienced a great deal of oppression for their beliefs and practices. Naturally, the church's political power was weakened; however, its importance to the community and to the history and culture of Russia made it an almost indestructible institution – destroying it would be to destroy a large part of Russian identity.

Background: The Russian Orthodox Church before the Soviet Union

The history of the Russian Orthodox Church has such deep roots in Russia that a complete history would have to begin before the nation we call "Russia" even came to be. Christianization took place in the Kievan Rus in the 9th century CE, centuries before this confederation of Slavic tribes would become a united "Rus".[2] Faith, therefore, has been an important aspect of Russian identity since the founding of the country. In 1448, the Russian Orthodox Church split from the Byzantine Orthodoxy, generating its own political and social power from the growing empire of Muscovy.[3] Although the early Russian empire treated the ROC with the same dependence and respect as Western kingdoms did in European Christendom, its relationship with the crown was unique. The Patriarch, the anointed leader of the faith, was an influential and important member of the aristocracy and Tsar's, comparable to the Pope's relation to the Holy Roman Empire and the rest of Catholic Europe. Yet reforms and restrictions on the church did take place well before Atheist Bolsheviks came to power.

The political power of the ROC ebbed and flowed depending on the Tsar/Tsarina; under conservatives, their power base was solidified, while under secular modernists it was weakened.[4] The alterations and reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church's structure had much to do with its continual battle with "modernity"; but what does it mean to be 'modern', and of what value i s modernity in studying the history of the Russian Orthodox Church? Historians often relate the Church's power during a reign or regime with its perceived modernity. The best way to answer the question on modernity is to look toward Peter the Great, who longed to cast his empire in the mold of the enlightened, intellectual and technologically advanced kingdoms and empires of the West. Peter instituted strict renovations to the Church's structure, even abolishing the office of the Patriarch in 1700; the position would not return until the meeting of the Holy Synod (the congress of Orthodox bishops) in 1917, when Russia was in the midst of a revolution.[5] The changes Peter made are important to understand in the study of the church in relation with later regimes and social movements: the church was always connected

1   Gary MacEoin. *The Communist War on Religion*. (New York, NY: The Devin-Adair Company, 1951). 3.
2   Thomas Bremer. Cross and Kremlin: A Brief History of the Orthodox Church in Russia. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2013). 12.
3   Ibid., 17.
4   James Thrower. *Marxist-Leninist Scientific Atheism and the Study of Religion and Atheism in the USSR*. (New York, NY: Mouton Publisher, 1983). 93.
5   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 60.

to obsolescence and conservatism, which made it a natural target for progressives and social reformers, like the Bolsheviks.

While the political role of the ROC was sometimes inconsistent, it became the most important and by far the most popular religion in the empire. In 1914, the Russian Empire was spiritually dominated by the Church, with over 117 million members and more than 48,000 functioning parishes.[6] Despite its large population within the empire, it still had the trappings of an outdated, traditionalist institution. The lack of representation of ministers and priests within Russian intelligentsia created a sharp divide between secular, reason-based academia and the traditionalist, anti-modern church.[7] This lack of dialogue slowed reforms, caused more academics and intellects to become Atheist or Agnostic, and seemed to weaken the theological authority of the ROC. This conflict with modernism that the church had endured for centuries contributed to the tense social climate of Russia in the early 1900s.[8]

At the turn of the century, Russia was undergoing rapid social change. More and more people were moving into towns and cities as the empire industrialized. In the 1860s, serfs were liberated and became free thinking farmers who sought to educate themselves and own land.[9] Russia was still largely agrarian; however, the empire was changing in socio-economic structure to keep up with the Western world. A boom in education and a growing interest in academia created discussions and debates over the theology of the Church and the efficacy of its traditionalist, conservative ways.[10] Capitalism grew, civil liberties and freedoms were bestowed upon the peasantry, and the autocratic monarchy slowly decentralized and lessened in power, which in turn led to the depreciation of influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. The social differences and economic disparities were perfect conditions for revolutionaries such as the Bolsheviks to topple the oppressive monarchy. While Vladimir Lenin and the communist government would bring about drastic change in Russian society, so too would the Russian Orthodox Church experience a new and precarious position. The Church's position in Soviet Russia was unprecedented: not only did the communist regime not associate itself with the church, but it deliberately saw it as an enemy of the ideals and principles and sought its destruction.[11]

<u>Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and the Communism's Perspective on Religion</u>

The Bolsheviks borrowed most of their ideology from the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The Communist Manifesto* was written and published in 1848 by Marx and Engels, and was a handbook or manual of sorts for the future ideologies of communism. In this work, Marx outlines his beliefs and how a state which implemented communism would work to overthrow capitalist and Bourgeoisie institutions. Religion, as Marx saw it, was simply one of these institutions that repressed the Proletariat. In the Marxist sense, Atheism was rooted more in the conclusions of Marx and Engel on what they believed were the cancerous effects of organized religion on the masses. Marx wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*, "Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."[12] He believed that, like all other institutions that were produced and controlled by the Bourgeoisie, that religion served only the upper class and was used to dominate over the lower classes through the distraction of worship.

In Marx's earlier writing, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, (referring to George Wilhelm Frederick Hegel, a philosopher and notable influence on Marx) published in 1844, his opinion on religion is more nuanced with the famous quote: "Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people."[13] Here, Marx is saying that religion provides the worshipper with ideas and hopes that this world, or the possible eternal world after death, promises a better existence. To Marx, it was a major distraction from reality. He writes that, "the abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is the demand for their *real* happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to give up a condition that requires

6   Dimitry V. Pospielovsky. *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917-1982*. (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984). 20.
7   Ibid., 21.
8   Vera Shevzov. *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004). 4.
9   Ibid., 5.
10   Ibid., 7.
11   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 80.
12   Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto*, edited and introduction by Jeffrey C. Issac. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012). 83.
13   Karl Marx. *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. (USA: Aristeus Books, 2012). 5.

illusions."[14] This is the basis for Marx's critique on religion: that religion was nothing more than a distraction from mankind's true goals, and that it is used as an illusion only by those who benefit most from it being a distraction.[15] Just as capitalism created serfs of workers, people who toiled endlessly and endured hardships to bring profit to the bourgeoisie, organized religion created inequity and fostered the idea of spiritual inferiority among the laity, while bringing wealth to the church coffers through donations of Church followers. Another aspect was the matter of the creation of religion: religion was a complete fabrication of mankind. Marx writes that, "the foundation of irreligious criticism is: Man makes religion, religion does not make man."[16] From Marx's perspective, religion and religious practices were not bestowed upon us, but created by us specifically to serve as the distraction that they are.

Although Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and others who shared their views were adamant about the negative effects of religion on society, they did not directly advocate for the destruction of religion or religious systems. As religious scholar and author on Marxist atheism James Thrower explains, "the attack on religion, for Marx and Engels, was as unnecessary as it was misplaced – unnecessary because religion was a spent force; and misplaced, because the real enemy was not religion but the society which produced religion."[17] This can explain some of the Soviet anti-religious policies that would be put in place: the initial Leninist policies were less so attacks on the organization of the Church, but rather attempts at creating a society in which religiosity and the importance of faith was undermined.[18]

Vladimir Lenin naturally reiterated these sentiments on religion. He wrote in 1905, "Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, over burdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation."[19] Lenin, like Marx, believed that religion was the product of greater societal dependences on illusion from the reality. Lenin agreed with Frederick Engels' idea that religion had to be a completely separate matter from politics. Lenin writes in his *Criticism of the draft of the Erfurt Program*, "[Engels remarks that] "Religion is a ... private matter." That is, this formula was twisted to mean that the question of religion was a private matter even for the party of the revolutionary proletariat![20] Lenin, however, takes this a step further: organized religion, to him, is inherently linked to the oppression experienced by the proletariat at the hands of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. He summarizes: "The revolutionary proletariat will succeed in making religion a really private affair, so far as the state is concerned. And in this political system, cleansed of medieval mildew, the proletariat will wage a broad and open struggle for the elimination of economic slavery, the true source of the religious humbugging of mankind."[21] Lenin's connection between religion and the socio-economic differences stemming from capitalist oppression is a key factor in Bolshevik policy-making.

<u>Leninist – Communist Antireligious Policies of the Early Soviet Union</u>

When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, they ushered in a new regime that not only sought to persecute clerics and ministers of religion, but aimed to destroy all religious organizations embedded in Russian society and their social influences.[22] The Bolshevik party made it very clear early on where they stood on religious activity in their party platform: "The Party works for the factual liberation of the toiling masses from religious prejudices and organizes the widest scientific-instructive anti-religious propaganda."[23] With their agenda clear, they sought to undermine religious thought in education and its importance in Russia's culture very early on, enacting the first phase of their plan. Gary McEoin's Communist War on Religion contains some primary source excerpts of Soviet anti-religious policies: "In section 9 of a 1918 Soviet law on religious activity, the following was outlined: 'The teaching of religious doctrines is forbidden in all school establishments of general culture operated by the state, be they public or private. Citizens may teach or be

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14   Ibid.
15   Thrower, *Marxist-Leninist Scientific Atheism*, 19.
16   Marx, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, 7.
17   Thrower, *Marxist-Leninist Scientific Atheism*, 20.
18   Ibid., 31.
19   Vladimir Lenin. "Socialism and Religion" in *Lenin Collected Works*, vol. 10. (Moscow, Russia: Progress Publishers, 1965). 83.
20   Vladimir Lenin. *Essential Works of Lenin: "What is to Be Done?" and Other Writings*, ed. and intro. by Henry M. Christman. (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1987). 322.
21   Lenin, *Socialism and Religion*, 84.
22   MacEoin, *War on Religion*, 5.
23   Ibid., 2.

taught religious subjects in a private manner.'[24] When the state owns all land and buildings and there is little existence of anything "private", whether it be property or speech, the separation of church and state translates to diminishing religious presence. The Soviets at first claim they simply want the church and religion out of politics, however the government's control over the church estates and the ecclesiastical education they espouse reveals their true motive of dismantling the church culture from within. While the church retained their canonical jurisdiction and even some of their property into the 1920s, this would change when, under Stalin and later Khrushchev, it would experience tremendous persecution.

While the long-term goal was to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church, the way of going about that had to be carefully calculated. For example, Leon Trotsky, compatriot of Lenin and fellow Bolshevik, "wanted the Patriarch arrested and shot, while Lenin was opposed, fearing the danger of creating such a prominent martyr."[25] To many hawkish communists such as Trotsky, the Russian Orthodox Church represented the last symbol and institution of the old ways of capitalist exploitation of the masses and a repression of the lower classes. Worried that religious fanaticism could develop from an all-out annihilation of religion and clergy, Lenin and others were careful not to directly endorse or entertain these calls for violence. Yet this differing in opinions between revolutionaries did not save the lives of any clergy: the end goal still was to eliminate as many so-called "reactionary" clerics of the bourgeoisie as possible, for they were seen as a legitimate threat to the case by the Bolsheviks.

Josef Stalin, the successor of Lenin and General Secretary of the Communist Party, brought about changes to all aspects of life in the Soviet Union. All land became nationalized and the ownership of private property became heavily restricted, if not dissolved entirely. Church buildings, seminaries, monasteries and estates of bishops and priests now all came under the ownership of the government. Church clergy were forbidden to hold land or purchase real estate; all subsidies were no longer provided by the government and individuals were forbidden to make donations.[26] Furthermore, in 1921, the Soviets created new laws that made it extremely difficult for religious people to hold office, have access to higher education or enter any useful, influential career in society.[27] However, this was not absolute; religious people were still allowed certain rights, and were able to join the party among other positions if their "devotion to the revolution and to communism" out-weighed their religious devotion.[28] Most Communist laws against religion in the early Soviet Union recognized the popularity of the Orthodoxy among the lower class, and its innate presence in these communities.

The moderations in anti-religious policies from those who feared backlash were gradually done away with. In 1922, the communist government decided to dramatically expand antireligious propaganda and multiple periodicals were established.[29] In that same year, many churches were stripped of all their treasures and valuables: pearls, precious stones encrusted in statues and depictions of holy men and women, gold and silver vessels and ornaments as well as bullion.[30] Churches lost almost everything, they were left with minimal imagery and no ornamentation: what you would expect a church to look like in a Communist regime. This debate over the severity of these persecuting policies came from a perspective of strategy and implementation, not principle or "moderate-minded" party members.[31] In other words, no one argued the ends, but rather debated on the means. The goal of eradicating religious thought and belief was clear very early on in the Bolshevik movement.

Communist, anti-religious propaganda expanded under Stalin. Further efforts to ban any religious propaganda or imagery of any sort were implemented in that same year. 1929 saw large increases in the numbers of church closures and arrests of clerics and laity alike.[32] The Communist Party began to produce propaganda of their own to combat the well-established religious identity of Russia. The League of the

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24   Ibid., 3.
25   Ibid., 33.
26   Pospielovsky, *Russian Church 1917-1982*, 31.
27   , Dimitry V. Pospielovsky. *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer: Volume I: A History of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies*. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1987). 30.
28   Ibid., 30.
29   Ibid., 37.
30   Ibid.
31   Ibid.
32   Ibid., 40.

Militant Godless (LMG) was formed in the mid-to-late 1920s by the Communist party.[33] Quickly becoming a successful propagandizing periodical, it was the spearhead of the Soviet anti-religious campaign through its works and publications. By 1930 the LMG printed 800 million pages of propaganda, including 3.5 million copies of antireligious books and brochures.[34] A number of churches in Russia had drastically decreased in the 1930s. According to Yemelyen Yaroslavsky, the leader of the LMG, the number of churches had decreased by up to 50%, which would mean that approximately 25,000 of the 48,000 churches that existed in 1914 and their constituents were either destroyed, arrested or disbanded.[35] In 1937, the leader of the LMG reported to Stalin that up to one third of city dwellers and two thirds of those living in rural areas were still practicing religion.[36] Yet much of this progress was hampered by World War II; Priests were still arrested and churches still destroyed and the persecutions did not stop, but the effort and funding towards propaganda production like the LMG ceased due to the conflict. By the end of the war, the anti-religious publications of the LMG had been liquidated.[37]

The consolidation of church materials and land by Stalin and the government's control over Church doctrine through its intimidation of the church authorities and policies on cult practices increased its influence over the Russian Orthodox Church. The immense propaganda under Stalin, while short-lived, served to stray believers away from their religious backgrounds and believe in a new religion, communism, with a new god, Stalin. By 1950, a mere 33 years since the founding of the Soviet regime, approximately 20 Orthodox Bishops and more than 20,000 priests had been murdered by the communists.[38] Despite these persecutions in the early part of Stalin's regime, World War II saw a reversal of these policies. In 1943, Stalin put a hold on the persecutions of the Orthodox Church to use its link to Russian culture to rouse patriotism and national consciousness to lift morale among Red Army soldiers.[39]

<u>Anti-religious Policies and Propaganda after Stalin</u>

Due to economic, social and industrial exhaustion from the war effort, the communist war on religion took a brief pause during and shortly after World War II. The USSR had acquired regions that had been able to maintain a certain level of religiosity under Nazi control during the war, and had previously been unexposed to the militant Marxist atheism of the Soviets. Enter the new General Secretary, Nikita Khrushchev, who decidedly brought back some of the more oppressive policies from before the war so that these newly enveloped territories in the USSR would be assimilated to the Soviet ideal; these policies greatly affected the Russian Orthodox Church in the Motherland as well. Khrushchev believed attacking religion, more specifically the ROC, was a political necessity, and invoked the 'scientific' Marxist-Leninist critique of religion as a serious matter for his new regime.[40] Marxism had become, in its own right, a sort of religion: with heroes, such as Lenin and Stalin venerated as 'saint-like' saviors, whose icons and images were celebrated and whose philosophies and famous quotes used in literature and publications to profess one's allegiance and love for the state as if they were prayer to a deity.[41] Khrushchev's son, Sergei, writes of his father's thoughts on the church in his book, *Khrushchev in Power*: "Many newly arising religions ruthlessly destroy their predecessor religions...In the Soviet Union, this same, well-worn path was followed…it seemed as if old religion was doomed. Father [N. Khrushchev] even joked once that during his lifetime we would succeed in shaking the hand of the last priest."[42] Sergei Khrushchev claims that his father did not attack religion with the same ferocity of the Bolsheviks and Stalin, yet doesn't ignore his father's success against the church. "In 1953, there were 13,508 churches in the Soviet

33   Ibid., 41.
34   Ibid., 42.
35   Pospielovsky, *Russian Church 1917-1982*, 172.
36   Pospielovsky, *Volume I*, 65.
37   Pospielovsky, *Russian Church 1917-1982*, 173.
38   MacEoin, *War on Religion*, 20.
39   Isaac Tarasulo, "Chapter Four: National, Religious and Social Issues" in *Gorbachev and Glasnost: Viewpoints from the Soviet Press*, ed. and intro. by Isaac J. Tarasulo. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1989). 173.
40   Ibid., 70.
41   Sergei Khrushchev. *Khrushchev in Power: Unfinished Reforms 1961-1964*, trans. by George Shriver. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2014. 589.
42   Ibid.

Union; in 1964, there remained 7,873, slightly more than half.”[43]

Khrushchev intensified the efforts against the church. In the 1960s he continued to close seminaries, monasteries and churches in Russia and its satellite states. Apart from closing churches and church properties and locations of worship and theological education, Khrushchev was devoted to the Leninist practice or re-educating the public in a godless state of mind. In 1962 Khrushchev set up commissions to limit and weaken activities of religious societies and organizations.[44] As aforementioned, Atheism as a religion was rapidly growing, and so closing the churches, while a notable statistic, came mostly because fewer and fewer people went to church. Of course, another factor to consider was that people were generally afraid to be seen in places of worship with religious imagery or icons in sight.[45]

An interesting perspective comes from Tatiana Goricheva, a Soviet woman who documented her experience as a religious dissident in the USSR in the 1970s and '80s in her book, *Talking about God is Dangerous: The Diary of a Russian Dissident*. Her entries include run-ins with the KGB/secret police, her underground religious activities, and how her parents, friends, neighbors and the state viewed her religiosity. One detailed account tells of her friends aspiring to spread the Orthodox message in secret: “We had started to dream and even had arrived at the idea of an Orthodox underground academy, an academy in which Volodya would teach church history, Regelson would take over dogmatics and I would do philosophy. Now they are all in the gulag…and the arrests and house searches are still going on.”[46] Her diaries exhibit many of the aspects of this cultural oppression, both the jailing and mysterious disappearance of religious dissidents and priests, the closing of churches and passive-aggressive persuasion of the state for pastors to leave the priesthood, and the attack on religious icons and imagery. Another entry describes the fortitude of her friend, a priest, Father Leonid. “During the Khrushchev era, Father Leonid was summoned by the KGB,” she writes. “It was suggested to him that he should give up the priesthood, as many priests had done in that time of cruel and bloody persecutions.”[47] But after Khrushchev, the church experienced a sort of revival: not a regaining of influence over political or social groups, but, as Goricheva notes, a new influx of believers that breathed new life into the church. “After ten years [from Khrushchev], young people came back into the church, including intelligentsia, poets, writers, scientists and philosophers. No one would have believed anything like that to be possible.”[48]

This resurgence in religious interest, especially in the Russian Orthodox Church, described by Goricheva was reflected in the changes of policy under Khrushchev's successor, Leonid Brezhnev. Some statistics suggest a more relaxed approach toward religion during Brezhnev's regime. After Khrushchev, anti-religious propaganda and policies were not as intensely enforced or prevalent.[49] In addition, from 1966-1986, the number of Russian Orthodox parishes only dropped by 10%, the smallest decrease since the thaw in Khrushchev's early years.[50] However, this does not point towards a complete end to religious persecutions. A constant under Brezhnev was the arrests of religious people; this was because religious believers made up a significant portion of “political dissidents” in the Soviet Union.[51] In the Soviet Union, the state acted as the governing body for all canonical and ecclesiastical matters, warping church liturgy and teachings to be aligned with whatever the government saw fit. Naturally, this was the core of the dissidents' issue with Soviet religious policy.[52] The growing presence of religious objectors indicated growth in both the volume of individuals who wanted more religious freedoms and that the church itself was a still viable institution. The church withstood decades of varying approaches and levels of persecution and through these subjugations still stood as a cultural institution

43   Ibid., 590.
44   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 78.
45   Tatiana Goricheva. *Talking about God is Dangerous: The Diary of a Russian Dissident*. New York, NY: Crossroad Publishing, 1987. 2.
46   Ibid., 1.
47   Ibid., 32.
48   Ibid., 33.
49   Pospielovsky, *Volume I*, 98.
50   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 88.
51   William Tompson. *The Soviet Union Under Brezhnev*. Hoboken, NJ: Routledge Publishing, 2014. 105.
52   Ibid.

in Russia.[53]

<u>Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Democratic Reforms</u>

Mikhail Gorbachev would bring about a new era of freedom and liberty for religion. Gorbachev knew that the Brezhnev doctrine had backfired tremendously: it had led to millions of people across the Soviet Union yearning for self-expression and individualism. Nationalism was on the rise in Russia and its satellites, and these ethno-national groups wanted to split away from the oppressive regime they had been suffering under for years. Amidst this talk of nationalism and individualism was religious expression; one of the key components of culture that had been mercilessly repressed by the Soviets. Gorbachev now opened the door to this through *perestroika* and *glasnost*. These policies sought to grant democratic rights to Soviet citizens. Intrinsic freedoms such as speech, worship and assembly now became a reality for those living under communist rule. This left the people free to express their religious persuasion and spirituality openly. Gorbachev's reforms were part of his effort to create better relations with foreign powers and organizations. In his memoirs, Gorbachev chronicles his 1989 visit with Pope John Paul II, the most iconic and important spiritual figure of the time: "We [discussed] freedom of conscience, as one of the fundamental human rights, and on freedom of worship…John Paul II referred to perestroika as a process that 'allows us to search jointly for a new dimension of co-existence between people that will be better adapted to the needs of the individual, of different peoples, to the rights of individuals and nations.'"[54] This mere dialogue between the General Secretary of the USSR and the leader of the Catholic Church was unprecedented and a testament to the growing relationship between Russia and the West and its values. "For us," Gorbachev writes, "it is essential that morality should become firmly established in society – such universal, eternal values such as goodness, mercy, mutual aid. We start from the principle that the faith of believers must be respected."[55]

This opinion of Gorbachev's on religious tolerance draws a stark comparison from his predecessors, and one that is much more aligned with the democratic liberal ideals of the West rather than Marxism. Furthermore, the Russian Orthodox Church was the last remaining institution that was a cultural remnant of tsarist rule: for Gorbachev to exhibit any sort of acceptance or tolerance of this institution is indicative of the new flexibility that existed within the Soviet system.[56] Enhancing religious expression and tolerating freedom of worship is not a by-product of perestroika and glasnost, but a direct goal of these reforms. In a 1988 article from the Russian periodical *Ogonyok*, Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the State Committee for Religious Affairs outwardly admits that Gorbachev's reforms aim at allowing more religious freedom. Kharchev says in the interview, "At his meeting with the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that perestroika, democratization and glasnost include the believers, without any reservations whatsoever."[57] This challenging quote (from a chairman of a state committee no less!) proves that Gorbachev's generation had become wise to the fundamental flaws in the Soviet Union. Kharchev criticizes the religious persecutions of Stalin and Khrushchev, asking rhetorically, "When churches were closed (and, moreover, even destroyed openly), did these good-for-nothing leaders reflect on the fact that through their anti-democratic actions they sowed the seeds of animosity in the people [believers]?"[58] Men like Gorbachev and Kharchev understood that the church's deep-seated connection to Russian identity could not be broken, and the attempt at eradicating it as an important societal organization was a great ignorance and failure of the Soviet Union.

Glasnost and *Perestroika* opened new doors for democracy in Russia and the USSR. New laws were being produced that brought new democratic freedoms to the people. When the collapse came in 1990, Russia began anew as the Russian Federation. One of the fastest growing institutions in this new Russia was the Russian Orthodox Church and religion entirely. Boris Yeltsin, the first President of this fledgeling democracy, kept memoirs of his time in office, although the entries involving the Russian Orthodox Church are highly situational. He wrote in his diary, "For many decades our people had been forcibly denied religion, and now thousands, tens of thousands of new converts who barely understood the traditions of our country and the

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53   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 86.
54   Mikhail Gorbachev. *Memoirs*. (New York, NY: Doubleday Publishing Co, 1995). 509.
55   Ibid., 509.
56   Tarasulo, *Gorbachev and Glasnost*, 172.

57   Alexander Nezhny and Konstantin Kharchev. "Conscience is Free." Ogonyok, no. 21, 1988, in *Gorbachev and Glasnost: Viewpoints from the Soviet Press*, ed. and intro. by Isaac J. Tarasulo. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1989). 189-190.
58   Ibid., 191.

differences between various faiths were eager to find personal salvation."[59] Yeltsin writes of the Russian Orthodox Church's pushback during this explosion of religious freedom. The church sought to restore some of its former importance as an integral part of Russian culture, and by allowing foreign religions to come in, it could undermine the church while "causing damaging the spiritual and physical health of a person, to the national identity of our people and to the stability and civic peace in Russia."[60] He relented to some of the ROC's insistence, however amended a bill concerning freedom of worship with the goal to determine what faiths were legitimate and whose followers ought not be impinged upon.[61] This bill was just one such example of how the ROC suddenly enjoyed political and social relevance once more, and how the new government saw it important to listen and engage in a dialogue with the church, something that hadn't been taking place even before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Another entry mentions the remains of Tsar Nicholas II and his wife and children found in Siberia, on the matter of what to do with the remains after it was confirmed that they were indeed authentic. "They [the ROC] stubbornly denied the authenticity of the remains. They refused to acknowledge the DNA method of identification…But this was not strictly a church affair. It concerned all citizens of Russia."[62] Yeltsin uses this such example to describe the division within the church. "There is already too much friction between the Russian Orthodox Church inside Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church abroad," he writes. Yeltsin here is citing the fact that the ROC in Russia has not yet canonized or venerated Tsar Nicholas II and his family as martyrs, whereas the church elsewhere had done so many years ago.[63] This seemingly trivial story actually reveals to us an interesting aspect: that believers in Russia, specifically members of the ROC, learn and practice vastly different doctrine and canon because of their being held hostage by communism.

Conclusion

The amusing irony is that while the Soviets loudly clamored for a separation of Church and state, under communist rule, the church was inherently linked to and under the control of the state both ecclesiastically and politically.[64] Examining the anti-religious policies of Soviet Union closer shows how fundamentally flawed the system truly was in terms of execution and philosophy. The Bolsheviks sought to take away something that was ingrained in Russian history, such a part of Russian identity that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants practiced its customs. The failure of Soviet Atheism was simply because the people rejected Marxism as a form of religion. As Kharchev summed up nicely above, the soviets did not anticipate significant resistance of these ideas, nor did they expect that popular opinion mattered much in an authoritarian regime. The foundational error, therefore was not their pedagogy, methodology or implementation, but their sheer ignorance. The government killed, arrested and exiled millions of people because of their beliefs, and it even tried to control the information that they used to practice these beliefs; but ideas, especially intricate belief systems that have existed for centuries, die harder than human beings. Soviet-era Russian Orthodoxy saw continued oppression and persecution at the hands of Scientific Atheism. Tens of thousands of people were killed and many more were imprisoned, tortured or wasted away in concentration camps. From this suffering, however, has blossomed a new Russian Orthodox Church that is more intellectual, more entrenched in Russian and foreign academia, and more connected to the outside world than ever before. Religious oppression and persecution was one of the many cardinal failures that we remember the Soviet Union by, and we can be thankful for it, because today, the Russian Orthodox Church is back in its rightful place in the forefront of Russian culture and identity.

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59   Boris Yeltsin. *Midnight Diaries* trans. by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick. (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2000). 118.
60   Ibid., 118.
61   Ibid., 119.
62   Ibid., 300.
63   Ibid., 301.
64   Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin*, 86.

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The Thaw and its Effect on Soivet Society
Jordan Hunter

I. Introduction

Joseph Stalin: the man who created a nation that lived in fear of freedom and democracy. A man who brought the cult of personality back. A man who made the USSR a force to be reckoned with. Nikita Khrushchev: the man who dismantled his reign. As Stalinism began to dissolve in the USSR, other political rulers came to power in the Soviet Union. One of the most notable was Khrushchev. Khrushchev was a man who saw past the veil Stalin wore and began to unravel the mist Soviet citizens lived in. To understand the thaw one must understand a few terms. First, is Stalinism. Stalinism is defined by policies such as centralization, totalitarianism, and the pursuit of communism. It is also characterized by collectivization of agriculture, centralized economy, and a one party state. Second is destalinization. Destalinization can be defined as a set of reforms made by Khrushchev and his successors to end the cult of personality, Gulag (labor camps) and the Stalinist political system. Lastly is the thaw. The thaw is characterized by relaxation of repression and censorship in the Soviet Union, along with the end of the Gulag and the cult of personality surrounding Stalin.

However, the thaw was not as drastic as its definition may suggest. Khrushchev created new freedoms that people had not had in many centuries. Although, Soviet people began to have new freedoms, society was still engrossed in communism. During the time after Stalin's death and the rise of Khrushchev, destalinization began with a series of political reforms starting with the end of the majority of forced labor camps and extended into the ending of Stalin's cult of personality. This time period was deemed as Khrushchev's thaw and went from the early 1950s to the early 1960s. During this time, Khrushchev managed to enact the end of forced labor camps along with generalized political reform and increased societal freedoms that allowed Russian society to modernize and slowly catch up with the west. The focus of this paper will be on how the thaw was a positive step forward for USSR because it increased social, political, and civil freedoms and ended the atrocities Stalin enacted.

II. Stalin and Khrushchev

In 1928, terror struck the USSR. Stalin's reign began in 1928 and his merciless hand fell upon anybody who disobeyed his rule. Freedom and privatization were stripped from every individual.[1] People no longer owned property and it was now owned by the state. Mass wide famines and prison camps were enacted to keep power concentrated in the hands of the powerful, elite. Stalin's inability to allow freedom in society is what allowed his power to remain in a vacuum.[2] During this time, Khrushchev lived and worked in Ukraine. His family was of little means and lived in the poorest city of Kalinovka.[3] This forced Khrushchev to seek government positions to better his life and during his rise to power, he witnessed the atrocities of Stalinist policies, such as collectivization and forced labor camps. Consequently, Stalin's power became silently intolerable to Khrushchev and many of his allies.[4] This may be due to his upbringing, which was plagued by poverty in Ukraine. As early as Khrushchev's birth in 1894, being forced in labor camps as well as into collectivization grossly mistreated Khrushchev and his family. This continued into his early adulthood plagued by Stalinist policies of purges, famines, and prosecution of freedoms. Ergo, Khrushchev's only option was to work closely with Stalin and support his policies, in order to gain a better life than his previous one, as stated in his memoirs, which he wrote to explain his own life. However, this did not last. As soon as Stalin died, Khrushchev denounced the purges he once supported and helped carried out as the head of the communist party in Moscow.

The Purges

From 1937 to 1938 Stalin enacted purges against the Communist Party leaders, as well as repressing society with surveillance, imprisonments, and many executions. This time of terror coerced many high officials into making fake accusations against writers and other intelligentsia so they would not be targeted. Not only

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1   Khrushchev, Nikita S., Edward Crankshaw, and Jerrold L. Schecter. *Khrushchev Remembers*, translated by Strobe Talbott. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1974), 107.

2   Ibid.7.

3   Ibid. 93.

4   Ibid., 18.

were they subjected to carry out acts of violence and erroneous statements; they had an obligation to Stalin due to their stature, to follow through with his policies. One of these men was Khrushchev. Khrushchev, along with men such as Alexander Fadeyev (a notable writer and champion of Stalin) eventually began to regret acting out killings and oppressive acts. Khrushchev accounts that a few years later; post-Stalin's death; both himself and Fadeyev believed it was right to "expose Stalin's crimes."[5] This is what led to Khrushchev and his leadership enacting The Thaw.

As we can see so far, Khrushchev and Stalin had many interactions. This dates back to as early as his work in Ukraine's Donbas region.[6] During his time there he was elected as a chairman of the worker's council and joined the Bolsheviks. He, later on, joined the Red Army as a commissar, which led him to be elected at the 14th Congress Of the USSR Communist Party.[7] This allowed Khrushchev to have intimate meetings with Stalin and allowed him to be given responsibilities. Stalin gave Khrushchev power to purge fellow friends and colleagues, which gained him favorability in Stalin's eyes. Khrushchev also was favored by Stalin's wife, which gave him, even more, power with Stalin.[8] However, there was contentious behavior between the two. Behind closed doors, Khrushchev often questioned Stalin's harsh behavior and that in turn made Stalin angry. Although they had some hard times, Khrushchev remained one of Stalin's most trusted top advisors. In 1937, Stalin appointed Khrushchev as a Communist Party head in Ukraine and eventually in Moscow.[9] This allowed Khrushchev easy access to power after Stalin's death.

III. Khrushchev's Rise to power

Once Stalin was dead, Khrushchev emerged as the First Secretary of the Central Committee, which made him the leader of the Soviet Communist Party, and consequently in charge of soviet politics. He used his platform to make a better USSR.

"Khrushchev realized that Stalin's terror tactics were no longer effective in winning over the Soviet people. He became the first to speak publicly of Stalin's regime of terror. In a landmark speech made in 1956, known as "the Secret Speech," Khrushchev denounced the cruelty of his predecessor. What Khrushchev did not disclose in his speech was his own involvement in Stalin's cruel measures of control. Nevertheless, the speech left a lasting impression on the Soviet people and helped Khrushchev to continue to exert his power."[10]

As this quote states, Khrushchev realized that the public was suffering from his policies, which was evident to him during is time back in Ukraine. Khrushchev did have to fight for his power though. He had to go through people such as Lavrentiy Beria, who was the most influential Secret police chief under Stalin's well as his deputy chairman of the Communist Party, and gain respect from the public. His blatant dismantling of Stalin's legacy was not widely appreciated by former Stalinist leaders, which made it very difficult for Khrushchev to pass any policies. However by 1958, Khrushchev had established his own position in the party and began to succeed as premier of the Soviet Union. His success came regardless of the problems from Stalin's era.

During Khrushchev's rise, he had to fight a formidable opponent, Lavrentiy Beria. Both Beria and Khrushchev were men Stalin trusted and relied upon. Khrushchev and Beria worked on projects connected to atomic bombs and nuclear weapons. During their time working together, Khrushchev and Beria had a hard time getting along but it is said that " (USSR) had to catch up with the Americans, who had been the first to develop atomic bombs and the first to use them in war…Stalin was frightened to the point of cowardice. He ordered that all our technological efforts be directed towards developing atomic weapons of our own. I remember that Beria was in full charge of the project."[11] Since Beria was the head of the project it showed how much trust Stalin put in Beria. This made it even harder for Khrushchev to gain power with other communist officials. This is exemplified after Stalin's death when Khrushchev arrested Beria on charges of treason to ensure his power

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5   Ibid., 75.
6   Ibid., 48.

7   Loveday, Veronica. "Nikita Khrushchev." Nikita Khrushchev 1-2. History Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed November 2, 2017).
8   Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, 1974.
9   Loveday, "Nikita Khrushchev."
10   Ibid.1-2.
11   Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, 1974

was not rivaled, which allowed himself to accomplish more of his goals.[12] Khrushchev stated in his memoir, " Once Stalin was dead, there was a realignment of forces in the new leadership, and people began expressing their needs in a more open manner. After Beria's arrest and trial, our people began to feel free."[13] Khrushchev indicates here how much freedom and power he was able to gain once Stalin's closset ally, post-death, was no longer in his way. Khrushchev was able to rise to power over Beria because he was able to gain the militaries support as well as the politburo because he focused on more conservative to moderate politics, which appealed to many older officials.

Khrushchev Wants Change

After Beria's ousting from power, Khrushchev was able to gain recognition and was able to enact many of his reforms. In Khrushchev's memoir, he states that one of the biggest issues USSR faced was the blind following of Stalinist policies. Khrushchev wrote in his memoirs, " We'd already had enough of the kind of unanimity and sycophancy which had accomplished the personality cult."[14] In this statement, Khrushchev shows that many people in power, beside himself, were concerned and despondent in regards to Stalin's cult-like personality. Khrushchev did not end there with his detestation of Stalin. On many occasions, Khrushchev mentioned how he, and other communist officials had to right the wrongs of Stalin. A prime example is the problematic economic relations with Poland and Hungary. In order to normalize USSR, they needed strong economic relations with surrounding nations. Since Stalin enacted terror in these nations, it was difficult for Khrushchev's predecessors and himself to create any sort of positive ties. One way in which Khrushchev tried to right Stalin's wrongs was by ending forced labor camps. First, he started with returning survivors from isolated labor camps to society.[15] While doing so Khrushchev eased censorship so that people could publish works on issues and problems in society along with opening discussions on politics. This led to support of Khrushchev from the intelligentsia, liberals and impoverished people. A statement made by Andrei Voznesensky, a Russian poet and writer, supports the claims of increased freedom during Khrushchev's era. He equivocated in an interview that, "Khrushchev and his supporters in the government had helped to set all these changes in motion in the first years after Stalin's death. Communist Party leaders had lived through the horror of the purges just like their fellow countrymen. All but the most conservative recognized the need for some reform: they wanted to relax certain controls, allow a measure of free speech, and perhaps permit greater contact with the West."[16]

IV. The Secret Speech Launches the Thaw

The Secret Speech

What started off the Thaw was Nikita Khrushchev's speech made to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956. The 20th Party Congress was an organization that included many top officials in the Communist Party from around the world that met to educate on current communist policies and ideology. The congress met on February 14, 1956 and in the closed meeting, Khrushchev used his audience of international allies and home politicians to denounce Stalin and take full power of the USSR. In this speech, Khrushchev denounces Stalin and he states:

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the 17th party congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers,

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12   Ibid. 100.
13   Ibid. 100.
14   Ibid. 210.
15   Johnson, Emily. "Nikita Khrushchev, Andrei Voznesensky, and the Cold Spring of 1963: Documenting the End of the Post-Stalin Thaw." *World Literature Today 75*, no. 1 (2001): 30-39. doi:10.2307/40156311.
16   Ibid.

honest and dedicated to the cause of communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.[17]

By saying this, Khrushchev fully declared his distaste with Stalin's tone-deaf autocrat reign characterized by Stalin's elevation of himself above "the party and above the nation."[18] Many of Khrushchev's colleagues agreed with his sentiments; however, some did not which is evident in his memoirs when Khrushchev recounts men like Leon Trotsky adamantly speaking out after Khrushchev called him out for supporting Stalin and enacting out collectivization that killed many peasants. Many stated that Stalin's actions were crimes and they were irredeemable.[19] They also believed that this speech allowed for the cleansing of the party and gave the USSR the ability to resurrect true communism spelled out by Lenin with "restoration of health and integrity of the Soviet order."[20] However, the speech was meant only for the elites in the Kremlin at the time and rumors began to spread in diplomatic circles suggesting that Khrushchev had denounced Stalin leading many to believe that something must have sparked between the men fighting for power after Stalin's death. The rumor suggested that "something totally unprecedented really happened: a furious personal denunciation of the man who, only three years before, had been looked upon as God by the overwhelming majority of the population."[21] This sparked many high officials speaking out and telling people that the rumored speech was real, but Khrushchev never admitted to making it. This created a sense of silent freedom amongst many top officials and intelligentsia because now they knew they would not be prosecuted for speaking their minds about Stalin.

The aim of the secret speech was to de-Stalinize and acknowledges previous shameful acts while instating new freedoms. The speech did so by calling out for increased freedom of speech, end of the Gulag, and increased personal privatized items. Khrushchev's ultimate goal, as stated in his speech, was to rebuild the form of communism that existed before Stalin. He ends his speech with saying, "We are absolutely certain that our party, armed with the historical resolutions of the 20th Congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new, successes, to new victories. Long lives the victorious banner of our party-Leninism."[22] Khrushchev wanted to restore USSR to the Leninist/ Marxist ideals of communism that could allow it to modernize, rival the West, and create a society that did not live in fear of prosecution.

Positive Aspects of the Thaw

Before one can truly understand the positives that the thaw brought to the USSR, one must know that the thaw ended the cult of personality, which was propaganda used by Stalin to idealize him and ensure the Soviet People believed he was supreme? Khrushchev ended the cult of personality because it was detrimental to the people of the USSR to believe their leader was god. Khrushchev also ended the Gulag system because violence and forced labor was not something he believed was morally correct since his family suffered under those policies. He also reduced censorship to allow for culture to thrive again. He did this because he believed in a Leninist form of Communism that valued culture and its people.

The story of the thaw cannot be told without discussing the changes in culture. Culture became discussions of politics, art, and new freedoms. The culture was now constituted by literacy and citizen's ability to tell their stories. This is characterized by increased political pieces of art or text found in everyday newspapers and buildings. The production of musicals, movies, and music began to rise.[23] All of these aspects opened the public to something they had not had free access to in years. This allowed for the leadership to acknowledge public opinion and create policies of modernity. [24] Since public opinion became attainable for many, the leadership became interested in its voice. Many communist leaders under Khrushchev, as well as Khrushchev himself, used public opinion surveys to understand what its citizens wanted out of western democracy policies that could shape political decisions in USSR.[25] Although they conducted this survey many

17   Khrushchev, N. (1956). *Modern History Sourcebook*: Nikita S. Khrushchev: The Secret Speech - On the Cult of Personality, 1956.
18   Ibid.
19   Jones, Polly. "The Secret Speech." In *Myth, Memory, Trauma: Rethinking the Stalinist Past in the Soviet Union, 1953-70*, 20. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013.
20   Ibid.,21.
21   Rettie, John. "How Khrushchev Leaked His Secret Speech to the World." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 62 (2006): 187.
22   Khrushchev, *Modern History Sourcebook*, 1956.
23   Condee, Nancy. "Cultural Codes of the Thaw." In Nikita Khrushchev, edited by Taubman William, Khrushchev Sergei, and Gleason Abbott, by Gehrenbeck David, Kane Eileen, and Bashenko All. New Haven; London: Yale University Press (2000), 162.
24   Loewenstein, Karl E. "Re-Emergence of Public Opinion in the Soviet Union: Khrushchev and Responses to the Secret Speech." *Europe-Asia Studies* 58, no. 8 (20060,1329.
25   Ibid. , 1329

of them were not used. Khrushchev wanted to allow people to have freedom to speak up, but did not want to take it too far because it would undermine communism, but allowing the surveys opened the grounds for the public to speak.

The thaw also allowed for other modernization policies. The first was housing. In the new era of communism, Khrushchev allowed people to access housing in a project that he hoped would lead Soviet citizens to a better future or a better tomorrow. "Housing vividly demonstrated the regime's renewed commitment to realizing the promises of the Revolution on a mass scale and to achieving high living standards for all."[26] Khrushchev set up whole new urban areas of apartment buildings on a rapid scale to emphasize modernity and changes to the Soviet environment. Small wooden housing and green pastures on the edge of cities were now urban playgrounds for children and families. These areas were new constructed apartment buildings that allowed for more jobs, and peace amongst people who had very little of their own under Stalin. The housing project allowed for modernization of the planned economy under Stalin. Khrushchev's ability to create some form of privatization by ways of investment of resources and expertise of industrial workers in transforming the economy and society only benefited society. This movement also aided in the collapse of collectivization, although it did not end until 1991, and brought about the ability of more impoverished people to experience modernity.

However, housing was not the only form of modernization occurring in the USSR under Khrushchev. The forms of labor began to modernize as well. Labor was no longer categorized by extremely harsh conditions and a poor economic system. Khrushchev's thaw allowed for increased economic relations among other nations, especially the West. This was due to a more available educational system and technological advancement. The space race allowed for USSR to gain access to markets they had not had access to before. This increased their economic realm and created a market that could be more competitive with the west. In a speech made by Khrushchev posted *to The Current Digest of the Russian Press*, Khrushchev stated that "We ourselves are by our labor creating everything necessary to improve life."[27] Improvements included lowering production cost, improving quality, and overall development of industry, agriculture, and society. This can be seen in the building of "more apartments and have produced more products, television sets, radios, cameras, clothing, footwear and other items. (Also advancements in) chemistry-which, thanks to great discoveries, makes it possible to place formerly unknown raw material sources at the service of man is a big help in increasing output of consumer goods."[28] By modernizing, Khrushchev was able to soften the relations between former USSR and the West. On May 20th 1959, The Current Digest of the Russian press published a Letter to Khrushchev praising him for his success in creating a better Russian communist state than Stalin. The article stated, "We warmly embrace you, our dear Nikita Sergeyevich, and from the bottom of our hearts wish you good health, many, many years of life and fruitful activity for the benefit of the Soviet people, for the benefit of communism! We greatly regret that on this important day we cannot convey to you in person our sincere feelings of friendship, deep respect, and love."[29] By publicaly outpouring love to Khrushchev it showed how much people appreciate the changes. The elites and intelligentsia especially appreciated the changes to communism Khrushchev made. During Khrushchev's reign, government officials gained more access to international affairs and it increased their desire to rival the West. Government leaders realized with the relaxation of oppressive politics from the Stalinist era that they were able to begin new industries that would allow them to become a world power. The intelligentsia was offered more power and control in society through new media outlets, which was an incentive for them to support Khrushchev and his policies. [30]Nonetheless, the government called for more aggressive policies such as for Khrushchev to "denounce the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialist circles" and to keep their "Hands off Cuba" exemplifies this.[31] By calling for Soviet involvement in Cuba, government officials hoped to show the world the USSR was modernizing and becoming a nation that could be as influential as the west. By supporting Cuba, Khrushchev showed his people and the world that the USSR was catching up with

26   Reid, Susan E. "Khrushchev Modern: Agency and Modernization in the Soviet Home." *Cahiers Du Monde Russe 47*, no. 1/2 (2006), 227-68.
27   The Productive Labor Of Millions Is The Guarantee Of Successes In The Building Of Communism. -Speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at Meeting in Krasnoyarsk Oct. 9, 1959. (1959). The Current Digest of the Russian Press, 11(41), 5.
28   Ibid. 5
29   To Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. (1959). The Current Digest of the Russian Press, 11(16), 3.
30   Daniels, Robert V. "Khrushchev and the Intelligentsia." *In The Rise and fall of Communism in Russia*, 284-94. Yale University Press, 2007.
31   To Mr. Khrushchev. (1962). The Current Digest of the Russian Press, 14(43), 8.

the west and using its nations public opinion to shape political decision.

Pitfalls of the Thaw

Once the speech had been made, many people broke out in protest. In Georgia, Stalin's homeland, crowds rioted "In protest against the insult to their national hero."[32] The intelligentsia called for a more rapid and stricter denouncing of Stalinism. However, they did not receive that. Khrushchev was only willing to take the thaw so far. Khrushchev wanted to keep communism intact and he feared that by creating policies such as Perestroika and Glasnost that would later be carried out by Gorbachev he would unravel the nation. This is why his thaw was a positive step forward but it didn't do enough. This is evident in the elite's ability to create a power vacuum amongst them. Stephen Bittner, in a book about the elite in Soviet society during the thaw, states that dissidence was very prominent among society at the time.[33] He discusses how the thaw caused dissidence even though many citizens benefited from the thaw since modernization allowed for more open communication. However, in reality, citizens under Khrushchev had more legal rights than under Stalin, the elite was able to rise to control and power quickly. An example he uses is a neighborhood in Moscow called the Arbat. This neighborhood was very wealthy and during this time its wealth only skyrocketed but others still remained middle class or poor. This just shows that although the thaw was a step in the right direction it only benefited the wealthy high Communist Party officials, it did not benefit the poorer classes of society. The pitfalls of the thaw can also be seen in the remarkable rise of liberal literature and criticism during the late 1960s and early 1970s, which was characterized by calls for strong political reforms.[34] Although Khrushchev would not grant those stricter reforms his successor Gorbachev did.

What Khrushchev did and did not say in the Speech

It is evident Khrushchev's speech made great impact in Soviet society. As seen above there were many positive aspects to this that, but dissidence still occurred. In his speech, he was very ambiguous about what he truly was willing to do to rid the nation of Stalinism. It was clear he wanted to remove any sort of cult of personality, the large Gulag system, and wanted to allow more social freedoms, but he was unwilling to let go of the major characteristics of the Stalinist system. Khrushchev was still a true communist at heart and he wanted to ensure that the nation remained communist. He wanted to keep power more centralized while modernizing his country and taking them out of a dark past of violence. Khrushchev looked up to Lenin and wanted to use similar tactics of convincing supporters rather than coercing them. Khrushchev states:

> During Lenin's life the central committee of the party-was a real expression of collective leadership of the party and of the nation. Being a militant Marxist-revolutionist, always unyielding in matters of principle, Lenin never imposed by force his views upon his coworkers. He tried to convince; he patiently explained his opinions to others. Lenin always diligently observed that the norms of party life were realized, that the party statute was enforced, that the party congresses and the plenary sessions of the central committee took place at the proper intervals.[35]

Khrushchev wanted a government that worked properly and functioned in accordance with procedures that would not fall into despot territory. Khrushchev, much like Lenin, feared atrocities that Stalin created and wanted to move the nation forward into a place that did not experience such violence. Although he wanted a perfect communist state that fostered freedoms and equality, he was unwilling to push the boundaries of what he knew and create real laws and reforms that could fully overthrow Stalinism. His denouncement of Stalin was crucial to the progress of USSR but since he was unwilling to follow through with his actions, USSR did not see full destalinization until Mikhail Gorbachev.

V. Gorbachev's total Unravel Vs. Khrushchev's Thaw

Although these two communist leaders may seem worlds apart, much of their philosophies were the same. In the early 1950s and 60s, an early form of perestroika was enacted by Khrushchev. This allowed

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32   Rettie, "How Khrushchev Leaked His Secret Speech", 188.
33   Bittner, Stephen V. "Dissidence and the End of the Thaw." *In The Many Lives of Khrushchev's Thaw: Experience and Memory in Moscow's Arbat,* 174-210. Cornell   University Press, 2008.
34   Kalinin, Ilya. "Literary Criticism During The Thaw", 184-206.
35   Khrushchev, *Modern History Sourcebook.*

Gorbachev to expand upon the economic reforms and succeed in more radical transformations of the Soviet society. Without Khrushchev, Gorbachev would not have been able to drastically change society through his policies of glasnost and Perestroika. Although Khrushchev reformed society, it is evident he did not take it very far. His policies and improvements of society were based on a low-level scale. He introduced some forms of communist media that was not as censored even though but much of that media was still heavily censored. He opened housing and made an economy that was based on more technological and international advancement but these changes still left the USSR in a fog of communism. This changed when Gorbachev came to power and he took the policies enacted by Khrushchev and expanded upon them. Gorbachev used the network created by Khrushchev to further his political agenda by " convincing them that they had, even more, to lose if reform did not take place (or if they did not support it) or by compensating them for their losses."[36] This tactic by Gorbachev was similar to Khrushchev in the fact that they both did not use coercion instead; they used negation and persuasion to gain supporters. Discussing Gorbachev when analyzing the thaw of Khrushchev is important because he is the man who made the ideals of the thaw a reality. Khrushchev's thaw was a good start to reformation of the Soviet society but it did not expand far enough. It created many freedoms for the USSR that it lacked under Stalin, but it could have done so much more. Specifically, Khrushchev who was "really scared designed this. We were afraid the thaw might unleash a flood, which we wouldn't be able to control and which could drown us."[37] Khrushchev was the man to initiate reforms of Stalinism but he was not the man to fully amend the atrocities of Stalinism.

VI. Conclusion

During the rise of Khrushchev, Khrushchev began to enact policies of de-Stalinization that began with a series of political reforms starting with the end of forced labor camps and extended into the ending of Stalin's cult of personality. This time period was deemed as Khrushchev's thaw. The thaw managed to end forced labor camps along with creating generalized political reform and increased societal freedoms that allowed Soviet society to modernize and slowly catch up with the west. Not only did the thaw open the USSR to the West, it also allowed for less state-owned entities, increased competitive labor, and technological advancements. This is characterized by the space race and construction of nuclear weapons. The advancements in society led the thaw to be one of the most progressive times that USSR had seen in many years. However, the thaw did not go far enough for some citizens, which allowed for successors of Khrushchev to increase freedoms for Soviet citizens. Overall, the thaw was a positive step forward for USSR since it increased freedoms and ended the atrocities Stalin enacted.

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36   Tompson, W. J. "Khrushchev and Gorbachev as Reformers: A Comparison." *British   Journal of Political Science* 23, no. 1 (1993), 80.
37   Ibid., 77.

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"Because the horror of Communism, Stalinism, is not that bad people do bad things — they always do. It's that good people do horrible things thinking they are doing something great."

- Slavoj Žižek, Socioligist

COMMUNISM:

AN INTERNATIONAL
PERSPECTIVE

East German Women & Transition
Alyssa Soviero

Introduction

Many East German women were negatively impacted by the fall of communism. These women often saw communism as a favorable and beneficial form of government for various compelling reasons. First, the constitution of the German Democratic Republic, the East German Communist state created after World War II, had guaranteed the equality of men and women; even if in practice men and women were still not unequivocally equal women's rights were recognized under East German law.[1] The government of the German Democratic Republic also tried to work towards gender equality by promoting women's access to educational and occupational opportunities; they even guaranteed a woman's right to gainful employment.[2] Under communism, East German women received many gender specific benefits under the law such as affordable childcare, guaranteed days off to care for sick children, subsidies for children, a "marriage benefit," and legal access to contraception and abortion.[3] Many of the rights, protections, and benefits provided to East German women by the state were an integral part of their everyday lives, identity, and womanhood. After unification many East Germans expressed nostalgia for the former GDR, a study conducted by the public opinion research institute Emnid showed that in 1995 75% of former GDR citizens asserted that they were proud of their lives in the GDR and 51% referred to themselves as citizens for the former GDR rather than simply as Germans.[4] These statistics express the sense of loss East Germans endured due to unification. East German women were the losers of German unification because under capitalism they lost many legal protections, rights, government benefits, job security, and often felt as if they were forced to choose between work and family.

Division of Germany

After the conclusion of World War II Germany was divided into two radically different states. A section of Germany was allotted to the Allied Forces and a section was given to the Soviet Union as war reparations. This division created an East German state also known as the German Democratic Republic (GDR), which was run by a communist government and a West German state also known as The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), which was capitalist and aligned with the West. The physical separation of these two societies is symbolic of how starkly different the systems of communism and capitalism are from each other. Even though these two states were once a unified country, the opposing forces of Western democracies and the Soviet Empire during World War II led to the division of Germany, which significantly impacted the lives of the German people.

The government of the German Democratic Republic was rooted in socialist ideology, which advocates for equality and its existence depends on women's labor within and outside of the home.[5] This socialist emphasis on equality and economic reliance upon women, led the GDR to promote women and family policies that benefited them. It is often argued by scholars that communism provided more equality for women than capitalism and even though complete gender equality was not achieved in the GDR the idea was legally promoted. Despite the fact that women did not achieve total equality with men, in socialist East Germany women's social roles had been defined as being members of the paid labor force while capitalist West Germany had defined women's social roles as primarily taking care of home and family.[6] In the GDR an overwhelming amount of women worked outside of the home while in contrast many women in West Germany were solely housewives and mothers. This was problematic because the fall of communism led to many East German women losing their identity as working women who were able to contribute to society without having to compromise their role as wives and mothers. They were able to pursue both of these roles since the communist government helped make it as possible for women to successfully manage work, as well as perform their

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1   Pam Allen-Thompson and Dinah Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard: East German Women in Transition. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994. 8.

2   Ibid., 8-15.

3   Ibid.,14-15.

4   Hans J. Misselwitz."GDR Nostalgia (1996): Return of the GDR? ." http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3107.

5   Ingrid Sandole-Staroste. Women in Transition: Between Socialism and Capitalism. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002, 6.

6   Ibid., 8.

domestic duties. When the two Germany's were reunited in 1989, East German women were abruptly forced to integrate into western society where the ideology regarding what a woman's role in society should be was much more limited.

Labor and Employment

The GDR promoted women's participation in the workforce by requiring every public workplace to have clearly defined programs for the recruitment, training and promotion of women.[7] East German women were also trained for occupations that were traditionally male dominated, such as engineering and heavy industry, this was extremely progressive for the time period and was just another way in which the government tried to foster gender equality.[8] They were also trained to work in construction and were taught how to operate machinery; the government also advocated for women to be educated in subjects such as chemistry, physics and engineering which were fields that have been historically dominated by men.[9] These actions helped shape the East German notion that within the labor force, women and men were both capable of performing similar tasks and earning an income; this concept is the epitome of equality. The occupational and educational integration of women was a remarkable stride toward blurring the lines of gender roles, which have been a big hindrance of equality on a global scale.

Even though women's positions and wages were typically lower than their male counterparts, they still were active participants in the labor force and were able to earn their own wages, which made them economically independent. Lower wages for women was attributed to sex segregation within industries and women typically receiving lower levels of education and vocational training compared to their male counterparts.[10] A large amount of women being able to work outside of the home and not being dependent on a man's salary was a huge achievement in itself. Throughout history, women have been in positions of subordination to men because they were financially dependent on them for their survival. East German women being able to earn their own wages was a step towards equality because they were provided with easier opportunities to not depend on a man to provide for them. The right to gainful employment that was guaranteed in the East German constitution meant that women, with or without children or husbands could depend on a regular income; this created a sense of security, confidence, liberation, purpose, and independence among women.[11]

Job Security and Economic Independence

Upon German unification in 1990, many women lost their jobs and no longer felt that they had job security or economic independence because now they were often in positions where they needed to become financially dependent on their husbands again. The economic consequences for women who weren't married but faced sudden unemployment upon unification was often more severe since they did not have a spouse to rely on for financial support. The loss of jobs for East German women can be attributed to the collapse of the GDR communist government that guaranteed gainful employment, the fact that the communist state could no longer fund public workplaces, investment by West German firms into East was slow and hesitant, and daycare was no longer guaranteed and subsidized therefore many mothers could not afford to work.[12] The West German market economy remained through the process of unification while the East German economy failed because their communist government that had played a large part in stabilizing and regulating the economy collapsed.[13] Under the unified government many Western companies demoted experienced men and women to apprentice status, upon acquisition of Eastern business they also dismissed or did not rehire former experienced GDR employees for the benefit of junior Western employees.[14] Individuals who came over to the East voluntarily as civil servants and employees were mostly low-skilled workers, however were often promoted to higher

7   Eileen Applebaum, Friederike Maier, and Hedwig Rudolph. "Beyond Socialism: The Uncertain Prospects for East German Women in a Unified Germany." In Women In The Age Of Economic Transformation edited by Nahid Aslanbeigui, Steven Pressman and Gale Summerfield, 11-26. New York, NY: Routledge, 1994.
8   Helen Frink. Women After Communism: The East German Experience. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001, 25.
9   Ibid., 25-26.
10   Annemette Sørensen and Heike Trappe. "The Persistence of Gender Inequality in Earnings in the German Democratic Republic." American Sociological Review 60, no. 3 (1995): 398-406.
11   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard
12   Marilyn Rueschemeyer. "East German Women In Transition." https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~ces/publications/docs/pdfs/CEE_WP12.pdf.
13   Ibid.
14   Christian Meier. "The Unification Crisis (December 31, 1992)." http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=3446.

positions, paid large bonuses, and received higher salaries than their local colleagues, who were paid according to the Eastern wage scale.[15] These negative circumstances made East Germans mourn the loss of the GDR and even caused resentment toward unification.

The loss of economic independence deeply upset many East German women because in many cases it had become a part of their identity. In a 1990 interview, conducted by researchers Pam Allen-Thompson and Dinah Dodds, in order to better understand how East German women experience transition, 48 year-old press secretary Katharina Stillisch grieves the loss of her former economic status in the GDR. She explained that with guaranteed employment women could spend their money however they pleased and did not have to answer to their spouses.[16] She also passionately declared, "I want to be independent. That has nothing to do with love and marriage. Economic dependence is more likely to ruin such things."[17] She expressed that economic independence hinders gender equality and also puts a strain on spousal relationships because spouses varying ideas about what money should and should not be spent on can cause tension in a marriage. Financial dependence upon men and having to ask permission on how to spend money also can create feelings of inferiority and degradation among women. After she lost her job, Stillisch received six months of unemployment under the new unified government, which was comprised of 68% percent of her previous salary. This situation brought her to the realization that people developed greater self-respect when a government subsidized their employment rather than when it subsidized their unemployment.[18] Stillisch's experience emphasizes how guaranteed work by the GDR government empowered women and helped them to develop a sense of independence whereas the job insecurity of capitalism and newfound reliance on unemployment and their spouses left them feeling vulnerable, insecure and economically dependent.

Unemployment and Poverty

Unfortunately, East German women in unified capitalist Germany were at a much greater risk for unemployment than their male counterparts.[19] Even East German women who were employed after unification often still did not feel independent because their earnings were sometimes not enough to support themselves and there was no longer a socialist government that would ensure that all of their basic needs were taken care of and ensure the right to gainful employment.[20] The loss of security and stability that had existed under the government in the GDR was greatly mourned.

In the GDR, overt poverty categorized by unemployment, homelessness and malnutrition was virtually non-existent; even if citizens' incomes were low the government subsidized necessities for survival such as housing, energy, and basic food.[21] Prior to unification, overt poverty was already an issue in West German society. During the process of unification East German women, who were significantly more at risk of facing poverty, were forced to join the west where poverty had become a reality for a growing number of citizens.[22] Without a choice, these women were now subject to much more insecurity within capitalist Germany. Their new government did not subsidize necessities for individuals or guarantee employment, which contributed to this sense of insecurity among women. At the beginning of 1990, the unemployment rate in the GDR had officially been zero and upon unification in October of 1990 soared to 20%.[23] Social upheaval during Germany unification contributed to the high poverty rates in capitalist Germany, specifically demographic and sociocultural changes as well as shifts in the family structure.[24]

Childcare

Policies within the GDR fostered a society in which women were able to be wives and mothers as

15   Ibid.
16   Allen-Thompson and Dodds. The Wall in My Backyard. 47.
17   Ibid. As quoted in Allen-Thompson and Dodds The Wall in My Backyard. 47.
18   Ibid. As quoted in Allen-Thompson and Dodds The Wall in My Backyard. 49.
19   Eva Kolinsky and Hildegard Maria Nickel, eds. Reinventing Gender: Women in Eastern Germany since Unification. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003, 131.
20   Ibid., 111.
21   Ibid., 133.
22   Ibid., 134.
23   Jennifer Hunt. "The Economics of German Reunification." New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics, February 2006. http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~jah357/Hunt/Transition_files/german_unification.pdf.
24   Kolinsky and Nickel, eds. Reinventing Gender, 137.

well as laborers. The government provided childcare services for East German families; these facilities were intended to help mothers combine work and childrearing. It was thought by the government that supporting mothers' entry into the workforce would contribute to equality among the sexes since the roles of men and women in society would become more similar.[25] Not only did the GDR provide daycare facilities for babies and toddlers, it also provided kindergartens for preschoolers and after school programs for children whose parents were out at work.[26] In East Germany, 84% of children under the age of three attended these government implemented childcare institutions, 90% of children between the ages of 3 and 5 attended kindergarten which provided parents with free child care and low-cost meals, and about 85% of grade school aged children attended the after school programs.[27] These programs were especially important to single mothers, who depended on these services in order to be able to go out and provide for their families;.[28] Childcare facilities also often took care of children on an overnight basis if their parents worked night shifts, making it possible for women to have more flexibility for what hours they could work.[29]

In two separate interviews conducted about the impact of transition on the lives of East German women, press secretary Katharina Stillisch and environmentalist Maria Curter, women interviewed by Pam Allen-Thompson and Dinah Dodds about their transition experience, both admitted that they would not have chosen to have children if they did not have access to state sponsored child care.[30] Throughout the existence of the GDR, more than 90% of women aged 15 to 60 worked and this was made possible due to the state providing childcare.[31] Public childcare programs were not only beneficial because they gave mothers opportunity to work, they also helped socialize East German children which was seen as important due to the statistically small size of many East German families.[32] State authorities recommended public childcare because it gave social experience to children with no siblings and to children from small families. They also advocated for the idea that social interaction among young children and their peers would help them develop good social skills and help them be better at forming relationships with others later on in their lives.[33] These state sponsored childcare and educational facilities employed trained childcare professionals, teachers, and healthcare professionals who were able to provide medical attention to any child in need.[34] Institutions also provided jobs for many women, provided childcare for many East German children and enabled women to balance life as mothers and workers. After conducting research about the experiences of East German women in transition, researchers and German studies scholars on Pam Allen-Thompson and Dinah Dodds explained in their book *The Wall in My Backyard: East German Women in Transition* that the childcare programs ensured that, "women were not condemned to be 'just housewives' for long periods of their existence, and this 'mediated a special feeling of self-esteem to young women.'"[35] Luckily, the life path's of East German women were not wholly defined by their gender which had been the case for many West German women who found themselves obligated to be mothers and housewives occupying distinctly traditional female gender roles based solely on their female anatomy.

Disadvantageous to many East German women, many childcare facilities were shut down after unification due to insufficient funding; there was no longer a socialist government to guarantee financial support.[36] In capitalist Germany, unsubsidized daycare was extremely expensive compared to the cost in East Germany; this was especially detrimental to East German women since they already faced high rates of unemployment and poverty.[37] Childcare facilities in capitalist Germany also lacked many of the benefits of the facilities in East German; for example, in the GDR facilities were conveniently open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. to accommodate working mothers while West German facilities were often only open for half of the day which made it difficult for mothers to work. In the GDR, parents only had to pay for low-cost meals and

25   Chris Flockton, Eva Kolinsky, and Rosalind Pritchard, eds. The New Germany in the East. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000, 123. Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 12.
26   Flockton, Kolinsky, and Pritchard, eds. The New Germany in the East, 123.
27   Ibid., 123-124.
28   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 12.
29   Ibid., 12.
30   As quoted in Allen-Thompson and Dodds The Wall in My Backyard.
31   Flockton, Kolinsky, and Pritchard, eds. The New Germany in the East, 125.
32   Ibid., 126.
33   Ibid., 126.
34   Ibid., 123-126.
35   As quoted in Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 12.
36   Ibid.,12.
37   Ibid., 13.

diapers, this took some domestic pressure off of mothers; in contrast West German parents were paying the expensive cost of childcare.[38] The East German childcare facilities action of providing hot meals to children also took some domestic pressure off of mothers.[39] Due to newfound difficulties, expenses, and unreliability regarding childcare that were created as a result of German unification, many employers favored hiring men over women.[40] Some employers believed that women would not be reliable workers since they would have to deal with the inadequate childcare system and this put women at an economic disadvantage. Not only did unified Germany's family policies encourage mothers to leave the workforce, its expensive unsubsidized child-care policy discourages them from returning to the workforce after raising and having children[41] It was often not financially affordable for women to send their children to a childcare facility and work. Therefore it was often more cost effective for mothers to be housewives. Following unification, a poll taken in 1991 showed that only 3% of former East German women saw being a housewife as an ideal occupation while 65% said they would continue to work even if they did not need the income.[42] The lack of affordable and guaranteed childcare put many former East German women in a position where they felt forced to take on the role as a housewife for financial reasons while in reality many would rather be actively participating in the workforce.[43]

Work Leave and Days Off

Under socialism, East German women were granted 20 to 23 days of annual paid-time off at 90% salary in order to care for sick children.[44] This policy ensured that mothers could fulfill their role as their children's caregivers without compromising their financial situation and economic independence. In unified Germany, women were granted only five days per child of paid release from work at 80% of their earnings.[45] This change in policy gave women much less flexibility when it came to caring for sick children. On top of annual days of paid leave, East German women were also given one paid day off from working per month in order to promote the dual responsibility of taking care of a family and having a career.[46] This was referred to as "household day."[47] "Household Day," was an important effort in recognizing the burden of working women. Despite an overwhelming amount of East German women in the workforce, they were also plagued with the duty of caring for their families. Regardless of their status as participants in the workforce, both East and West German women were expected to take care of the home and family.

In a step towards gender equality, a large amount of women in East Germany were employed outside of the home. However, despite this being a progressive phenomenon, there was an unchanging traditional view that a women should ultimately be a child's primary caretaker and in charge of domestic responsibilities. Unfortunately once Germany unified, " "Household Day" regulations varied from state to state and [were] hardly applicable anymore due to the prescribed working hours.[48] East German women were lucky because the GDR's labor laws helped merge the dual identities of women as laborers and mothers and made it as easy as possible for women to juggle both duties. Upon German unification, women no longer were benefitting from a "Household Day," or from an abundant amount of paid leave to care for sick children. This loss contributes to former East German women's feelings that under capitalism, they had to choose between work and family. Under the new unified government, policies no longer were in place to help women manage both their professional lives and personal lives.

Pregnancy and Maternity Leave

In the GDR, women were entitled to 6 weeks of paid pregnancy leave and to 20 weeks of paid maternity

38   Applebaum, Maier, and Rudolph. Beyond Socialism, 17.
39   Ibid., 17.
40   Marilyn Rueschemeyer. "Women in East Germany: From State Socialism to Capitalist Welfare State." In Democratic Reform and the Position of Women in Transitional Economies, edited by Valentine M. Moghadam, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993, 86.
41   Dorothy J. Rosenberg. "Shock Therapy: GDR Women in Transition from a Socialist Welfare State to a Social Market Economy." Signs 17, no. 1 (1991): 134.
42   Ibid., 133.
43   Ibid., 133.
44   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 14.
45   Heike Trappe. "Social Policy and Women (1989)." Http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org. November 1, 1996. Accessed October 1, 2017.
http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1026.
46   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 13.
47   Ibid., 13.
48   Heike Trappe. "Social Policy and Women (1989)."

leave.[49] If a woman had more than one child she could extend her maternity leave for up to a year while still receiving her pay.[50] In the GDR, women also had the flexibility and advantage to be able to choose to stay home with their baby for two extra years at a percentage reduction of their salary.[51] This compensated leave allowed pregnant women to focus on taking care of themselves and allowed mothers to care for and spend time with their babies if they desire. The East German government provided protection against job termination for: pregnant women, nursing mothers, mothers with children up to 1 year old; mothers/fathers on parental leave and single parents with children up to 3 years old.[52] No matter how long an East German mother spent on maternity leave she was guaranteed the ability to return to her previous job or one with equivalent pay due to the guaranteed right to work.[53] This gave women more options regarding how they choose to live their lives after becoming a mother.

In unified Germany, the maternity leave policy changed and women were only granted up to eight weeks of maternity leave. This forced women who worked to rely on daycare facilities soon after delivery. Since childcare facilities were insufficient and also unaffordable for many families because they were no longer subsidized by the government, some women were forced to become stay at home mothers who no longer would receive compensation after their few weeks of allotted maternity leave came to an end.[54] Under capitalism, former East German women were not entitled to return to their previous job or an equivalent one after maternity leave.[55] They also no longer had the choice of when to return to work and instead were now only given one option: return to work after the maximum eight weeks of maternity leave. Under the unified government of Germany, protection against job termination was only available for pregnant women and up to the end of the 4th month after delivery, and during the parental leave.[56] This shortening of protection against job termination led to greater financial insecurity and dependence upon men for mothers in capitalist Germany. The reduction of prenatal and postnatal benefits was disadvantageous to many former East German women and left them with fewer options.

Women's Role in the Family

In many ways, unification altered the structure of German families and many of these alterations negatively impacted women. Prior to unification, women in both East and West Germany were expected to take care of much of the domestic and child-rearing duties.[57] West Germany held a much more traditional view of women's role in the family and did not believe women should be employed if they were mothers of small children while on the contrary, the East German ideology supported a combination of employment and childrearing for women.[58] Due to women's dual responsibilities, research has found that East German men did more of their share of housework and childcare than their counterparts in the west.[59] Researchers Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze conducted 45 personal interviews with German families from 1990 to 1991 and concluded that, "The [East German] fathers we interviewed took their children to school or picked them up, did the shopping on the way home, and played with the children. They explain that this was especially the case when husbands finished work earlier than their wives; "they would feed the children, wash them, and put them to bed."[60] This was a very progressive concept for its time and created a more equal partnership within marriage.

East German men may have been more likely to become involved in domestic and child-rearing duties due to the socialist ideology that advocated for equality between the sexes. Men in East Germany may have been more likely to see their wives as their equals than their western counterparts because in the

49   Ibid.
50   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 11.
51   Ibid., 11.
52   Heike Trappe. "Social Policy and Women (1989)."
53   Allen-Thompson and Dodds, eds. The Wall in My Backyard, 12.
54   Heike Trappe. "Social Policy and Women (1989)."

55   Ibid.
56   Ibid.
57   Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze. "After the Fall of the Wall: The Impact of the Transition on East German Women." Political Psychology 19, no. 1 (1998): 100.
58   Ibid., 98.
59   Ibid., 100.
60   Ibid., 100.

East, husbands and wives both worked outside of the home and earned an income to support the family. East German wives earned mutual respect within their marriages because they earned an income that contributed to supporting the family. In West Germany, the designated roles of men and women were so different from each other that they were incomparable. Men often viewed women's duties as being solely in the sphere of domesticity and therefore often thought a woman's role as a homemaker was less important than their role as breadwinners. This ideology could lead to feelings of inequality in West German marriages. Even though chores were not equally divided between East German men and women, the fact that men statistically participated in household and childcare duties shows that women had a more equal position in marriage than their counterparts in the West.[61]

One East German man who was interviewed by Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze as part of their research project spoke about how he oftentimes helped his wife with household duties, "At that time we didn't have washing machines. We always had to boil the diapers in the kitchen. These cotton diapers-that was a pile of work, I tell ya! I had never imagined that I would do such a thing. But I did it. There was no getting around it. You just can't demand that she handle this all by herself. That's just doesn't work."[62] This man's statement shows that he thought that it was only right and fair to help his wife, this can be attributed to the fact that East German women were equally as involved in the workforce as men. In contrast, West German men could assume that since they were out working all day while their wives were home being mothers and homemakers that they were not responsible to help out with household duties, especially because they thought that their wives had the entire day to dedicate to these domestic duties.

An East German woman who was also interviewed by Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze as a part of their research project also expressed her expectations of having her husband help her with domestic duties, "I have to say that I just don't take him the way he is. I'm not going to be a total slave. I also try to steer him, to direct him a little. He has to accept that I work and that my career is important to me. Of course the family is my first priority as a mother. Bringing my job and my family together is difficult. I expect my partner to contribute. I demand that of him."[63] This woman's view of marriage shows that East German women's status as working women outside of the home led them to demand and expect more from their partners within marriage. These higher expectations for spouses led to the cultivation of more equal partnerships within marriages.

The study conducted by Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze also shows that East German women often insisted that they have individual rights in the family and that men were aware of this.[64] In East Germany, women were much more likely to be seen as independent individuals compared to West German women who were much more likely to be dependent on men. This can be attributed to East German women's employment, which led women to be financially independent and autonomous. After unification, many former East German women expressed that they felt that they lost their autonomous position in the family. In many of the interviews conducted by Pam Allen-Thompson and Dinah Dodds and by Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze, women explained that they felt more powerful in their intimate relationships when they were financially independent. One East German woman stated, "If I wanted a new pair of pants, for example, then I bought them myself–after all, I did have to work a month for them. Women who are just housewives and don't have their own money would certainly approach this differently."[65] This quote expresses the idea that women who were required to be dependent on their spouse, were automatically participating in an unequal marriage. If women are required to ask their husbands permission to purchase things, for example, then they are acting as subordinates to a superior. Unfortunately for East German women, the capitalist society of unified Germany fostered an environment for unequal marriage partnerships.

Reproductive Rights

In the GDR, women had much more extensive and liberal reproductive rights compared to their western counterparts. As part of its national healthcare system that covered all citizens, the government provided women with oral contraceptives free of charge beginning in the early 1960's.[66] The availability of

61   Ibid., 101.
62   As quoted in Meyer and Schulze. After the Fall of the Wall, 101.
63   As quoted in Meyer and Schulze. After the Fall of the Wall, 103.
64   As quoted in Meyer and Schulze. After the Fall of the Wall, 103.
65   As quoted in Meyer and Schulze. After the Fall of the Wall, 103.
66   Frink, Helen. Women After Communism: The East German Experience. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001, 49.

free contraceptives was liberating for women because they could now have sexual relations without the risk of unplanned pregnancy, could choose if and when they wanted to have children and could do these things without spending the money they earned working. Since the early sixties when they became available, 40% of women of childbearing age used these oral contraceptives, which was the highest rate in the world at that time.[67] In 1972, abortion was also legalized in the GDR for various reasons, female workers demanded access to abortion and the state needed to keep women employed.[68] It was commonly thought that some contraceptives could cause cancer causing some women to choose not to use them therefore they were at greater risk for unplanned pregnancies.[69] Condoms were often in short supply and about 70 to 80 thousand women underwent unsafe illegal abortions which resulted in many women needing medical attention afterwards, which inevitably cost the state money.[70] The legalization of abortion was another way in which the GDR government recognized a woman's right to be an autonomous individual. Women were not forced into having children if they did not desire to become a mother at that particular time or ever. Women were given the option to focus on their careers, which their male counterparts had always been able to do; this was another step toward gender equality.

Women in the East supported abortion more than their Western counterparts and this can be attributed to high levels of women's employment in the East.[71] In West Germany, abortion was legalized in 1971, however women were only allowed to undergo the procedure under certain conditions which were rape, incest, danger to the health of the fetus or the mother, or if the woman could prove that the birth would endanger her emotional and social well-being.[72] These stringent stipulations were not empowering for women, they couldn't choose to have an abortion based on their own assertion. Instead, they had to plead their case to the government, which could create feelings of powerlessness because they could not be in control of their own bodies without the interference of the government. The restrictiveness of abortion rights in West Germany can be attributed to the West German notion that a women's role in society is to be a mother. Therefore, unlimited abortion may have negatively impacted a women's role in society. When German unification took place, East German women became subject to these restrictive abortion laws, which was outraging for many because they lost access to liberal reproductive policies, which had provided them with numerous options and autonomy. Many East German women were unwilling to accept the West German abortion law upon unification and the status of abortion rights became a contentious issue during the unification process.[73] This caused many East German women to be plagued with fear and anxiety during unification.

Conclusion

With unification, East German women were plagued with the loss of many previous protections, rights, and benefits that had been essential aspects of their everyday lives as well as their identity it is safe to say that they were negatively impacted by the fall of the GDR and the unification of Germany. The abrupt and forced transition into a new westernized and capitalist society provoked a sense of loss, grief, anxiety and insecurity among many former East German women. They were faced with an uncertain future and also faced negative circumstances that were often out of their direct control. For example, they were subject to policies that were not of optimal benefit to them. When these women were integrated into West Germany's capitalistic society, many felt as if their status and position within society, as well as within the family, declined. Unified Germany's capitalist society, westernized views, government, and institutions, fostered an environment, which made it harder for strides to be made toward gender equality compared to what had occurred under in the communist GDR. Overall, many East German women were setback by the fall of communism and unification of Germany.

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67   Ibid., 49.
68   Ibid., 50
69   Ibid., 50
70   Ibid., 50.
71   Lee Ann Banaszak,. "East-West Differences in German Abortion Opinion." The Public Opinion Quarterly 62, no. 4 (1998).
72   Helen Frink. Women After Communism, 50.
73   Ibid., 50.

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The Catholic Church and its Effects on the Solidarity Movement in Poland
Lilianna DeFalcis

Introduction

Poland as a nation possesses a long history of being ruled by a foreign power. Despite its tumultuous past however, Poles were still able to develop a national consciousness. This national consciousness, while identifiable in other aspects of Polish life, found its ultimate roots in the Catholic Church. While Poland was always majority Catholic, after World War II, Poland was homogenous enough to be considered a mono-confessional state, or a state with one dominant profession of faith among citizens.[1] With the beginning of the USSR's control of Poland, the practice of Catholicism was threatened by the atheistic state set forth in communist ideology, in which the people direct their loyalty only to state institutions. The various policies that the communist government set forth were nearly successful in snuffing out Catholicism.

When Pope John Paul II, a Pole, was elected to the papacy, the trajectory of Catholicism and communism in Poland changed drastically. Pope John Paul II, in his 1979 journey to Poland, inspired in the hearts of Poles the realization of their national identity again, an identity centered around the Church. After the Pope made his visit, movements such as Solidarity were born. Solidarity was a grassroots movement in Poland that participated in strikes to form a legal trade union independent of the state. Solidarity was successful in its goals until the enactment of martial law weakened their presence and the spirit of many Poles.

In June of 1983, a second visit from Pope John Paul II resulted in the lifting of martial law. Additionally, Mikhail Gorbachev, the new leader of the USSR, enacted many liberalizing reforms such as perestroika and glasnost that changed the trajectory of the now illegal and dwindling Solidarity movement in Poland. It was not long after that the Solidarity movement found its footing again and engaged in strikes that resulted in negotiations with the government, now called the Round Table Talks. From these talks, Poland gained the right to a free election and effectively voted out the communist government and replaced it with Solidarity. Soon, many other countries would succeed in similar feats, resulting in the fall of the USSR in December of 1991.

The role the that Catholic Church played in the fall of communism in Poland is undeniable. Pope John Paul II and many other Church leaders consistently inspired and came to the defense of the Poles in the face of oppression. The Church reignited a Polish Catholic identity synonymous with Polish patriotism that enabled the Polish people to be brazen and courageous in the face of oppression by forming resistance grass-roots movements such as Solidarity. Pope John Paul II spoke out against communism to move Poland towards becoming a nation that realized the dignity of the human person, and a nation that allowed for public freedom of conscience, particularly freedom of religion. Inspired by his priestly education and early life experiences under Nazi occupation after World War II, Pope John Paul II aided Poland in its liberalization by visiting Poland, appealing to the working class, and being outspoken in demanding the government uphold human rights.

Poland from the 18th Century to the mid-20th Century

Despite having a history of limited independence, during the twentieth century the Polish people's possessed a national consciousness centered around a shared history, language, and religion. This national consciousness finds its roots in the eighteenth century when Poland was split between Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia.[2] At this time, Poland was a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state; however, the predominant practice of religion was through the Roman Catholic Church.[3] In this way, early in Polish history, the Church became a unifying symbol of resistance against a foreign ruling power; furthermore, the Catholic identity became practically synonymous with Polish patriotism.[4] Accordingly, behind the front of the Catholic Church was where the development of a national consciousness for the Polish peoples began. When Poland regained its independence in 1918, about 64% of the population was Roman Catholic; however, it was still

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1   Elżbieta Bilska-Wodecka, "From Multi-confessional to Mono-confessional State. State-church Relations in Poland following World War II." GeoJournal 67, no. 4 (2006): 345.

2   Ronald C. Monticone, "The Catholic Church in Poland, 1945-1966." The Polish Review 11, no. 4 (1966): 75.

3   Elżbieta Bilska-Wodecka, "From Multi-confessional to Mono-confessional State," 343.

4   Monticone, "The Catholic Church in Poland, 1945-1966," 75.

considered a multi-confessional state, possessing a significant Jewish population of 10%, and a noteworthy Greek Catholic and Orthodox population of 22%.[5]

The transition of Poland to a mono-confessional state occurred after the end of World War II in 1945. Many factors contributed to the shift of Poland from a multi-confessional state to a mono-confessional state. Significantly, the Soviet Union and the United States redrew the borders of Poland at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, displacing many Poles from their homeland while simultaneously creating a Poland mainly inhabited by Roman Catholics.[6] Additionally, during World War II large migrations of people occurred, so that the land of Poland was now ethnically homogenous as well. Devastatingly, the Jewish population, compromising ten percent of the Polish population pre-World War II, dropped to nearly zero percent after the scourge of Nazi Germany eradicated them in their quest for a superior Aryan race. The shifting of borders, the migrations of people, and the killings of entire populations resulting from World War II created a homogenous state of Poland, centered in a mono-confessional identity of Roman Catholicism.[7]

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Red Army pushed the Germans out of Poland and in February of 1945 the Soviet Union established the Provisional Government of Poland that allowed for Polish election of its own government. The Provisional Government upheld Poland's 1921 Constitution which guaranteed religious freedom for all people and a leading position in the state for the Catholic Church. In addition, this constitution included a concordat that was established between the Pope and the Polish government in which property rights, free communication with the Holy See, and protection by the government of official duties were guaranteed for the Church clergy. However, this tolerance did not last long. With growing pressures from the communist government of the USSR, the provisional government's sentiments towards the 1921 constitution took a negative turn due to the clash between communist ideology and religious ideology. The concordat was considered null and void by September of 1945. By 1948, the ever-increasing influence of the USSR manifested in a fully communist government ruling Poland in place of the Provisional Government. [8]

The Catholic Church in Poland suffered greatly due to the desire of the communist regime to rid the state of the Church and its influence. Until the communist transition in 1948, the government in Poland asserted that they and the Catholic Church could coexist within Poland as long as the Church supported the regime and worked with them to build a better Poland. During this time, Poles could worship freely, and communist officials went to mass. However, this was a tactical move of the Soviet Union; acknowledging the influence of the Church in Poland, they knew it would be necessary to take a subtle approach towards the dismantling of the Church. From 1945-1948, as the Soviet Union consolidated their power within Poland, they endeavored to inspire many rifts within the Catholic Church in Poland. Boleslaw Piase, the Polish head of a right wing resistance movement during World War II, was captured by the Russians in 1944. Despite his previous support for German-Polish cooperation against the USSR, he was able to convince the Russians that he could be an agent for Moscow in Poland. In 1945, Piase spearheaded the Polish Progressive Catholic Movement, also known as PAX. PAX attempted to create a facade of Catholic support for the communist regime through various outlets such as its own daily newspaper. Through movements such as PAX and other sponsored groups such as the Patriotic Priests, the Soviet Union aimed to infiltrate the Catholic Church and in turn the lives of the Polish people during this critical transition time.[9]

When the USSR gained full influence by replacing the Provisional Government with a communist government in 1948, the actions of the communist Polish government against the Church became less sneaky and increasingly aggressive. For example, in March of 1950, the government nationalized Church property. The Church realized the impossibility of retaining its previous privileges within government; however, the goal of maintaining some sort of influence within Poland motivated their decision to form an agreement with the communist Polish government in April of 1950. This agreement, also known as *modus vivendi*, allowed certain concessions for each side. Some of these concessions for the Church included the Pope's maintenance of supreme authority over the clergy and legal religious education in schools. The communist government, among

5   Bilska-Wodecka, "From Multi-confessional to Mono-confessional State," 344.
6   Jane Hardy, "Crisis, Revolt, Reform and Repression: Poland 1945 to 1990." In Poland's New Capitalism, 13. London; New York: Pluto Press, 2009. doi:10.2307/j.ctt183p5g5.8.
7   Bilska-Wodecka, "From Multi-confessional to Mono-confessional State," 344-345.
8   Monticone, "The Catholic Church in Poland, 1945-1966," 77-78.
9   Ibid, 78-81.

other things, required the Church to educate its adherents to respect the authority of the state.[10]

Despite these compromises, the communist government soon violated the *modus vivendi*. Religious education was denied, and in February of 1953 the government decided that it would now oversee all Church appointments. These actions were in direct violation of the aforementioned compromise. In 1952, a constitution to replace the 1921 constitution was enacted that officially diminished the authority of the Church in Poland; furthermore, it offered the Church no protection from the communist government of Poland. Over the next few decades, the relations between Church and state became increasingly strained as the communist Polish government partially succeeded in pushing out Catholicism in Poland through various means including censorship, oppression of religious education, and the continuation of groups such as PAX and the Patriotic Priests.[11]

Early Life of Pope John Paul II

Karol Józef Wojtyła, also known as Pope John Paul II, served as a guiding figure in Poland during the tumultuous times of the mid-twentieth century. Wojtyła, a native of Poland, was born during the Second Polish Republic on May 19, 1920 in Wadowice.[12] It is significant that during his formative years he experienced an independent Poland because as a result of it he cultivated a deep love for the Polish culture through things like Polish performing arts and poetry. During his years as a high school student, the trend of anti-Semitism that started in Germany had found its way to Poland. Wojtyła was an outspoken advocate for his Jewish peers, defending them against others who bought into the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the time.[13] This outspokenness against injustices that threatened the dignity of human life serves as an early example of actions that would make him a pope notorious for such convictions.

After high school, he and his father (his only living immediate family member) moved to Kraków so Wojtyła could receive a higher education at Jagiellonian University. During this time, Hitler invaded Poland in 1939 which formally halted Wojtyła's education due to the mass deportation of many professors to concentration camps. Wojtyła worked in a quarry the following year, and during this time developed theological ideas on the nature of work, its purpose and transcendent qualities.[14] In later years, these ideas would serve as prominent themes in papal speeches addressing alternatives to the nature of work in a communist society.[15] He endured the Nazi attack on the Polish culture that he had grown to love and appreciate so deeply. However, he did not endure it passively. Wojtyła participated in many secret resistance movements that were aimed at the preservation of Polish culture through the arts.[16]

Over the next few years in Kraków and during the transition from German occupation to Soviet control, Wojtyła discerned his calling to the priesthood and received his priestly education in secret. The threat of arrest and possible death pressed hard on the small community of seminarians in Kraków; nonetheless, Wojtyła was ordained a priest and immediately moved to Rome to finish his graduate education. There he observed post-war Europe taking steps away from Christianity. He found inspiration in his studies of traditional Thomism, a school of philosophical thought inspired by the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas that serves as foundational thinking for an abundance of Catholic theology. As he applied this medieval philosophy and theology to current events occurring around him, Pope John Paul II's studies of Saint Thomas Aquinas inspired him in the idea of an effective re-evangelization of Europe. From his studies, he understood faith as a way of life, and in turn, a force that shaped the culture in which he lived.[17]

The convictions Wojtyła came to embrace due to his personal experience and religious studies would in later years heavily influence his outward actions as Pope regarding Church and state relations, particularly in Poland. Firstly, Wojtyła's aforementioned undying respect for the dignity of every human life strongly

10   Ibid, 81-82.
11   Ibid, 82-83.
12   Jeffrey Tranzillo, "In the Service of the Human Person: The Life, Thought, and Work of Karol Wojtyła/Pope John Paul II." In John Paul II on the Vulnerable, 2. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013. doi:10.2307/j.ctt2851b0.6.
13   Ibid, 4.
14   Ibid, 4-5.
15   Kraszewski, Gracjan. "Catalyst for Revolution Pope John Paul II's 1979 Pilgrimage to Poland and Its Effects on Solidarity and the Fall of Communism." The Polish Review 57, no. 4 (2012): 33-34. doi:10.5406/polishreview.57.4.0027.
16   Tranzillo, "In the Service of the Human Person," 5.
17   Ibid, 9.

influenced his opinions. Stemming from this idea, as he wrote in his doctoral dissertation, Wojtyła believed this dignity came from persons being created in the image and likeness of God – a God that is not objectifiable in any sense. Continuing with this train of thought, Wojtyła believed in the same way humans were not objectifiable. Anything that objectified human beings violated inherent human dignity, and anything that attempted to view humanity as separate from God was more likely to fall into the depravity of objectification.[18] Wojtyła's early ideas of just work developed through his time laboring in the quarry would also be included in this list of early influential thought. Reflecting on his beliefs developed during his doctoral education and during his earlier working life, it is now becoming more apparent how atheistic communism would have offended Pope John Paul II and his ideas on certain principles that must surround a just society.

Pope John Paul II: A Shepherd of His People

After he finished his doctorate degree, Wojtyła moved back to Poland in the summer of 1948 and started his life as a priest in Lublin. He was an inspiration among the Catholic Polish people within his priestly influence. He formed personal relationships with those in his parish and urged the laity into positions of evangelization to compensate for the lack of priests present in Poland due to the actions of Nazi Germany, that through brutality knocked out two-thirds of the priest population. With a large portion of the priest population gone, those left worried for the continuation of the Catholic Church within Poland, and consequently, the continuation of a Polish national consciousness as they knew it. Evangelization driven by the laity ensured that Polish Catholics remained aware of their vocation to holiness and their role in the continuation of Church tradition. Simultaneously, he educated his people to challenge and resist the threat of the secular and atheistic communism that was taking over in Poland. As Wojtyła was promoted through various positions, his influence increasingly grew. On September 28, 1958, Wojtyła was announced the Bishop of Ombi and the auxiliary to Archbishop Baziak in the diocese of Kraków; he was the youngest bishop in all of Poland. Many around him had a feeling that he was bound for greater things. Upon hearing of Wojtyła's appointment to bishop, Archbishop Baziak jokingly, however aptly, announced, "We have a Pope."[19]

During his time as Bishop, Wojtyła understood the role that the Catholic Church would play in the preservation of Polish culture. Even before the movement was termed Solidarity, Wojtyła worked towards building solidarity between the Polish people behind the front of the Catholic faith. In building this solidarity, connections and support systems were built between different people with a common goal. Wojtyła displayed his attempts at resistance and preservation in many ways. He consistently pushed for freedom of public worship and for the building of new churches. In Nowa Huta, a place with large communist influence and atheistic symbolism, Wojtyła consistently prodded the government to build a church in the churchless town. Until permission was granted, he started the tradition of saying Christmas midnight mass in a large field there. Eventually, Wojtyła claimed stake as victor and the government granted permission for the building of the Ark Church that is well known today. Pushing for public practice of faith, Wojtyła succeeded in receiving permission from the government for an outdoors Corpus Christi procession that normally would have remained in the confines of the Wawel church. [20] Wojtyła served as a defender of the Polish people's right to religious freedom and in this way, he served as a defender of the Polish culture so significantly rooted in a threatened Catholic faith. For this reason, he was highly revered among all Poles.

Jerzy Turowicz, editor of the Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny, notes that at this time the rapid industrialization occurring in rural communities heavily affected the opinions of the Poles regarding the role the Church plays in their everyday lives. Before the invasion of the Soviet Union, Catholicism in Poland was practiced as a traditional religiosity that found its base and strength in the abundant rural communities. Rapidly losing their privileged and powerful place in communist Polish society and trying to maintain and contain these loses, the Church was pushed into a defensive position. Meanwhile, the changing attitudes of many Poles— especially young Polish people—envisioned a Church that would fight for the rights of them as persecuted peoples rather than its own rights. While the younger generations attitudes were changing in this respect, they were still large participants in Catholic Polish life. For example, during the annual pilgrimage in 1973 to the sanctuary of the Holy Virgin in Częstochowa. ten thousand faithful marched from Warsaw to Częstochowa, 80 percent of whom were younger people. While they non-traditionally recited individualized prayers, sang their

18   Ibid, 10.
19   As quoted in Tranzillo, "In the Service of the Human Person," 18.
20   Ibid, 32-33.

own songs, and played guitar, they were welcomed by older travelers and represented a new Catholicism in the face of communism. [21] No doubt Wojtyła's preaching on the importance of the laity in evangelization, and the necessity of respect for the human dignity of the individual resonated with the younger generations' hopes for the Church. In speech and actions Wojtyła was proactive, not defensive, and for this reason, he served as a perfect leader for those who would later inspire many others in the fight against communism.

Election to the Papacy and Return to the Homeland

Bishop Wojtyła was made Cardinal Wojtyła in Poland, and eventually on October 16, 1978 Karol Józef Wojtyła was elected to the papacy, taking the name Pope John Paul II.[22] This selection no doubt was influenced by his great success in Poland as a charismatic leader despite pressures from a communist government. Pope John Paul II was an outspoken shepherd of his people; he was well-educated with two doctoral degrees, well-versed in countless languages, and relatable in his love for athletics and dramatics.[23] This election would have tremendous effects on the events taking place in Poland, as its citizens became increasingly intolerant of the communist ruling government. The election of a trusted fellow countryman to the papacy would inspire movements in Poland that served as catalysts for the fall of communism by reminding the Polish peoples of their almost lost identity and in turn giving them the courage to stand up to their oppressors. Arguably the single most influential grass-roots movement that weakened the hold the Soviet Union had on Poland was the Solidarity movement. The Pope's visit to Poland in 1979 inspired this movement and its leaders in more ways than one.

Returning to Poland after having spent one year in Rome away from his homeland, Pope John Paul II traveled to Poland for a pilgrimage, or holy trip, spanning the dates of June 2 to June 10 of the year 1979. The joyous reaction of the Polish people upon the Pope's return was noted around the world. People hung flags colored for Poland and the Vatican, lit candles in their windows, and filled the streets for a homecoming celebration like no other. Amidst celebration of the Polish people, the Pope traveled with absolute purpose. The Pope's goals, evident in his speech, were to remind the Polish people of the inseparability of the Catholic identity and the Polish identity, to inspire a return to fervent private and public practices of faith, and to undermine the ideology of communism by speaking of an alternative to the communist notion of worker and workers.[24]

Upon arrival, the Pope immediately addressed the notion of nationalism in Poland and how the communistic pressures had chipped away at Polish identity by replacing love of God for love of state. In his address to the Ecclesiastical Community of Warsaw during the first day of his pilgrimage, he called upon, "All of you who work on the land, in industry, in offices, in schools, in universities, in hospitals, in cultural institutes, in the ministries, everywhere," as members of the, "pilgrim Church on earth, in the land of Poland."[25] In this address he undermined the communist notion that citizens of Poland were first loyal to the state by insisting upon all Polish people's membership in the Church and therefore confirming their loyalty to God. In including all Polish people, he was insisting on the oneness of Polish and Catholic identity. In addresses over the next few days to the Civil Authorities of Warsaw and at Gniezno, Pope John Paul II stressed the positive and intimate relationship the state of Poland and the Catholic Church had experienced over the years. The Church, "train[ed] sons and daughters who are of assistance to the State," and through the Church came, "the chief source of the creativity of Polish artists."[26] In his homily on June 2 in Warsaw, the Pope insisted on the impossibility of cutting out Christ from the history of humanity "at any longitude or latitude of geography."[27] This was an obvious attack on the attempts of Soviet communism to eradicate religion. These sentiments once again reminded the Polish people of the interconnectedness of the Catholic faith and the Polish identity, and equated

21   Jerzy Turowicz, "The Changing Catholicism in Poland." Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes 15, no. 1/2 (1973): 154-155.
22   Tranzillo, "In the Service of the Human Person," 35.
23   Eamon Duffy, "John Paul II: 1978–2005." In Ten Popes Who Shook the World, 128-29. Yale University Press, 2011.
24   Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 30.
25   As quoted in Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 31.
26   As quoted in Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 31.
27   Pope John Paul II, "Holy Mass Homily of his Holiness John Paul." Speech, Apostolic Journey to Poland, Poland, Warsaw, June 2, 1979. The Holy See, Accessed October 9, 2017.

Polish Catholicism with Polish patriotism.

Through his addresses, Pope John Paul II challenged communist ideology at its foundation when he examined communist notions of work and contrasted them with Catholic notions of work, specifically regarding its purpose within a just society. Within communist society, manual labor served a very earthly purpose. Labor centered itself around the goal of increasing material wealth. Contrastingly, from a Catholic perspective and more specifically from the perspective of Pope John Paul II, work served an absolutely transcendent purpose.

During his homily in Częstochowa on June 6, 1979 leading the Holy Mass for the Workers from Upper Silesia and Zaglebie, the Pope explained succinctly the purpose of work within society saying, "Work must help man to become better, more mature spiritually, more responsible, in order that he may realize his vocation on earth both as an unrepeatable person and in community with others." [28] With these words, the Pope affirmed labor as a means by which individuals recognize their higher purpose, develop into ethical human beings, and, in turn, affirmed the indelible spiritual nature of labor. The nature of labor in a Christian context upholds human dignity by helping to form the individual, while in a communist context, the nature of labor diminishes human dignity, replacing the individual with a standard worker. Nearing the end of his journey, the Pilgrim did not mince words when he continued his attack on the communist idea of shared land, insisting that land ownership was the, "foundation of a sound economy and sociology."[29] Moving from Nowy Targ to Nowa Huta the following day, he concluded his thoughts with an unequivocal denouncement of the communist perversions of labor with the statement, "Christ will never approve of it."[30]

Not only was the Pope's pilgrimage aimed at restoring a Polish-Catholic identity and denouncing inconsistencies that existed between communist ideology and Catholic ideology, but also the Pope had a goal of inspiring a return to a public fervency of faith among the Poles. Polish Catholicism still existed under communism thanks to prominent figures within the Church in Poland such as Primate Stefan Wyszyński and governmental leaders of Poland such as Władysław Gomułka, who took a more hands-off approach when it came to interference with the Church.[31] However, due to the secular policies of communism, Catholicism was nonetheless pushed into the private sphere of life. In the Pope's last address of his pilgrimage in Krakow on June 10, 1979, he relied on imagery of baptism and martyrdom to call on the Polish people to remain steadfast in their faith with the intent of sharing and fighting for it. He insisted that the Polish people, "must be strong with the strength of faith," stressing that through their faith comes the strength to stand up for their identity as Polish people.[32] Concluding his homily, Pope John Paul II pleads with his listeners, "never lose your trust, do not be defeated, do not be discouraged; do not on your own cut yourselves off from the roots from which we had our origins."[33]

The Birth of Solidarity

The Papal visit contributed to a dormant Catholicism in Poland that originally took the form of various workers' strikes aimed in opposition to the State. In the summer months approaching August of 1980, tensions were growing within Poland due to an economic recession. Frustration also stemmed from a lack of resources due to their apparent reallocation to the Soviet Union.[34] Ryszard Sawicki who was a leader of Solidarity in its legal form recalled the situation as a "robbery" and elaborated saying, "you couldn't get anything: not a nail, not a bucket of paint. Everything went to the Soviet Union."[35] Waves of strikes broke out with hikes in prices. Tensions grew further. It was only a matter of time before the strikes reached a certain level of coordination and magnitude for them to be truly successful. This "matter of time" was realized on the night of August 14, 1980 at the Lenin Shipyards when 16,000 workers united in protests and strikes.[36] Lech Wałęsa lit the match that

28   As quoted in Kraszewski. "Catalyst for Revolution," 33.
29   As quoted in Kraszewski. "Catalyst for Revolution," 34.
30   As quoted in Kraszewski. "Catalyst for Revolution," 34.
31   Ibid, 35.
32   Pope John Paul II, "Holy Mass in Honor of Saint Stanislaus Homily of his Holiness John Paul II." Speech, Apostolic Journey to Poland, Poland, Krakow, June 10, 1979. The Holy See, Accessed September 16, 2017.
33   Ibid.
34   Jack M Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution: Solidarity and the Struggle Against Communism in Poland, 145. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014.
35   As quoted in Bloom, *Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution,* 146.
36   Magdalena Kubow, "The Solidarity Movement in Poland: Its History and Meaning in Collective Memory." The Polish Review 58, no. 2 (2013): 7. doi:10.5406/polishreview.58.2.0003.

would start the fire of the Solidarity movement when he jumped a fence, landed in the shipyard, and brought thousands of other protesting workers with him.[37] Borusewicz, a worker at the Lenin Shipyards that night recalled the inception of the strike stating, "Soon the whole shipyard knew that something was happening… their ranks had swelled by several thousand."[38]

Over the next few days, persisting in protest the leaders made demands that the directors of the shipyard accepted, and on August 18, Wałęsa declared the strike over. However, as this was occurring, workers from neighboring factories were joining the strike. These workers felt betrayed by the shipyard workers, and pleaded with them to help them settle their grievances as well, shouting, "We must have a solidarity strike."[39] With these words, the Lenin shipyard workers continued their strike in solidarity with the other factories in the town. Even in the midst of this action and chaos, the strikers solicited priests to say mass in the shipyards, uniting the Polish people in their common heritage and rooting this movement in religious tones. News of the strike spread to other cities, and they too participated. By August 21, all across Poland the majority of workers were engaged in similar acts of striking.[40] An inter-factory strike committee was formed and traveled to Gdańsk to settle negotiations with the government.[41] Their ability to act so boldly was a result of the solidarity all groups were expressing to their fellow countrymen; a solidarity reinvigorated by the uniting and empowering visit of Pope John Paul II who specifically addressed workers in his speeches and homilies just months before.

On August 31, in Gdańsk, the Gdańsk Agreement was signed in which Solidarity was granted the status of the first legal and independent trade union in the Eastern Bloc. Aleksander Krystosiak, a member of the inter-factory strike committee, remembers, "[the government] was foaming with rage… they knew they had lost." Krystosiak further recalled, "Finally, they signed the agreement saying that free unions, independent of government and the Party, could be organized."[42] The agreement also covered certain provisions that guaranteed the right to strike, free speech, and access to the media.[43]

A Changed Polish People

The birth of Solidarity in late August of 1980 awakened feelings and provoked actions in the Polish people that changed the landscape of the existing society around them. The workers who participated in the strike had accomplished something that had never been done before in Poland—they had won concession from a communist government. This feat's improbable success was something they were very aware of, and as a result, the members of Solidarity and all of Polish society experienced a change in their own self-image.[44] Alicja Matuszewska, a citizen at the time, recalls, "there was no more 'Mr. Doctor' or 'Mr. Engineer.' A worker with the shovel used the same familiar form when speaking with both. That was the greatest threat to the Communists. They could not divide society anymore."[45] The Polish people found strength against the communist government in the solidarity of the time. The Solidarity movement was aimed for political and social reform, and touched nearly every person in Polish society. Everyone (91.7%) —teachers, farmers, families—supported this movement, not only because they believed in it, but also because they wanted to use it to procure their own reforms.[46]

Accordingly, as a result of the Polish people's unity, people realized their identity beyond that of a worker again. "Each worker realized that he was a valuable human being and not merely a source of labor," stated Miroslawa Strzelec, a nurse who worked in the Huta Katowice steel mill.[47] This statement reflects the intent of Pope John Paul II when he consistently argued in favor of a government that upholds the dignity and individuality of labor and laborers, respectively. What the Pope had hoped for his fellow countrymen manifested in the hearts and actions of the Polish people. The realization of these new identities emboldened the Polish people with a renewed self-confidence in the face of conflict. People were simply not afraid

37   Ibid, 150.
38   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 150.
39   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 152.
40   Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 42.
41   Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 160.
42   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 177.
43   Kraszewski. "Catalyst for Revolution," 42.
44   Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 184.
45   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 183.
46   Ibid, 184.
47   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 184.

anymore. They spoke freely of politics and found strength to do so through the solidarity of the time.[48] As Bogdan Borusewicz remembered, "You have political hopelessness when you think that you must agree to everything they demand. Now, with this movement, hope and self-confidence grew. People lost a lot of their fear."[49]

As a result of this loss of fear, the Poles experienced an air of freedom that had long since been suppressed. Stanislaw Handzlik, a leader of Solidarity in the Nowa Huta steel mill recalled, "This democracy, this openness, was bursting out day by day. Talents were released: organizing, giving, speeches, artistic talent even."[50] A bulletin produced for the Solidarity strike echoed the same sentiments expressed by Handzlik with the poetic sentence, "People laugh, laugh, more and more, more and more freely!"[51] These feelings seemed to be palpable in the air. The loss of fear and accompanying sense of freedom was also a result of power shifting from the government to the Polish people themselves. This power shift was not only a result of the institutional reforms set forth in the Gdańsk Agreement, but also a result of the revolutionary spirit now set in the hearts of the Polish people. They possessed power in their solidarity, courage, and newly dignified identity as workers.

The period of legal Solidarity lasted for sixteen months. During this time, Solidarity experienced immense growth and support; however, it also experienced resistance from the communist government. Tensions rose as the society polarized between the Solidarity movement and the resistant government. These tensions seemed to ease when Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski became Premier. The people trusted Jaruzalski, who aimed to pacify the country he was now in charge of. However, Jaruzelski was pressured by Brezhnev to deal more strictly with the Church and those in Solidarity.[52] Shortly after, police used force against a group of farmers who created a Rural Solidarity organization without notifying authorities. During the period after this event, Solidarity and its leaders had to figure out how to respond appropriately. Some thought that Solidarity should be aggressive in the response; others, like Walesa, wanted to avoid bloodshed at all costs.[53] Rifts began to grow in Solidarity, and as tensions grew further, Andrzej Rozplochowski, a member of the Solidarity, recalled, "Government propaganda was getting more and more aggressive towards us."[54]

Martial Law

The period of legal Solidarity culminated on the night of December 12, 1981, in which a state of martial law was declared for Poland.[55] The communist government sent out hundreds of thousands of soldiers in an attempt to capture and detain many of Solidarity's leaders and proponents. Their communications were cut, and the movement was largely successful due to the unsuspecting disposition many people within the Solidarity movement had.[56] The next morning Jaruzelski announced on television the state of the country and the reasoning behind this decision. "The council of state … declared a state of war at midnight on the territory of Poland." Jaruzelski said the reason for this was because, "the extremists are growing more aggressive, there is an open effort for the complete demolition of Polish Socialist statehood. Continuation of the present situation would have led to unavoidable catastrophe."[57] Jaruzelski believed that without intervention, Poland could have been the cause of World War III.[58]

Immediately after the proclamation on December 13, Pope John Paul II came to the aid of his fellow Polish countrymen, producing a speech in which he condemned the enactment of martial law in such a way as to not intensify the situation. He started off the short speech by requesting prayer for his homeland, and continued consistently in his theme of peace by proclaiming, "Polish blood cannot be shed."[59] He implored of

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48   Ibid, 185.
49   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 185.
50   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 183.
51   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 183.
52   Ibid, 221.
53   Ibid, 221-224.
54   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 226
55   Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 43.

56   Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 288-289.
57   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 290.
58   Ibid.
59   "Speech by Pope John Paul II Concerning Martial Law: December 13, 1981." In From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980–1981, edited by Paczkowski Andrzej, Byrne Malcolm, Domber Gregory F., and Klotzbach Magdalena, 475. Central European University Press, 2007.

the Polish people that, "Everything possible must be done to peacefully build the future of the Homeland."[60] When the Pope refers to the future of the Homeland, we can rightfully assume that he is referring to a land in which martial law is not a reality and communism is no longer reigning. Therefore, while this was a denouncement of the enactment of martial law, the denouncement was obviously tempered because he did not want any violence to break out on account of the Polish people. If the Polish people tried in any large manner to protest this enactment, the communist government most likely would have responded with severity considering the implications of martial law. The Pope's speech was nowhere near as bold as it was in 1979, for he truly saw that Polish lives could be at stake in this situation, as they were.

After the instatement of martial law, violence broke out. Tens of thousands of Solidarity's proponents and leaders were beaten, harassed, or taken into captivity over the next few months. Walesa, included in these numbers, was arrested immediately after the announcement of martial law.[61] In immediate response to this violence, on December 18, 1981, Pope John Paul II produced a personal appeal to Jaruzelski regarding the state of the nation still suffering under martial law. In this letter, the Pope once again stressed the need for peaceful solutions to the current situation by pleading to Jaruzelski to, "cease operations, which carry with them the shedding of Polish blood."[62] In this letter the Pope took a more direct approach in asking Jaruzelski to lift martial law and reinstate the legality of Solidarity. He writes to Jaruzelski, "This right is being demanded by the entire nation. Also demanding it is the opinion of the entire world."[63] Despite pressures from the Pope and the rest of the world, the state of martial law continued for much longer. Suffering in solidarity, the Polish people endured a memorably cold winter, and warmed themselves with the saying, "The winter is yours, the spring will be ours," a slogan that proponents of Solidarity stated with hopes of an end to martial law. [64]

Despite the initial success of martial law weakening Solidarity via imprisonment of many of its leaders, and cutting off of resources and communication, immediately after the infamous night of December 13, Solidarity organized underground with the help of the Catholic Church. The Church, the only legal institution of the time that was out of direct control of the state, led the way in many peaceful resistance movements. Church leaders such as Archbishop Jozef Glemp organized the Primate's Committee for Assistance to the Prosecuted and Their Families, whose members were affiliated with the Solidarity movement and which was soon replicated in various cities. This committee served as a medical, material, and legal resource for those who had lost their jobs or were detained under martial law. Archbishop Glemp visited those who were under arrest and provided mass for them as well as attempted to maintain their morale. During this time, churches served as a haven not only for the aforementioned resources, but also as places for artistic resistance, in which art exhibitions, plays, and concerts were produced. Throughout all of this, the Church in Poland stood behind the right of Solidarity to exist, and served as a blanket under which they could start to reorganize again.[65]

Outside this underground perspective, martial law did not improve Poland's economic crisis; additionally, martial law did nothing to improve the state's relations with the Polish people.[66] To solve some of these problems and alleviate certain pressures, Jaruzelski invited Pope John Paul II in June of 1983 for his second trip to Poland in a calculated tactical move. The Pope was reserved in his comments and did not explicitly express his support for the outlawed trade union.[67] Some Poles were disappointed by this, while others such as Father Jozef Tischner of Krakow expressed, "The Pope cannot say anything which is not already known within us… His very presence articulated what we already knew. He spoke truths and organized out convictions."[68] The Polish people needed the Pope's support and encouragement in this vulnerable time. They received it, maybe not as directly as some would have hoped, but they received it nonetheless. The result of his visit was successful in terms of its intended purpose. The Pope did not seek to overthrow the regime – his

60   Ibid.
61   Kraszewski. "Catalyst for Revolution."
62   "Appeal from Pope John Paul II to Wojciech Jaruzelski: December 18, 1981." In From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980–1981, edited by Paczkowski Andrzej, Byrne Malcolm, Domber Gregory F., and Klotzbach Magdalena, 480-81. Central European University Press, 2007. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt2jbnww.97.
63   Ibid.
64   Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 43.
65   Grzegorz Ekiert, "Poland under Martial Law and After." In The State against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe, 267-68. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.
66   Ibid, 272.
67   Tony Gardner, "Poland after the Pope: Baptized or Drowned?" Harvard International Review 6, no. 2 (1983): 20.
68   As quoted in Gardner, "Poland after the Pope: Baptized or Drowned?" 21.

emphasis always on peace— but to move Poland down the path of ever-increasing liberalization and freedom by reminding the Polish people once again of their national unity and rights as workers.[69]

After the Pope's visit on July 22, 1983, martial law was officially lifted. At this time, Poland's future existed at the fulcrum of a balance beam. The state of Solidarity laid in limbo, as one activist stated, "Solidarity lives in our hearts. It is wrong to say that it is dead."[70] However, many would argue that it was also not alive. Over the next few years, Solidarity had to be victorious, or else many feared that the events of 1980-81 would be remembered as another "idealistic chapter in Poland's tragic history."[71] The rest of 1983 was characterized with heightened political emotions that manifested in street demonstrations and the continued struggle of Solidarity to organize underground. After this period, starting in 1984 and continuing until about 1988, street demonstrations largely stopped. Many people removed themselves from politics; the government ruled firmly yet still did not earn the support of the Polish people.[72] Bogdan Borusewicz recalled this time by saying, "The underground structures had already began to lose people in 1984. The society was tiring. There were no open demonstrations, so the resistance was not seen in the streets. But the boycott of the government, of television, of the new unions still held."[73] Activists of the time estimate that only ten percent of workers remained active participants of Solidarity. The Church, however, still remained a safe haven for resistance activists.

Rebirth of Solidarity and the Fall of Communism

With the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as the new leader of the USSR in 1985, many sweeping reforms came that influenced the events taking place in Poland. Gorbachev enacted *perestroika*, which aimed at economic reforms, *glasnost*, which allowed for freedom of speech, and he repealed the Brezhnev Doctrine, which stated that the USSR could invade any of its territories if they were disobedient. These reforms inspired a change in the happenings of Poland. In the summer of 1988, Solidarity, while still illegal, experienced a revival that manifested in the public eye through increased street demonstrations and country-wide strikes.[74] In response to these things, by the end of August, General Kiszczak, the minister of internal affairs of Poland, extended an invitation for negotiations to the opposition's leaders.[75]

It was not until February of the following year that negotiations between Solidarity and the communist government commenced, named the Round Table Talks. In the meantime, Solidarity had produced its own political faction and had appointed Walesa as the leader. The negotiations lasted for two months. Concluding on April 5, 1989, it was decided that Poland would now have free elections. Walesa in true Catholic form was noted exclaiming, "I want to thank you, Holy Mother, for all the good that has emerged out of these trying times."[76] The fall of communism in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe happened quickly after these events. On June 4th, the Poles defeated the communists by electing Solidarity as their new leader. Soon, many other countries in the Soviet Eastern Block, such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria would succeed in similar manners. By July of 1991, the Warsaw Pact was null, and in the following December came the fall of the entire Soviet Union.[77]

In response to the fall of communism in Poland and the subsequent election of Walesa to the presidency in December of 1990, Pope John Paul II was quick to congratulate him by saying, "The Polish nation, in these very difficult, first free elections after the war, placed trust in the man who believed in hope against hope. Polish Solidarity restored dignity to all those who fought for their own human rights the world over."[78] This statement by Pope John Paul II demonstrates his undying support and appreciation for members in Solidarity such as Walesa, who fought against the communist government and succeeded in the name of rights and justice for workers all across Poland.

Imagine a Poland without a national identity centered around Catholicism. In such a scenario, what

69   Ibid, 20.
70   As quoted in Gardner, "Poland after the Pope: Baptized or Drowned?" 22.
71   Gardner, "Poland after the Pope: Baptized or Drowned?" 2.
72   Ekiert, "Poland under Martial Law and After," 258.
73   As quoted in Bloom, Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution, 346.
74   Ekiert, "Poland under Martial Law and After," 258.
75   Bloom, Seeing through the eyes of the Polish Revolution, 368.
76   As quoted in Kraszewski, "Catalyst for Revolution," 44.
77   Ibid, 2.
78   Ibid, 44.

effect would the election of Karol Wojtyła to the papacy have had on the state of affairs in Poland at the time? The effect would most likely be negligible, most definitely not notable. Without a national consciousness centered in a Catholic identity, who would have served as the shepherd of the Polish people in their quest for an independent government? Who would have emboldened them in their efforts to face an oppressive communist regime? The answer is unclear. Reflections on these hypothetical questions prove a proper tool in assessing the magnitude of the effects that Pope John Paul II and the Catholic Church had directly on the development of the Solidarity movement, and indirectly and directly on all the events that happened as a result of the Solidarity movement. A Polish Catholic identity has served an important role in writing a large portion of the history of Poland; the fall of communism in Poland is certainly no exception.

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The Nation Who Never Died: Lithuania
From European Power, To European Prisoner, To European Example
Katherine Anthony

"In the sun's bright rays or in clouded day, our heart returns to our home, where our fathers rest and their memory is blest, where our *sweat has watered the loam.*"

- Jonas Mačiulis, "Lithuania"[1]

Imagine a life of freedom, happiness to express who you are, of happiness due to having no fear of what comes next. Imagine a feeling of peace as conflict ended, and would hopefully never return. Now, shatter this image. This was the fate of the independent states located on coast of the Baltic Sea, specifically Lithuania; sandwiched between the growing revolutionary movement of the Soviet Union as each day passed, and the rising world power of Nazi Germany which would unknowingly inflict pain on a large majority of the European population.

When looking at a map of Europe, one might skim over the location of the Baltic States, consisting of not only Lithuania, but Latvia, and Estonia as well. The closely-knit region is half the size of current day Poland, an astonishing difference from the even larger states of Germany and the Soviet Union, which beginning in the 20th century were rapidly expanding. Lithuania is considered the largest of the three states lying on the Baltic Sea. Considered a crossroads between Western European Empires and the Russian Empire, the region was constantly trampled by conquerors.[2] Its location, while it has aided it in the past, such as its connections to central Europe and the availability of alliances. However, its location also became a wanted commodity, for it allowed access to a port in the Baltic Sea, and beyond. The importance of this geography allowed for aid in the past, but proved to be a part of its downfall in the long run.

The 20th century proved to be the most challenging period for Lithuania, as it experienced a growth of nationalism, independence, occupation, and ultimately sovereignty once more. Throughout these periods Lithuanians seesawed between pleasing the Soviet Union, and pushing for a free Lithuania. The challenges they faced, particularly the grievances felt from the Soviet Union, prior and during their time of occupation. For example: annexation, deportation, and death, as well as a history of dissidence including a continued practice of religion, a constant sense of national identity from the everyday person to the military, would allow for the Republic to be the first in cracking and ultimately dissolving the Soviet Union.

This work's title will explain the purpose of this paper, through the use of both secondary and primary sources. The beginning of the title, as well as this work in general, recognizes the poem *Lithuania* by 20th century Lithuanian, Jonas Mačiulis (1862-1932), under his pseudonym of *Maironis*. Today, Mačiulis is considered "the poet who never died"[3] and his work has continued to be an inspiration for Lithuania beyond his two centuries span of life. The subtitle reflects how Lithuania went through several drastic periods in European history. "European power" expresses the time period prior to the 20th century through their connections with Poland, as well as a nationalist feeling which brewed in the late 19th century allowing for independence following World War I. As a "European prisoner", Lithuania faced the most difficult challenges it would ever see in the history of its country's borders as the 20th century flew by. Finally, a "European example", expresses the importance of Lithuania's push for independence from the Soviet Union. This section also includes the importance of its role in the crumbling of such a world power, as well as its importance in the

1   "Lithuania by Maironis" Jonas Mačiulis – Famous Poems, Famous Poets – All Poetry. Accessed November 30th, 2017. http://allpoetry.com/Lithuania

2   Vytas S. Vardys, and Judith B. Sedaitis. Lithuania: The Rebel Nation. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997, 1

3   Ona Mikaika. "Maironis: The Poet Who Never Died." Lithuanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Jorunal of Arts and Sciences 48, no. 3 (Fall 2002). http://www.lituanus.org/2002/02_3_02.htm

global community today.

I: Historical Background

Beginnings of Power: The Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth; Peace or a European Rest Stop?

The late 16th century saw the birth of a power alliance between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland: named the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth. This multi-regional powerhouse, which was able to extend from the center of the European continent to the coast of the Baltic Sea, included much of what we call Scandinavia today, as well as modern Belarus and the previously powerful Prussian Empire. It was graced with one major rival, the Holy Roman Empire, an empire which was in shambles; Falling apart due to the well-known Reformation. This cracking in its neighbor allowed for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to sustain its power into the late 18th century.

Poland and Lithuania united with one another for the explicit reason of their shared religion in Christianity and later Catholicism. Although they shared this religious aspect, Lithuania was much later to its adoption. It was not until 1385 when Lithuania became the last western state to adopt Christianity following a century of religious battles between Rome and the Teutonic Knights, a German militaristic and religious order.[4] This religious connection between Poland and Lithuania would become an important relation even to this day. As the two share a border, it allows for a commonality between two populations.

While borders and shared religion were a strong component in their alliance, Poland and Lithuania had very diverse populations, where the beginnings of their people differed extremely. The Polish people are derived from the Western Slavic ethnic group. Lithuanians on the other hand, are not Slavic, but rather they belong to the Baltic family of nations. Their occupation on the coast of the Baltic Sea began in approximately 2000 BC.[5] While Poles speak a Slavic language, the Lithuanian language is connected to ancient Sanskrit[6], which has continued to the present day and is an important piece of their national identity. This continuation of such a language allows for the wealth of knowledge surrounding the Eurasian people to be explored by current and future historians.

The security Lithuania had under the Commonwealth could be considered an ocean at low tide, calm and peaceful. However, once it dissolved into two distinct different spheres, high tide washed in. Wave after wave of invaders and conquers took control of the geographically pleasing region.

Any country is inevitably going to be invaded at one point in history. Lithuania was no different, and in fact, it was invaded multiple times, and conquered both its neighbors and far reaching populations. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Lithuania was invaded by Sweden and Russia with control lasting until the region was devoured by the French military forces under Napoléon Bonaparte in 1812.[7] Napoléon's goal of eventually reaching Tsarist Russia became a bigger reality with the conquering of Lithuania and its neighbors. Although it would be short lived, the idea of being a path towards a larger enemy would ring true for a large amount of Lithuania's future.

With the eventual retreat of France, Russia moved in once more. Under a decree from Tsarina Catherine II, alignment was made with Prussia and Austria to devour Poland. Lithuania was thus reduced to the state of a northwestern province in the Russian empire, ruled by Tsarist Russia until 1915.[8] The final conquerors of Lithuania, The Soviet Union, a mask placed on top of a former ruler would hold the "province" captive until 1991.

Growth of Nationalistic Ideas and Independence at Last: The 19th Century to the Interwar Period

The 19th century saw a mass number of national awakenings throughout Europe. For example, Germany

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4   Vardys, Lithuania. 6
5   Vardys, Lithuania, 5
6   Ibid., 6.
7   Ibid., 1.
8   Vardys, Lithuania, 1

was officially unified into one state in 1871. Italy followed by the end of the year. Lithuania had its own unique form of an awakening. What sparked Lithuanian culture and political emancipation from Tsarist rule, came from a neighboring conflict. Poland drastically fought with Moscow about its refusal to accept Tsarist rule.[9] Many Poles fled to Lithuania during this time, as their shared religion kept them allied. These Poles used their new base as a way to send out propaganda against the Russian Tsar. They did not succeed.

For Russia, the main concern during this conflict surrounded religion. The new policy enacted by the Tsar, Nicholas II**,** aimed at liquidating *Pol'skoe delo,* translated to "The Polish Question" in the region. Nicholas believed in the suppressing of Polish influence and recognizing Lithuanian as its own separate culture. Thus, splitting them away from the Poles and the Catholic religion, and assimilating them into Russian nationality and Orthodoxy.[10] As the Russians identified Polishness with Catholicism, it became obvious a strong anti-Polish and anti-Catholic policy was to be put in place in Lithuania.**[11]** Even with the suppression of their language, culture, and religion, Lithuanians found a way to ensure their identity. The conflict between Poland and Russia might have dragged Lithuania into a battle it could not win, however it did awaken something deep within the soul of the country, an understanding of who they were; something worth fighting for.

The Early 20th century is often defined by the outbreak of one of the most massive conflicts to exist on European soil. Given the name "The Great War," many believed when it concluded it would be the first and last of its kind. The amount of death, along with the amount of destruction to the continent seemed to be enough to place this idea in many heads. Although the war brought success and failure to some automatically, it gave opportunity to others. Empires were burned to the ground. Revolution seized power. Yet, at the same time former members saw a small opening to make a statement.

Of the three empires to fall following World War I - the Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russian Empire - the last is most imperative to understanding Lithuanian history. Russia no longer existed, replaced by the Soviet Union. With the tsar deposed and the Romanov line extinct, rules and regulations made under their decrees were invalid. Lithuanians were the first among Tsarist Russia's nationalities to demand autonomy. In 1918, Lithuania was fully awarded the independence it craved.[12] This newly awarded independence was a breath of fresh air within the borders of Lithuania.

The international community responded warmly. However, they were merely looking out for their own interests in the end. The Baltic region was considered by most of Europe, a frontline in preventing Bolshevism from reaching Central Europe and beyond.[13]. When the Versailles treaty was signed following the end of the Great War, a main concerned focused on creating a buffer zone. Not surprisingly, when looking at this view is the fact of European states being opposed to the establishment of three new independent states with such strong ties to the former Russian Empire.[14] It eventually was perceived by much of Europe as a "No Man's Land', a term used throughout the Great War to describe a zone where no party wished to enter, as it always led to further conflict. With the rise of Leninism, and eventually Stalinist communism, most of Europe worried about an accidental spillover of the socio-economic society mixing with their capitalist ideals, and thus, withdrew their support of the Baltic states as quickly as possible.

Lithuania's national identity continued to expand throughout this period of independence. In September of 1921, Lithuania along with its two neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, became official members of the League of Nations. Interestingly enough, the community which had originally responded warming yet with hesitation to its independence had suddenly turned into ice. Andres Kasekamp pens in *The History of the Baltic States*, "few outside observers expected the newly independent states not to survive for long and most predicted they would sooner or later be reintegrated into the Russian realm."[15] Although the three small states situated on a sea of importance proved these western views to be wrong throughout their period of independence, they eventually did crumble. When this period officially concluded has been a historical debate, with some believing the early 1930s, and others arguing the breakout of war for the small nation-state's defeat. Regardless of dating the time,

9   Ibid., 16.
10   Vardys, Lithuania, 16
11   Ibid., 16.
12   Vardys, Lithuania, 28
13   Kasekamp, Andres. A History of The Baltic States. London: Palgrave, 2010, 100
14   Kasekamp, The Baltic States, 105
15   Kasekamp, The Baltic States, 105

the eventual prophecy created by western Europe, the loss of an independent Lithuania, would come true.

II: Shattered Glass and Bleeding Knuckles: The Second World War, Birth of Soviet Grievances and Dissidents

Between Anvil and Hammer: The Beginnings of the Second World War

The year 1939 is a year Lithuanians will always remember. On August 23, 1939, Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister for the government of the German Reich, and Vyacheslav Molotov, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, signed a non-aggression pact between their two states. Included in this document were secret protocols to determine the fates of those between them. Regarding Lithuania's future, the agreement stated, "In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement in the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R."[16] With this document, the Third Reich and the U.S.S.R sealed the future of not only Lithuania, but a large part of Eastern Europe as well.

September 17, 1939 is considered one of the starting points of World War II. Poland found itself occupied and divided between two giants. The Third Reich eventually made its way into Lithuania in June of 1941, against the terms within the pact stated, as the region was given to the Soviet Union. Unknown to the USSR, however, Germany had signed a defense treaty with the crumbling government of Lithuania in 1939. This action was pushed by the Lithuanians as just three days prior, the invasions of Poland burned through Eastern Europe faster than a match lighting gasoline. Considered a military alliance based on a promise for the Vilnius Region to be returned to Lithuania after Poland was invaded, the growing fascist empire and the dwindling state surrounded by chaos signed the treaty stating: "without compromising its independence as a state, Lithuania commits itself to the protection of the German Reich"[17]. Not surprising to say the least, Germany took this treaty as an open door, an entrance for destruction of not only Lithuania but the eventual sleeping giant hidden behind the border: The Soviet Union.

The Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact, originally made in order to secure the safety of the Third Reich so that it would not have to fight a two-front war if conflict broke out, suddenly meant nothing, thrown into the garbage as if it never existed. On June 22, 1941 Nazi military invaded the Soviet Union, allowing for an eastern front to be born. As World War II progressed with a fight in the west, Adolf Hitler found his attention focusing mainly on the east. With every move the Third Reich took eastward, the Soviet Union fought back, However, military battles were not the only form of execution. The Soviet Union would mimic the Third Reich, in more ways than one as it fought to the death, through military operations, bitter winters, and starvation in order to regain what was "theirs" in 1945.

Rail Cars and Unknowing: Deportations and Terror in Lithuania

Joseph Stalin and his government followed the Third Reich in executing deportations. However, it is important to note they were significantly different from one another. Each superpower had a different tactic and end goal for their deportations, for the Soviet Union, their first, minor strike began in June of 1940 and lasted through the midnight hours of June 14-15, 1941 when minor attacks became severe and thousands found themselves on rail cars headed for gulags, a Soviet forced labor camp, mainly stationed in Siberia. The Soviet Union lost control over "its" territory approximately one week later. Although Lithuania was still considered to be under German occupation, the Soviets bent their way through the blockade of their secret allies and began deporting Lithuanians into far regions of the Soviet Union. Although they had no political control over the Baltics at this point and time, they still found a way to force their agenda through the open door provided by the Germans.

The Soviet Union's extreme move of extinguishing Lithuanian independence fulfilled the prophecy

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16   Saulius Sužiedélis, ed. "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact: The Documents." Lithuanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences 35, no. 1 (Spring 1989). Accessed October 29th, 2017 http://www.lituanus.org/1989/89_1_03.htm

17   Edward Acton, and Tom Stableford. "Document 7 - "Lithuania Commits Itself To The Protection Of The Reich"." In The Soviet Union: A Documentary History, 15-16. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005.

given by western societies in the earlier years of its independence.[18] Lithuania was given an ultimatum following the conclusion of World War II; enter the fold on the Soviet Union, or experience high levels of terror through military invasions.[19] No time was given to debate the ultimatum at hand, and with a rigged election won by the communist party, Lithuania found itself renamed the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, often shortened to Lithuanian SSR. With the gain of territory and population the deportations began. The Soviet ultimatum was rather a trick, similar to a cat trying to catch a mouse, by promising the lesser of two evils. Although Lithuania entered the Soviet Union, it still experienced high levels of terror, as it was not for protection, it was for an example of power among the global sphere.

The methods of the deportations were rather fluid. The responsibility was given to the NKVD, The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the Soviet secret police. NKVD officers began registering and tracking Lithuanians who seemed to be a threat to "Soviet Elements", a term used to describe any propaganda actions against Soviet ideas.[20] Anyone who was considered to hold an anti-Soviet attitude was added to the list. The addition of these people was solely based on their social standing, political affiliations, religious beliefs, and occupation.[21] As the Lithuanian population contained a large number of Catholics, The Soviet Union, which had a strong anti-religion policy, targeted the general population as well.[22] When the final list was drafted by the NKVD, it consisted of 15 percent of the Lithuanian population.[23] The list was then divided among those being deported to work camps and those to prison camps. With whole families included on these lists, despite their involvement with the person in question of relation, the NKVD's first deportation on June 14, 1941 consisted of 13,654 people entering rail cars, traveling to the unknown.[24] No information was given to these citizens, their sight was the only thing controlling the road map in front of them. The fulfilling of quotas was imperative to the NKVD for succeeding in its mission. In order to meet its numbers. It rounded up an additional 2,000 people, bringing the number of those deported on the evening of June 14, and morning of June 15, to a staggering 17,485 deportees.[25]

The deportations did not end once World War II concluded and the Germans found themselves decimated. Soviet officials pressed play on their deportations which had simply been paused during Nazi occupation. Lithuanian Germans were placed on rail cars first, followed by "bandits" or those whom avoided conscription into the Red Army during the war.[26] The deportations were considered small, at least for Soviets, during the immediate end of the war, but heightened again in 1948. Two of the largest deportations under the code names of *Vesna* or spring, and *Priboi* or coastal surf, were conducted in March and May of 1948. 70,000 people were deported during these two events, and vanished into the unknown, similar to their predecessors during the war.[27] The last deportation occurred in October 1951, under the code name *Osen* or Autumn. It targeted kulaks, otherwise known as independent farmers refusing to give into the communist idea of collective farming.[28] When the deportations concluded in 1951, Soviet officials had banished over 150,000 Lithuanians from their homeland. Death rung in the ears of the living as a loved one's passing was shortly followed by another, allowing for no period of grieving.

The Thorn in The Giant's Side: The Forest Brothers of Lithuania

While the Soviet Union continued to strangle and cut the roots of Lithuanian nationality deportation by deportation, others lurked in the shadows avoiding Soviet control at all costs. The resistance of Lithuania, by the name, The Forest Brothers, guerrilla fighters hoping to oust Soviet control, during the end of World War II and through Soviet deportations waged war against the Red Army and Soviet manipulated Lithuanian government. As the number of Lithuanians deported multiplied, the ranks of smaller resistance movements were brought under the fold of the Forest Brothers. These men, preferred to die fighting for the independence they once had

18   Timothy Snyder, Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569 -1999. Yale University Press, 2003, 83
19   Snyder, Reconstruction of Nations, 83
20   Aryydas Anušauskas, Lithuanian Soviet Nation's Destruction in 1940-1958. Vilnius, Lithuania, 1996, 44
21   Anušauskas, Lithuanian Soviet Destruction, 44
22   Ibid., 44.
23   Ibid., 80.
24   Anušauskas, Lithuanian Soviet Destruction, 89
25   Ibid., 104.
26   Ibid., 293.
27   Ibid., 319.
28   Ibid., 326.

than face the unknown deportation to Siberia.[29] The Forest Brothers were much different than a rogue group of resistant citizens. They thrived and grew with every growing cut to their nationality and although they were present in all three Baltic states, they were the fiercest within the borders of Lithuania. Soviet officials found it hard to outsmart the resistance group as they had a general staff, printed newspaper, and constantly trained officers.[30] They were far more advanced than any other resistance group. Important to note as well, the resistance also paid homage to their nationalistic roots.

Lithuanian remembrance of the Forest Brothers often circled around the identification of their features. Following a history of being invaded by multiple powers, surviving photographs show members dressed in interwar Lithuanian army uniforms as they carried a mixture of Soviet and German weapons.[31] The idea of them wearing an army of an independent Lithuania shows how much loyalty they had to their borders as a sovereign state. The fact of them bearing weapons of both Soviet and German origin, not only showed the struggle given to them during the war, but also their deep historical roots of being strangled by the two giants, constantly shifting between German and Russian occupation. Another important identification feature of the Brothers was their hair. Many had very long hair styled in a medieval European way. A vow was made to not cut their hair until Lithuania was free once more.[32] An interesting idea, their hair also allowed for them to hide among everyday citizens. In order to avoid arrest by Soviet officials, the Brothers would pretend to be women, their long hair helping them in this process.

The Forest Brothers were a resistance movement, often cheered on by the silent residents of Lithuania, often those too afraid to speak in fear of deportation. Rimvydas Šilbajoris, a scholar of Lithuanian literature, described the motives of the Forest Brothers, "In Lithuanian prose, the guerrilla war is often understood and depicted as a conflict between 'the city' and 'the forest' (…) the partisans were fighting to defend the traditional way of life"[33] As Soviet occupation entered its second decade of control, The Brothers were given the name "dissident," often a word used by others, especially the Soviet officials, to describe the highest level of enemy. Viktoras Petkus, a Lithuanian political activist and dissident himself, details a foreshadowing told by his father when he was an adolescent:

> I was not tempted to join the partisans myself, because a Lithuanian army captain and partisan commander came to my father and advised him not to let his children go to the forest. He said, that he knew that the West had betrayed them, and that the movement had no future, but he himself had no choice but to go on to the end.[34]

The Partisan War, a conflict constructed between the resistance movements of the three Baltic states and the Soviet Union, was fully underway. Its extinction had been foreshadowed and it was bound to fulfill such a prophecy. As the region entered half a decade following the brutality of World War II, they did not see the relief given to the rest of the globe. The Partisan War between the Soviets and the resistance continued to cause chaos to an already catastrophic region. While many hoped the small could defeat the large, the giant ultimately smashed its fist against the resistance. Through Operation Priboi, described in the previous section, most of the Forest Brothers were removed from the three state Baltic region. For those few rogue Brothers, amnesty was authorized following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, or disappearance further into the woods allowed for few individuals to remain in hiding until being captured in the 1980s.[35] Petkus did eventually become a dissident and then a political prisoner. While his time in the Forest Brothers was limited, it was also memorable as he would continue to talk about it until his death in 2012. While most of the Forest Brothers seemed to become extinct in their own habitat, one of Latvia's Forest Brothers would remain in hiding until 1995, allowing for the remembrance, not only in Lithuania, but in Latvia and Estonia as well, of a movement

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29   Anatol Lieven, "The Troglodyte International" In The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence, 316-73. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005, 88

30   Lieven, "Troglodyte International", The Baltic Revolution, 88

31   Lieven, "Troglodyte International", The Baltic Revolution, 88

32   Ibid., 88.

33   Ibid., 89.

34   Lieven, "Troglodyte International", The Baltic Revolution, 88

35   Ibid., 89-91.

drowned by a giant's foot.

In the Thick of It All: Decades of Russification

The Lithuanians, no matter how much they were defeated, returned often to the feeling they once had when independence graced their shores. However, as deportations, a declining population, and deaths rocked the region day after day, year after year, the feeling of defeat began to dance in front of many. Although these many never gave up hope, they simply wished to survive. In order for survival, they committed to Soviet ways for the time being.

The Soviets started with the Russification of Lithuanian culture, language, and lifestyle. Under Stalin, the Catholic Church was hit extremely hard. Through deporting and murder, all but one of the bishops in Lithuania was left in 1948.[36] The religious difference between Lithuania and its neighbors did not affect how the Soviets intervened in society. Protestant Latvia and Estonia were met with a similar fate. The Lithuanian language fell as quickly as its religion became repressed.

Although the Lithuanian language had strong roots in the region, the use of it in educational and occupational spheres was new and fragile. The Lithuanian language did however have official status. This allowed for Russification, implemented by Soviet approved government and military officials within Lithuania to strangle the spoken and written word of Lithuanians which had existed for centuries. Although the Russian language officially came into these spheres, the Lithuanian word continued in spoken word at home, at gatherings, at schools, in public and in personal writing behind the backs of the Soviets. Had the Russification and Soviet rule continued for another generation the Lithuanian language and culture might have been damaged beyond repair.[37] Family lines were the most imperative piece in the Lithuanian language puzzle. As the language was spoken at home, it allowed for growing generations whom might not have experienced the incredible peace of independence but also the horrors of the beginning of Soviet occupation, a language to carry on for generations, a connection to their home, and a connection to their nationality. They might have been given the title of SSR following their ethnicity, as the other fourteen republics had, but for Lithuania, a Lithuanian was completely separate from a Soviet and Russian connection, regardless of the title given to their land.

Continued Fight: Difficult Resistance Movements in Lithuania

As a new generation began to age in a land they had never known as independent, many worried that the Soviet system would brainwash these children into believing this was the correct way of life, a life where independent Lithuania was never its own. However, while officials tried and tried again, family ties to the land, nationality, and culture proved to be much stronger than force.

An extreme example of this maybe seen in the example of a nineteen-year-old named Romas Kalanta, who was born in February 1953, approximately a week and a half prior to the death of Joseph Stalin. Raised in a religious family when religion could be considered one of the worst crime of them all, Kalanta wrote in a school essay about his wish to one day become a Catholic priest, causing him trouble with the authorities.[38] On May 14, 1972, at the age of nineteen, Kalanta who had become an artist and guitar player burned himself to death in the center of the city Kaunas. His actions sparked anger among Lithuanians. Kalanta left no note explaining his reasoning, yet the last note in a notebook he owned stated "blame the system for my death."[39] Following a failed cover-up by the Soviet government, witnesses began to spread the news of his death by word. Following his burial on May 18, riots erupted in the streets with shouts of "Freedom for Lithuania!" The riots, often given the name "Kaunas' Spring" after the 1968 Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, consisted of a large number of the Lithuanian youth and lasted for two days.[40] Romas Kalanta's death may have created chaos and havoc, but the

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36   Lieven, "Troglodyte International", The Baltic Revolution, 92
37   Lieven, "Troglodyte International", The Baltic Revolution, 95
38   Lukasz Kaminski, "Live Torches." May 14th, 2015. Accessed October 30, 2017 http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2010-01-20-lukasz-kaminski-gyvieji-fakelai/38709
39   Kaminski, "Live Torches" http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2010-01-20-lukasz-kaminski-gyvieji-fakelai/38709
40   Hedrick Smith, "Some Cracks in the Kremlin Wall." The New York Times, May 28th, 1972, 2nd ed.

flames which surrounded him, shed light on a possibility for a free Lithuania once more.

Following the eventual end of the riots, Lithuania focused on playing nice with their occupier. However, when they were not compromising and given up their freedoms one by one, they worked together to prove to the world and the Soviet Union, they were in fact Lithuanian. Lithuanian, not a Soviet Republic. Catholic, not against religion in any sense of the word. They were Lithuanians, and they were out to prove it to those above, but also themselves. In addition to self-immolation and rioting, Lithuanians expressed dissidence through acts of religion.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, a painter and composer known for his work in the Symbolist movement of Europe wrote: "At dawn a herald ascends a low hill… and sounding his golden trumpet abroad, invites laborers of the spirit to create a single huge flame of burning desire to honor our motherland, Lithuania with art. National art is the primary manifestation of love"[41]. Following World War II, in the thick of Soviet occupation, there was a rebirth and metamorphosis of national art being used to not only show that their ethnicity and ideas mattered, but also to make a statement as a form of a political movement shadowed by its beauty.[42] One of the most famous and memorable examples of such is the "Hill of Crosses," still in existence today. The name of the location might describe the beauty of the art created here, however its name only does it little justice. The "Hill of Crosses" is monumental in size. Latin crosses are planted into the ground no matter their size. Along with crosses, are statues important to Catholicism. Although this is simply a hill, its rightful name should be a mountain. The "Hill of Crosses" location is imperative to its understanding. The city of Šiauliai, located in the direct center of Lithuania, was often a sight of pilgrimage for Lithuanians. The addition of the "Crosses of Vilnius," another name given to the location, only allowed for much more attraction to the region and solidified it as an important site of national identity.

Suppressed of their religion, Lithuanians began traveling to the Hill throughout the Soviet occupation. Although the Hill existed prior to the 20th century and had no known origin, it gained its most traction during the occupation. With every Latin cross plunged into the dirt, Lithuanians reminded authorities that they were in fact Catholic and proud. Similar to removing a hair, as Soviet officials removed the crosses one by one, two more would appear in each one's place overnight. Frustration filled Moscow as this peaceful resistance movement continued. Even with the site being bulldozed at least twice in 1963 and 1973, crosses continued to sprout under the light of God.[43] The Hill of Crosses, one of the most important, successful, and peaceful resistance movements produced by Lithuanians during the Soviet occupation, could be considered the birth of the 1980s, and Lithuania's pull for independence.

III: When Song Trumped Rifles: The Lithuanian Independence Movement

Finding a Voice in Silence: The Growth of Sajudis

Within the walls of the Kremlin, Mikhail Gorbachev, leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991, called for a rather small program of reform in 1985. After being adopted by the April Plenum, within the Central Committee, Gorbachev was graced with *perestroika*, a political reform and *glasnost*, a social reform. By the end of the meetings as perestroika took grasp on the Soviet Union, each Baltic republic, institutions and groups were invited to submit nominations of delegates.[44] Suddenly, The Soviet Union was allowing for a more diverse government and as if out of spontaneity, the popular front of Lithuania was formed. Similar groups existed in Latvia and Estonia, yet for Lithuania, the creation of theirs, given the name Sajudis was unique. On June 3, 1988, Sajudis was born. Its name was a shortened version of the "Movement for Lithuanian Restructuring."[45] Along with the popular fronts of Latvia and Estonia, a singing revolution took off running.

During what is coined a "singing revolution," large groups of people managed to organize for independence under the guise of gathering to sing. The term was created by Estonian activist Heniz Valk, who outspoken about his nation and its two neighbors, including Lithuania. At a rally in Tallinn, Valk said, "A nation

41   , Milda Bakšys Richardson. "Reverence and Resistance in Lithuanian Wayside Shrines." In Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture vol.10 (2005): 249. Accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3514352.

42   Richardson "Reverence and Resistance in Lithuanian Wayside Shrines." In Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture vol.10

43   Giedrė Jankevičiūtė. Lithuania Guide R. Paknys Press (Vilnius, Lithuania). 256–257.

44   Lieven, "The Independence Movements and Their Successors" The Baltic Revolution, 224.

45   Lieven, "The Independence Movements and Their Successors" The Baltic Revolution, 225.

who makes its revolution by singing and smiling should be a sublime example to all."[46] The Singing Revolution was much more than just a song sung in Riga, Tallinn, or Vilnius. The movement spread like rapid fire. Music became during these years the main expressive vehicle for conveying independent and nationalist messages, in three important ways:

1. Specific new music was written with a distinctive political significance

2. Traditional national music was performed for the sole fact of being "national" rather than "Soviet" or "Russian" regardless of their content.

3. Forbidden music, not matter what, was sung and performed as an intrinsic act of insubordination.[47]

While music was important in the makeup of the Singing Revolution, For Lithuania, the revolution revolved around the Sajudis.

Sajudis, a group of 35 intellectuals and artists, were in support of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*, hoping these policies would soften the hold the Soviet Union held on Lithuania.[48] However, their stance strengthened as time passed and Sajudis began to demand on national independence. They wished to restore Lithuanian language, conduct campaigns on environmental protection, reveal the horrors of Stalinism which rocked their borders, and release details of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact.[49] Due to the origin of Sajudis, music became a central force in its quest in independence for Lithuania. Protests took place within major cities, not with cries of independence, but peaceful singing of Lithuanian songs. Similar events occurred in Latvia and Estonia and although the Popular Fronts among the three neighbors differed on ideas, they did eventually come together on the one main idea: gaining independence.

Connecting Hands, Connecting History: The Baltic Way

August 23, 1939 the moment that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia lost their identity. The loss of independence based on a secret pact by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union would plunge the three states into a sea of darkness, one which would last decades, and would not end until enough had been had. As 1989 crept up on Lithuania and its neighbors, citizens felt Soviet actions were coming to a boiling point.

On August 23, 1989, the 50th anniversary of the Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact, millions of Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians linked hands across their homelands from Tallinn, Estonia to Vilnius, Lithuania and demanded for the fundamental right of independence and sovereignty. Government officials declared that the Soviet Union "infringed on the historical right of the Baltic nations to self-determination, presented ruthless ultimatums to the Baltic republics, occupied them with overwhelming military force, and under conditions of military occupation and heavy political terror carried out their violent annexations".[50] From Tallinn through Riga and Vilnius, the capital cities of the Baltics lit up with unity. The participants gathered in the cities and villages where the campaign was to take place or drove to the less inhabited territories where the Baltic Way would wind through.[51] 700,000 people in Estonia, 500,000 in Latvia, and 1,000,000 in Lithuania made up the human chain.[52] Those around the world even felt the solidarity of these three states. Demonstrations in support of the Baltic Way took place in Berlin, Leningrad, Moscow, Melbourne, Stockholm, Tbilisi, and Toronto.[53] With millions standing in the cold as night fell, the Baltic citizens were warm with clasped hands. The Soviets,

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46   Ibid., 225.
47   Dario Martinelli. "The Lithuanian Singing Revolution as Cultural Heritage and Source of Soft Power." International Association for Semiotic Studies. http://www.iassais.org/proceedings2014/view_lesson.php?id=149.
48   Martinelli. "The Lithuanian Singing Revolution" http://www.iassais.org/proceedings2014/view_lesson.php?id=149.
49   Ibid.
50   Martinelli. "The Lithuanian Singing Revolution" http://www.iassais.org/proceedings2014/view_lesson.php?id=149.
51   "History." The Baltic Way 1989-2014. Accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.thebalticway.eu/en/history/.
52   The Baltic Way 1989-2014, http://www.thebalticway.eu/en/history/.
53   The Baltic Way 1989-2014, http://www.thebalticway.eu/en/history/.

however were shaking in their boots.

IV: Deepening the Division: The Soviet Attempts to Preserve the Union

Bloody Winter: The January Days and The Medininkai Massacre

On March 11, 1990, Lithuania declared independence from the Soviet Union. The first to do so, the USSR took extreme measures to repress such a statement from affecting the other fourteen republics. Suppression of rights began and OMON (Russian abbreviation for the Special Purpose Militia Squad), special police units under the federal government of The Soviet Union, moved into Lithuania in order to stop the independence movements. On January 11, 1991 paratroopers opened fire on unarmed civilians in Vilnius, who were trying to protect the Press Building. In the early morning hours of January 13, a tank and infantry attack took place against civilians guarding the Television Tower in Vilnius; 14 people were killed, 702 were injured.[54] These days wreaked havoc on a population who felt so close to the end of a battle. They were unarmed, and their defense was peaceful with no violence. The fear of losing everything they were fighting for once again to the Soviets was unbearable to imagine.

Similar events were conducted on July 31st, 1991 on the border of Lithuania and the future Belarus. Soviet military killed seven Lithuanian customs agents and policemen in Medininkai.[55] With an understanding of everyone deceased at the scene, the military moved on. However, one man survived. Tomas Šernas, was injured severely. The date remains cemented in his brain, not only because he was almost brutally killed, or because he saw 7 of his own killed, but because he was set to be married on the following day, August 1. In 2009, he spoke of the events with one single quotation to Rokas Tracevskis shortly following the 18th anniversary of the event:

> It was a nice summer night of July 31, 1991. At half past three, people from the Soviet special forces, OMON, came armed with guns and demanded that everybody lay on the floor so they could shoot all eight of us in the head.[56]

Šernas is the only witness to the murder of 7 people. "OMON left him because they thought he was dead. He was unconscious, treated in Kaunas clinics and later in Germany. Only six months after the massacre, Šernas was allowed visits from officials, his parents and his fiancée."[57] The brutality of this event has called for investigation, one which has yet to be concluded due to the Russian Federation's inability to accept responsibility for the event. \

Denial: Gorbachev's New Union Treaty and August 1991 Coup

As the Soviet Union continued to crumble under the control of Gorbachev, action was needed in order to survive. The result of the plan to sign a new union treaty was Gorbachev's effort to keep the union together. Each republic was given the option of joining and although a majority of the republics decided yes, the Baltic states rejected the option right out of the gate.

For Lithuania, the membership was considered an illegal occupation, similar to the one that had suppressed Lithuanians for decades. What change could occur under a similar union? The treaty moved on without Baltic involvement and was to be signed in the beginning of September 1991. However, while Gorbachev vacationed in Crimea, his government was taken from him. A simple week before the signing, he was deposed as leader of the Soviet Union and replaced by Boris Yeltsin whom would eventually continue to

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54   Grazina Miniotaite, "Lithuania: From Non-violent Liberation towards Non-violent Defense?" In Peace Research, vol. 28, no. 4 (1996): 19-
          36.
55   Tomas Šernas as quoted in: Rokas M. Traceviskis, "Remembering the Medininkai Massacre." The Baltic Times. August 5, 2009. Accessed
November 1, 2017 https://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/23284/
56   Tomas Šernas as quoted in: Rokas M. Traceviskis, "Remembering the Medininkai Massacre."
57   Ibid.

hold power in the Russian Federation until 1999.

V: Outwitting the Giant: Lithuanian Independence and Alignment with The West

The first Western nation state to recognize the statehood of Lithuania was Iceland, prior to the actual recognition of the Soviet Union in February 1991. They were quickly followed by the rest of Scandinavia and the West. The Soviet Union proved to be unwilling to let Lithuania go, hoping for some reason they might return. This hope was never recognized.

Finally, on September 6, 1991, the State Council of the USSR issued a document through the foreign minister's office which "recognized the independence of the Republic of Lithuania"[58] The release allowed for complete autonomy within Lithuania and the backing of support from the Soviet Union on their eventual entrance into the United Nations. Lithuania was free and each citizen took a breath of fresh air as the iron fist had finally been lifted.

One week after the Soviet Union's release of Lithuania. The state along with Latvia and Estonia were formally admitted into the United Nations. No vote occurred within the security council, which included the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union fully collapsed on December 31st, 1991. The breakup of the Baltic states within the Soviet Union can be seen as one of the major pieces to the puzzle when looking at the Soviet collapse.

The next step for Lithuania was an application to join NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They filed for acceptance in 1994. On March 29, 2004, one year after being accepted into the European Union, Lithuania, along with six other states were formally accepted as members of NATO after depositing their instruments of accession with the United States Government.[59] This round of enlargement to NATO became the fifth and largest round of enlargement in NATO's history and brought NATO 26 member countries.

Friend or Foe: Current Relations with the Russian Federation

The Russian Federation succeeded the Soviet Union, along with many of its burdens created over the near century of its existence. Many put this blame of Soviet actions on the Federation simply because of the control center of Moscow. Lithuania was the first to spread its wings and fly away. It became an example for the rest of the republics in the former Soviet Union and allowed for its decay. Today, The Russian Federation and Lithuania have tense but at the same time peaceful relations. Russia holds a port and enclave on the western border of Lithuania. Although Lithuania does not officially border the Federation, the enclave of Kaliningrad as part of the Russian Federation, allows for Russia to have a makeshift border with Lithuania, thus a lasting connection and memory of the impact they have had along with the Soviet Union on Lithuania.

While the Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact was formally recognized by Lithuania, its neighbors, and the West, current citizens of Russia have a different response to the secret pact. With a study performed in August 2017 by the Levada Center, a Russian sociological research organization, a majority of those surveyed were split between actually hearing about the pact and knowing nothing at all. More than half of those surveyed approved of Stalin's decision to sign the pact and the other half did not know anything about it. The most important piece of data revolved around the Russian view of World War II. The majority surveyed answered incorrectly as to why September 17, 1939 mattered and the beginning of the annexation of Eastern Europe.[60] These numbers are not surprising considering the center is based in Russia although they claim to be not biased. Another reason it is not extremely surprising, but at the same time it is extremely concerning focuses on the current government within the Russian Federation. Without admitting it, Russia has a fixed memory of its history, one which does

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58   Former USSR - Russia. Resolution of the State Council of the USSR. Decree of the State Council of the USSR of 06.09.1991 No. GS-1. On the Recognition of the Independence of the Republic of Lithuania. Moscow, 1991. Russian Documents of the 20th Century: http://doc20vek.ru/node/3263 accessed November 10th, 2017

59   NATO. "Seven New Members Join NATO." Broadcast. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. April 1, 2004 Accessed November 3, 2017. https://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/03-march/e0329a.htm

60   Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey. The Levada Center – The Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact. September 26, 2017. Raw data. Russian Federation. https://www.levada.ru/en/2017/09/26/molotov-ribbentrop-pact/ accessed November 8th, 2017

not include such devastating events. It allows us to wonder, what is actually being taught about this period in the Russian state if these events were what shaped these decades.

Tensions rose between Lithuania and Russia in 2014 when Russia formally annexed Crimea, a portion of Ukraine. What followed was an invasion of Ukraine and a war which is still continuing to this day. Many within Lithuania's population saw a resemblance of Vladimir Putin's actions to those of Stalin's in 1939. It caused worry, and many wondered: were they next? To this day, three years later Lithuania still stands on edge. The future is unknown, however Vladimir Putin's actions proved he was serious in restoring the greatness of the Soviet Union as a superpower when it came to Crimea, so why would he be kidding if another invasion were to occur?

VI: Conclusion: What Happens Next?

When a picture frame is thrown across the floor, the glass shatters. Picking up the pieces can take large amounts of time, yet even once fully cleaned and replaced, miniscule glass shards find their way to cause hurting. The 20th Century began as a new picture frame with a deserving Lithuania photographed within. They were cracked, and fixed with the glue of independence, then shattered with the most force ever seen at the hands of two perpetrators. The Soviet Union cleaned up the pieces and placed Lithuania into a larger picture frame, among the faces of fourteen others. Yet, although Lithuanians glanced on through a Soviet lens, the USSR continued to find glass shards in their shoes.

Lithuania refused to accept its place in the larger frame. With punch after punch, cracks began to form, unknowing to the Soviet Union. Lithuanian dissidents pushed for their national identity and homeland, using the grievances applied by the Soviets as a way to continue a gain in support for their cause. The Forest Brothers, although extinct in Lithuania, proved to be an example of fighting for citizens. Romas Kalanta's death called a new generation into the movement. The Hill of Crosses continued to grow with every removal.

The 1980s saw a crack forming in the beautiful collage created by the superpower. Lithuania grabbed hands with its neighbors and made a statement on the 50th anniversary of its annexation. The Lithuanian independence movement led by Sajudis was the first of its kind, modeled over and over again by the captives whom joined them. By 1989, multiple cracks formed in the frame. Filled with panic, Soviet government officials went right to the source. No amount of bloodshed and no treaty could keep Lithuania from returning to its rightful position.

However, where was this rightful position? A barrier between the West from the Communist Soviets, a barrier between the East from the evil capitalistic West. Lithuania refused its place as a barrier. Located in the East, aligned with the West, this would become the new Lithuanian slogan as entrances into NATO and the United Nations slowly were approved. Yet, no matter the support of the West, threat from the East still rung overhead. Kaliningrad, ignorance, and fear of invasion once again have filled Russian and Lithuanian relations with tension. The political map may have changed, and the Soviet Union followed it predecessor, the Russian Empire in crumbling, but one thing remains the clear: The Russian Federation has become a sleeping giant once more, and when awakened, who knows what might occur.

Lithuania's picture has been placed in a multitude of glass picture frames throughout the 20th century, each unique in their own. First, the European power. Second, the European prisoner. Finally, the European example. With each frame came new experiences, all of which allowed for them to shatter its enemy as its enemy had shattered them. Lithuania continues to thrive in its European example frame to this day. Worry of relations with its former oppressor is only a small knock on the glass for a state whom has been through so much.

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Famine By Design: Holodomor and Ukraine Today
James Elliott

Introduction:

      In August of 1932, a letter from Joseph Stalin to a prominent leader in the Soviet Politburo, Lazar Kaganovich, demanded that he, "set [himself] the goal of turning Ukraine into a fortress of the USSR, a real model republic, within the shortest possible time."[1] By the 1930's Stalin had grown fearful of what he believed the lack of Ukraine's loyalty to the Soviet Union. Considering the republic was the second largest within the union with an abundance of natural resources there was exceptional interest from Moscow in regards to the region's economic benefits. Suspicion had grown amongst the union's leaders that there were attempts by secret Ukrainian nationalist insurgencies to take power of the republic and declare independence from the union. Most importantly a significant number of the peasant farmers in the country refused to join collectivized farms which was forced upon the population. Those who were opposed to Soviet economic plans or political policies were often identified as enemies of the state who were often sent to hard labor camps or faced executed. Stalin stopped at nothing to ensure that Ukraine remain in the Soviet Union. Between 1932 and 1933 Ukraine experienced a terrible famine that would eventually lead to the death of 7 to 10 million people within the republic. This event would become known in Ukrainian as the Holodomor or when translated means "death by hunger."

      Through Soviet documents, extensive data, and personal accounts it is evident Holodomor was a direct attack on the culture and national development of Ukraine by Stalin. The action's intentions were to cripple the progression of the country and successfully Sovietize (the willing or forced acceptance of the political, social and economic methods of the Soviet Union) the region. In this case the more effort Moscow made to forcibly convert Ukrainians, instead, managed to drive a wedge between the two countries and manifest a stronger national identity along with pro-Western agendas in the years to come.

      The Holodomor has been widely discussed as being one of the worst atrocities committed within the twentieth century. What was once referred to as the breadbasket of the USSR rapidly turned into a wasteland populated by starved bodies and horrific scenes. This man-made genocide deprived people of the basic necessities needed to survive and at its worst, it tried to break down the identity of the people. Stalin along with a full member of the Politburo (policy making authority in the USSR) , Lazar Kaganovich, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars ,Vyacheslav Molotov, set grain-procurement quotas to an all time high in order to bereave the country of it's vital grain source and support industrialization. Starvation spread like a cancer across Ukraine claiming the lives of numerous people and pushing those dying to desperate measures which include multiple accounts of cannibalism. These horrific scenes were concealed by the Soviet government for nearly 60 years before it could be openly discussed by the Ukrainian public.

      At the time of the famine, the only international awareness for these occurrences were presented by multiple western journalists which include Gareth Jones, a journalist and informant for the British government, Suzanne Betillon, a French journalist, and Harry Lang, a journalist from New York. Since then a collection of scholars, including Robert Conquest have come forward to evaluate the circumstances of Holodomor and produced concise works on the subject. Very much like Armenia's reaction to its own genocide, the Ukrainians made Holodomor a staple of their national identity after the fall of the Soviet Union as it symbolized resilience and strength. To this day, Turkey, the perpetrator against Armenia, and the Russian Federation are reluctant to admit their responsibility for the atrocities committed on their own people.

      The USSR officially collapsed in 1991 and in the same year Ukraine proclaimed its independence.

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1   Quoted from a letter from Stalin to L.M. Kaganovich Ruslan Pyrih, and Stephen Bandera. *Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine: Documents and Materials*. Kyiv: KyivMohyla Academy Publishing Press, 2008.

Unfortunately, for the reestablished country, the struggle did not end there. Russia alway seemed to be lurking overhead. In 2014 Vladimir Putin, the current Russian president, invaded the Ukrainian peninsula of Crimea as well as the Donbas region (Eastern Ukraine including Donetsk and Luhansk). According to Putin, these regions are still considered part of greater Russia and the conflict that ensued was strictly a means to "liberate" those living there.

Russia, whether it be in the form of a Federation or a Communist state, continues to interfere with Ukraine time and time again. Doing so has resulted in a shattered relationship between the two states. Ukraine has been a country built on hardship. Throughout this essay I will investigate the motives behind the Holodomor and the developing relationship between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, especially how it affects relations between the two countries today.

Early Ukraine and the Struggle over Sovietization:

It is widely disputed of when and where Ukraine's history truly began. A popular argument surrounds the idea of Ukraine starting as Kyivan Rus, created in the 9th century which makes it the first established Eastern Slavic State.[2] This state was founded in the 9th century and centered in the city of Kyiv, which is now known as the capital city of modern day Ukraine. The state rapidly conquered a majority of Western Russia including the region surrounding the current Russian capital, Moscow, which became a principality loyal to Kyiv. This often comes as a shock to many, especially because Russians in the twentieth century, who considered Ukraine to be their "little brother." Whereas, before the people in Rus were ever an official power (Russia), it was conquered by a state it would eventually gain total control of. After the eventual collapse of Kyivan Rus (explained later in the text) the region was transferred and eventually broken into pieces between a number of different empires.

In order to go any further it is important to understand the country's geography. "Ukraine" translated into Polish and Russian literally means "borderland." The nation state we know as Ukraine today, is found in southeastern part of Europe caught between the a cluster of countries to the East, including present day Russia and Central Asia, and to the North, with modern day Belarus and another large border with Russia. When looking at the western border of Ukraine, there is present day Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Moldova.[3] The southern end of the country centers an access point, fought over by many: The Black Sea. Historically, the sea, has connected the region to Turkey and thus to the Mediterranean Sea, a straight access point to Europe. Besides the physical geography of Ukraine, it is important to note over half of the country's landmass is arable, meaning the land is very suitable for growing crops. A agriculture, especially wheat, is one of the major economic features within the country. This dependability on one crop made Ukraine's economic structure quite risky, however, at the same time it made the region a valuable resource for its ever growing greedy neighbors. After centuries of being broken down by warring states and political rivalries, Ukraine finally settled under the control of Russian Empire.

According to Alexander Motyl and Bohdan Krawchenko in the chapter "Ukraine: From Empire to Statehood" in *New States and New Politics* the Soviet adoption of Ukraine was one of the worst events to have ever occured in the region. They explain "culturally, the region became a barren province within several generations, as most of the elites moved north or adopted Russian language and culture."[4] With this strangle on the region, Russia was able to establish its rule in Ukraine. Economically, the country became a source of agriculture for the entirety of the Russian Empire. Yet at the same time, Ukraine lost a majority of its intellectuals, leaving almost the entire country once on the path of advancement, to a region where almost the entire country was populated by uneducated peasants. The lack of intellectual elites also made it so the region

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2   Serhy Yekelchy,. *The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, 28
3 Ibid., 11.
4   "Ukraine: From Empire to Statehood" Alexander Motyl and Bohdan Krawchenko in Ian A. Bremmer, and Ray Taras. *New states, new politics: building the post-Soviet nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011., 237

had no chance of establishing its own independent rule.

The best attempt to reclaim power of the region came when the respected Cossack chieftain, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, united the Cossack people to rebel against Polish expansion and Russian rule. For background purposes the Cossacks were a culmination of "escaping serfs, slaves and peasants beyond the bounds of established political authority in the vast Ukrainian steppes (generally flat vast grasslands)."[5] They managed to stand up against both Russian and Polish empires in the mid 17th century by creating a formidable force. With the collaboration of multiple Cossack forces, the Hetmanate (Cossack military units) were able to defeat the Poles in several key battles repelling the Polish military and establishing independence. Cossack independence was short lived and surrounded on all sides by overwhelming detachments, Khmelnytsky was forced to sign a treaty with the Tsar of Muscovy (government of Moscow and surrounding region). Decades after the treaty was signed the region became a battlefield between multiple forces including The Turks, Poles and Russians. As a response the Hetmanate tried once more to secede from the Russian Empire and establish an autonomous political unit in 1709, but it was quickly broken apart.[6] Unfortunately for Ukrainians, the Cossacks were finally disbanded by the late eighteenth century. These efforts to achieve independence were never forgotten by Ukrainians however. Historically, the Cossacks became the core for a Ukrainian national identity and still remains an important part of their culture and identity to this day. This would be the last time Ukraine had any chance of gaining autonomy in the region until the end of the First World War when the Russian Empire would finally crumble after the Bolshevik Revolution.

The October Revolution occurred over the span of two uprisings, one in February, the other in October of 1917, when looking at the formerly used Julian Calendar used throughout the Russian Empire. It is largely disputed how the revolution transpired, arguably, what occurred was a coup d'etat resulting in a violent ending of the Romanov Dynasty, under Tsar Nicholas II. The Bolsheviks and their order to murder the tsar and his family is a heavily contested issue to this day, but this topic is for another discussion. The Bolshevik Revolution was led by Vladimir Lenin who would also eventually become the first official leader of the Soviet Union. Ukrainians took advantage of the situation and formed demonstrations throughout the streets of Kyiv. They chanted and waved blue and yellow for Ukraine, as well as some waved red to show their support for the socialist cause. Some held banners displaying ancient Cossack military titles to celebrate their national identity. This is just one example of Ukrainians implementing Cossack rhetoric in modern culture.

In April of 1917, Ukraine established its Central Rada, a national council, which originally had been a group of self-appointed intellectual nationalists. Eventually, the group gained legitimacy when nearly 1,500 elects (local leaders) from local government and factories joined the council, with the goal of wanting to create a coalition of numerous minorities and various political parties to run the country efficiently.[7] The Central Rada's First Universal (large meeting for the Central Rada) from 1917 proclaimed, "Ukrainian people! Your future is in your hands. In this hour of trial, of total disorder and collapse, prove by your unamity and statesmanship that you, a nation of grain producers, can proudly and with dignity take your place as the equal of any organized powerful nation."[8] By stating such, the council proclaimed a road to political autonomy.

The Central Rada even gained the support of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party(a peasant populist party) known as Borotbysty. Despite being a predominantly nationalist movement, the council did adopt some ideas from their radical socialist brethren. One policy which gained traction within the Ukrainian council's agenda was land redistribution. A term often used to describe the government taking land from wealthy landowners which were originally protected by the Russian monarchy, and breaking it up for the

5   Ibid., 237.
6   Ibid., 238
7   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC.13.
8   Ibid., direct quote from Central Rada's First Universal, 1917: as quoted in Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 11.

peasantry.

The third Universal arrived quickly. The country officially declared its independence and entered the process of Ukrainization, which was the mass revival of the Ukrainian language. This meant there was sense of economic and political liberation, now peasants had access to government positions which before they wouldn't have been capable to take on such a role.[9] Ultimately, the use of their own language meant the common Ukrainian was now provided new opportunities to advance in society. The use of the newly revived language gave a large sense of pride to the people of Ukraine.

By January of 1918, the young state was able to gain recognition from almost every major power across Europe including: Great Britain, France, Germany, Turkey and the Soviet Union. Until Lenin ordered the first Soviet assault on the breadbasket territory. Lenin was able to set up a communist regime in the capital city of Kyiv. Stated by Robert Conquest in his book *The Harvest of Sorrow* "Ukraine was to be the first great example of the extension of Soviet rule by force over an independent East European country."[10] As a response, Ukraine looked to it's supporters for assistance. German and Austrian forces moved in to protect the Central Rada. Their motive for defending Ukraine against the Soviet Union was to stop any form of occupation or annexation as it would infringe upon the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which was signed between the Bolshevik Regime and the Central Powers, following the conclusion of World War I. Interestingly enough, instead of helping Ukraine for the sole purpose of preserving a fellow national state, the German and Austrian powers had the intentions of appointing their own leader in Ukraine. This transfer of power turned out to be disastrous for the progress of the country.[11] As the conflict ensued it managed to drive a wedge between the people. Eventually the country found itself split between nationalists and communists; those who wished to have continued relations with the Soviets and those who did not. Lenin's efforts resulted in his favor with the country falling into absolute chaos and the only formidable force remaining being the Bolsheviks.

Ukraine: "The Granary of Russia":

It's important to understand why the Bolsheviks felt so obligated to "reclaim" the Ukraine. Few factors allow for an understanding of their intentions. One, all of the Bolshevik revolutionary leaders were educated during the age of the Russian empire.[12] The Russian empire never recognized the national or cultural identity in Ukraine. In fact, most Russians looked to Ukraine region as the southwestern part of their country. In the eyes of most Russians, Ukraine is not a separate identity, but rather the same as or related to the Russian culture. If this is true then it explains why the Bolsheviks had such a determination to conquer this region. Taking from Marxist ideology, it was stated that the peasant class could never be able to govern themselves and they needed a working class in order to guide them[13]. This being the case means the Bolsheviks look to the Ukrainian people as subordinates rather than equals. They believed instead of allowing for natural progression of a country they need to tame it in order for an appropriate government establishment.

While the Bolsheviks were waging war within Ukraine, Lenin was focused on something of value within the country. He realized the amount of grain occupying and produced by Ukraine was a perfect opportunity for the Soviet Union. Quickly, the resource became an uppermost priority. The obsession with food resources was not a recent trend for Russians. In fact, the obsession started at the beginning of the First World War in 1914, when conflict broke out between Tsarist Russia and the Central Powers. Economic support went to helping the war, while food became a second priority, ending in a shortage. Many argue, it was this food shortage which essentially caused the Bolshevik Revolution, allowing them to take power in a short amount of time over a weakened state. This obsession with food shortages was vital to the Soviet political sustainability. It was possible, the government feared if they could not provide enough food for the population, then they would be

9   Ibid., 14
10 Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002.
 34.
11 Bremmer, Ian A., and Ray Taras. *New states, new politics: building the post-Soviet nations*.241 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
12   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*. New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 241.
13   Ibid., 20.

seen as illegitimate by other world powers, whom in the long run could invade and take down everything they had constructed.

Lenin's policies quickly changed turning overwhelmingly violent with the peasant class in the Ukraine. In a note to a prominent commissar Lenin writes "We shall go forward … and hang the kulaks, priests and landowners."[14].Lenin had grown impatient with Ukraine and it's lack of obedience to Soviet movement he made it a point to destroy the nationalist cause and any group resembling a threat to the movement. In the spring of 1918 when Lenin created the Cheka, the first form of what we know as secret police, and later recognized by the acronyms OGPU and NKVD.[15] By the second time the Red Army entered Kyiv there was a different sentiment. Instead of the Soviets coming to liberate Ukraine from oppression, they immediately set up a collection of harsh rules that had to be followed and if broken, resulted in harsh consequences. Lenin outlawed the use of the Ukrainian language, going as far as giving the order of anyone heard speaking native tongue would be shot. Numerous arrests were carried out by the Cheka with a focus on those seen as enemies of the new state. This was the beginning of the end of Ukrainian identity in the early twentieth century. What was once seen as a time of triumph and progression for the Ukrainians was quickly crumbling into a nightmare.[16]

In 1919, one of the most important policies ever implemented by the Soviet Union on Ukraine was issued. It offered the Ukrainian peasants an opportunity to work on collective farms. Collective farming is the concept of when people work the same plot of land as a cohesive unit, both in general or run by the state as seen in this policy. The opportunity saw little interest and support from the peasants. Although Lenin was much more focused on gathering grain rather than enforcing a collective society, he found it absolutely necessary to identify any enemy of the revolutionary. He made it a point to divide the peasantry into categories based on economic status: "*kulaks*, or wealthy peasants; *seredniaks*, or middle peasants; and *bedniaks*, or poor peasants."[17] The Soviets made it clear that the main enemy of progression in Ukraine was the kulak class and eventually they became the scapegoat when grain quotas were not met. The communists then formulated a plot to destroy the kulak class by offering the lower class peasants power and land. This new entity known as the "komnezamy"(which was made up of the lowest class of peasants) in exchange for their power and land had to locate and confiscate the surplus of grain from the kulaks turning the people of Ukraine against one another. This movement caused turmoil within the countryside and would then drive Cossack communities across all of Ukraine to rebel in one of the bloodiest uprisings in European history. [18]

The rebellion of 1919 absolutely devastated the country of Ukraine. While the rebellion in Ukraine was occurring the Russian Civil War was also being fought, this forced Ukrainians to take a number of sides which only made the damage worse for the region. A number of factions, both Ukrainian and Bolsheviks, fought one another in order to gain control of the region. These included: anarchists, Ukrainian Nationalists, Bolsheviks and Ukrainian socialists. The results of the conflict sometimes referred to as the "Great Peasant Jacquerie" left millions of Ukrainians dead or wounded and at the same time managed to start a famine.[19] It is estimated that even before 1921, the Civil War had cost the lives of over nine million people and this is not including the 2 million lost in the First World War.[20] This meant the only way the Bolsheviks were able to take control of Ukraine and its people was through force. After this rebellion was cut down, the nationalists of Ukraine finally realized this was their last chance for them to rid the country of the Soviet Union.

These acts of defiance left a bad impression in the eyes of Bolsheviks and it would ultimately lead to a predetermined attitude towards the treatment of Ukraine. Rather than treating Ukraine as an equal and guiding it to building a successful communist state it was as though it had to be forcibly converted. The Bolsheviks had to assume responsibility for building the communist state they had originally envisioned. Doing so would take

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14   Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002. 51.
15   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 31.
16   Ibid., 27
17   Ibid., 35.
18   Ibid., 36.
19 Bremmer, Ian A., and Ray Taras. *New states, new politics: building the post-Soviet nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 241
20 Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002. 53.

more than just time, it would also take a war on the people in order for them to fully assimilate, themselves and their country into Soviet Hands. Between 1932 and 1933 Joseph Stalin would wage war on the Ukrainian people, not through combat, but rather starvation resulting in one of the largest genocides in history.

Holodomor: The Man-made Famine through Forced Collectivization

In a letter from 1922 to Vyacheslav Molotov, Lenin proclaimed: "We must teach these people a lesson right now, so that they will never dare to think of resistance in coming decades" in reference to the problems regarding Ukrainian nationalism.[21] In January of 1924, Lenin died and Stalin assumed power of the Soviet Union. Once Lenin passed, Stalin decided to push the Soviet Union into a darker direction on a course for economic prosperity and triumph through Sovietization at the cost of millions of people. In 1929 Stalin launched forced collectivization.[22] This forced collectivization of agriculture caused a great deal of chaos and confusion for both the authorities and the citizens. The Soviet government encountered a number of rebellions across the republic and was eventually forced to reevaluate the situation. Until the early 1930's, Stalin reinforced the plan for collectivization in Ukraine believing that by forcibly collectivizing all of the country's agriculture it would provide an sufficient food supply to the USSR. At the same time it would rid Ukraine of the kulak classes which resembled forms of capitalism.[23]

After Stalin implemented his policy for forced collectivization, authorities began their efforts to rid the country of the Kulak class. The use of the word Kulak (used throughout the USSR) was originally very broad with multiple levels of identification, being a kulak meant that someone owned a substantial amount of land, had a windmill on their property, or could hire other peasants to work the land. Conquest states "the whole differentiation (between classes), however done, was largely based on a false view of supposed class attitudes."[24] The Kulak, according to the Soviets, was the essence of nationalism within the country and resembled the greatest enemy to the republic. Immediately, treatment of the kulak became aggressively violent. It's important to stress the transformation of the definition of kulaks. First, they were people who were the supposed richer of the peasants. However, the definition severely stretched as Soviet control tightened. This is not the only way the Soviets took away a means to meeting quotas. As mentioned prior, Molotov and Stalin ordered the takeaway of tractors and farming equipment if quotas were not met. These frustrated decisions against the peasantry were not just forms of punishment as they were a death sentence.

The head of the secret police, Genorikh Yagoda, declared "The kulak understands perfectly well that he will perish with collectivization and therefore he renders more and more brutal and fierce resistance."[25] This attitude toward the kulaks was not given exclusively to those of that class, but anyone who showed resistance toward collectivization. This was an interesting transformation of the term because from then on it was loosely used to refer to anyone rejecting support of the new collective farming system, ultimately making them an enemy of the state. During the grain shortages of 1928, the gross output of grain had reached pre-war levels which meant that the supply was devastated due to collectivization. Instead of acknowledging the fact the figures for grain procurement were highly distorted the Soviet government decided to blame the kulak class.[26] If someone did not agree with the collective policy than they were immediately seen as counterrevolutionary. The OGPU was responsible for this transformation; there were quotas created for the amount of kulaks which could be removed from society and in order to make these quotas sometimes the definition of kulaks would have to be broadened[27]. This also encouraged the people in the countryside to form mobs and attack those whom they

21   From a speech by Lenin as quoted in Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 56.

22   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 113.

23   Ibid., 115.

24   Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002, 77.

25   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine.* New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 155

26   Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002. 89.

27   Ibid., 126

believed to represent the kulak class.

The deportations (often people were forced into tight cattle cars and sent to hard labor camps) of the kulak people eventually populated work labor camps which would eventually become known as Gulag.[28] Although these attempts to constrain the kulak were widespread it was difficult for the government to take total control of the group which eventually led to many rebellions in 1930. Instead of making collective farming optional, which was the original intention of Stalin by 1930, the USSR was determined to force villages into collectivization. If the deportations were too severe in some areas or if there were more hands needed to meet the quota than hundreds of thousands of people would be sent to the countryside to assist in the collection. [29]This new policy resulted in violent uprisings in the countryside especially in Ukraine. Once the Soviets entered these regions to collect from the villages they were met with hostile resistance. This spread fear across the Soviet government, as it remembered only 10 years ago there was a disastrous peasant uprising. A number of reports from the OGPU stated: groups of people were taking up arms against the Soviet state and creating insurgencies. By the end of February in 1930, nearly 30,000 people were arrested for counterrevolutionary activity and a large portion were said to be Ukrainian.[30] This meant Stalin was willing to do anything and kill anyone if it meant he was able to complete a task. Some argue that he was maniac willing to kill his way to the top and invoke fear on the entire government. Although public riots were eventually put down, the OGPU continued to search for members of these anti-Soviet groups until the end of the decade.[31]

In the early 1930's, Stalin was concerned with the grain production coming from Ukraine to supply the rest of the USSR. During this time, however, Ukraine was having issues meeting the quotas that were set by Stalin. Along with the Chairman of the People's Commissar ,Vyacheslav Molotov, harsh policies were created which were implemented on collective farms if quotas were not met. No matter the cost, those debts would be paid off in any way, shape, or form. This meant in some cases the collective farms would have to return tractors and other equipment necessary to farm a full harvest.[32] This action placed fear in the minds of Ukrainian farmers where if they did not meet the quota, the Soviets would collect as much grain as they could no matter the cost or what the consequences may be for the people. While generating these policies, the government was also looking to weed out any form of nationalism which lurking in Soviet Ukrainian society. This was the beginning of the horrors which consumed the country for nearly a year and took the lives of millions of people. This was the beginning of what would eventually become known as Holodomor.

After a series of rebellions, Stalin grew weary about the situation in Ukraine. He decided to take a break from collectivization in Ukraine (this period is often referred to as "Dizzy with Success"). People took this as an opportunity and continued to leave the collective farms and instead looked for work within the cities. The collective lifestyle did not seem appetizing for much of the Ukrainian population. The idea of one person not having the ability to control their own life made it harder to work for something they did not believe in. This also made productivity much less efficient and keeping up with the maintenance for machines became almost impossible across the country. Collectivized farming took away from the individual responsibility for farming. These issues combined could be disastrous for the grain producing regions. In a series of letters between Stalin, Kaganovich and Molotov, in the early 1930's the three men speak in regards to the failure of collectivization as they try and create alternative measures. In these documents Stalin explains: "the grain-procurement plan was allocated among districts and collective farms and was carried out not in an organized manner (…) it was carried out mechanically without taking account of the situation in each individual district"[33]. By this statement it would seem, Stalin was trying to blame anyone else for the failure of collectivization. Looking further within the document, however, Stalin actually explains there were nearly several thousand Ukrainian peasants

28   Ibid., 132
29   Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine*. London: Pimlico, 2002. 105.
30   Anne Applebaum. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*. New York : Penguin Random House LLC. 145
31   Ibid.,158
32   Ibid.,167
33   Letter from Stalin to Kaganovich Stalin, Joseph, L. M. Kaganovich, and R. W. Davies. *The Stalin-Kaganovich correspondence, 1931-36*. Pp. 138-39New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

moving across the European part of the USSR complaining, or rather in his words "whining"[34], about the collectivization lifestyle. He continues by stating these Ukrainian farmers are demoralizing the collective farms within Russia with their negative attitudes toward the collective farm[35]. This means, rather than Stalin being concerned with the wellbeing of Ukrainian peasants it became more apparent he was only looking to protect the reputation of collectivization all together. He makes it clear the farms need a revised plan within Ukraine and claims these collective farms should not be run mechanically. However, in order to fulfill the plan at all costs, Stalin increased the grain quota for Ukraine by 4-5% and by 1931 collectivization was back in full swing, this time, without a break. He would also cover up any sort of appeal for help Ukrainians were trying to send out as he believed they were given more than enough to withstand.[36]

On August 11, 1932, Stalin sent a direct letter to Kaganovich which was of an urgent nature. Stalin believed that the leadership in Ukraine was not supportive of the Soviet movement thus it may require them to replace the leadership. The leader at this time of the Ukrainian SSR was Vlas Chubar, who was continuously reporting to Moscow the decline of the republic because of an agricultural crisis. Ukraine was on the brink of a famine and immediate action was required in order to prevent a worsening situation. Chubar writes in one letter to Stalin and Molotov that "special adjustments" are required because he has seen multiple cases of malnutrition and starvation across the country.[37] Stalin believed Chubar's reports were exaggerated and the real problem behind the famine was Chubar's leadership skills and lack of faith in the process. Stalin declared the situation in Ukraine was now a main issue for the party and the circumstances within the borders of Ukraine were bad. He continues: it is "bad from the standpoint of the Party line"[38] before explaining to Soviet committees in Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk. At the same time, the committees mentioned prior were openly speaking out against the grain-procurement quotas because they were "unrealistic."[39] Stalin made it clear the Ukrainians, especially Chubar, were not ambitious enough and they needed someone else with stronger communist ideals to lead them. Stalin also believed there were more than enough "rotten elements" within the Ukrainian government whom were capable of causing a split and constructing a front against the Party.[40]

In the described letter, Stalin demands that Kaganovich "set [himself] the goal of turning Ukraine into a fortress of the USSR, a real model republic, within the shortest period of time."[41] With all this being said, Stalin gave Kaganovich the power to manage Ukraine in anyway he saw fit. Kaganovich made it his mission to strengthen the economy through collectivization in Ukraine so it could remain within the confines of the USSR no matter the cost. While Kaganovich was situating grain-procurements, he was also being met by strong resistance by counter revolutionary(a term often used by Soviets to describe someone or a group against the Party) insurgencies, allowing for him to umbrella them into a scapegoat for the food shortages.

While issues involving loyalty in Party positions and the reputation of collectivization continued, by 1932 Ukraine was a experiencing an intense famine which would lead them through a time of ultimate disparity. In one eye witness account, Gareth Jones, a journalist and foreign advisor for the Prime Minister of Great Britain, recalls his experiences which are quite disturbing and depict an honest representation of the conditions Ukrainian people were enduring in 1933 to relay back to the British government. Jones interviewed a number of farmers who had very similar thoughts about the circumstances in Ukraine. They explained the Communists have come and seized their land and have taken whatever it is they find of value. The Communists expected the Ukrainians to work the farms in common without any individual ownership[42]. One excerpt of Jones'

34   Ibid., 138-139
35   Ibid., 138-139
36   Ibid., 142
37   Ruslan Pyrih, and Stephen Bandera. *Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine: Documents and Materials*. Kyiv: KyivMohyla Academy Publishing Press, 2008, 47-49.
38   Ibid., 47-49.
39   Ibid., 47-49.
40   Ibid.,47-49.
41   Ibid., 47-49.
42   Gareth Jones "Reds Let Peasants Starve Famine Found Even in Large City in Ukraine" Bohdan Klid, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012, 104.

writing which is especially interesting is when "the peasants told [him] how in each village the group of the hardest-working men -- the kulaks they called them -- had been captured and their land, livestock and houses confiscated"[43]. Jones continues: they were crammed into cattle cars and sent thousands of miles North to work as political prisoners in forced labor camps[44]. This is a striking section from Jones' journey across Ukraine considering the Soviets had basically declared war on the kulak class because they resembled a form of nationalism with capitalist principles. However, this evidence makes it clear the Soviets were deporting those who were the hardest working and whom contributed a great deal to grain production. The Soviets had to have known how important the kulak class had been to the production of grain within Ukraine considering the end result at hand. In Ukraine, if a person were a Kulak they were generally associated with being Cossack, which means they were intentionally taking away a means of grain-procurement while also attacking a specific group within Ukrainian culture.

Although there was nearly nothing to eat for the people of Ukraine, there was not a complete shortage of grain for the rest of the USSR. In fact, the harvest of 1932 was not disappointing at all, but this didn't mean the peasants were allowed to personally consume any of the product they had a hand in producing. There were actually rules sent out across the countryside stating: anyone caught take even a single grain from the fields would be immediately shot[45]. Gareth Jones had investigated a story in which a boy turned over his own mother to the secret police because she had gone out in the middle of the night to collect pieces of wheat.[46] The boy in this story was subsequently seen as a hero through a Soviet lense. The Soviets made it a point, if anyone could exploit their neighbor as being a spy than their service to the USSR would be rewarded with food rations. This ultimately turned people against one another and caused severe anxiety amongst the people keeping their thoughts to themselves.[47] Suzanne Bertillon, a French journalist and writer, interviewed a relative who had a direct eyewitness account of what was occurring in the summer of 1933 right outside of Kyiv. Having lived in surrounding villages of Kyiv, her relative explained, there was no one to appeal to, "the authorities themselves are most relentlessly set on our destruction. They want us to perish. This is an organized famine."[48] The victim had a very similar testimony to one gathered by Gareth Jones who described how anyone caught stealing wheat would either be shot or thrown in jail where they would starve to death.[49]

The situation in the country had become extremely desperate and pushed many people over the edge. There are numerous accounts of cannibalism becoming a common practice within the villages of Ukraine. For the first few months of the famine people would eat dying cattle or horses as a way to survive, but by 1933, the situation had developed disturbingly. Bertillon describes her actual experience while visiting her relative as startling. She was not allowed to go out at night in fear she may be killed and eaten by those searching for food[50]. There were multiple stories stating parents had killed their own children in order to feed themselves. The dead would not be buried in coffins, but instead gathered together and covered with a thin layer of dirt. The next day it was clear the burial place had been disturbed.

In September 1933, a Canadian newspaper titled *The Ukrainian Voice,* had the opportunity to interview a survivor of the famine who managed to escape the USSR. During the interview the journalists asked about instances of cannibalism and the woman, whom decided to remain anonymous, easily explained cannibalism becoming a daily occurrence. She explained if you found a corpse on the side of the street you would cut off

43   Ibid., 105.
44   Ibid., 106.
45   Ibid., 105.
46   Ibid., 105.
47   Ibid.,
48   Suzanne Bertillon (People of Ukraine in Terrible Distress) Le Matin (Paris) 29 August 1933 Bohdan Klid, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012. Translated by Iryna Fedoriw, 111.
49   Gareth Jones "Reds Let Peasants Starve Famine Found Even in Large City in Ukraine" Bohdan Klid, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012, 104.
50   Suzanne Bertillon (People of Ukraine in Terrible Distress) Le Matin (Paris) 29 August 1933 Klid, Bohdan, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor reader: a sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press Translated by Iryna Fedoriw, 111.

a piece of the flesh and take it home to cook. Further in the interview the woman assured the interviewer there was indeed a famine and as much as they sowed and plowed, the harvest was immediately taken away by the Soviets. When asked what they would eat the Chekists, another name given to the Soviet secret police, laugh and mock those weeping as their only source of life was being pried away from them. While the woman was attempting to leave the USSR she had to go through Moscow, rather than any other exit. There, she described everyone as fat and the city had no signs of starvation.[51] The Soviets knew they were on the brink of losing Ukraine, but instead of providing the people of the country with a way to survive, they believed starvation would not only be the best way to fix the region, but also the best way to teach the Ukrainians a lesson.

Although so many people suffered, a slim few tried to make contact with their leader, a border away. A letter from a collective farmer, Mykola Reva, refers to Stalin as the country's "teacher and father" and reports to him the whole truth in hopes of something changing. He stated people are dying, not because of a poor harvest but because the state took the grain. The farmer continued that while the Soviets were distilling the grain to make liquor to intoxicate themselves, people were eating tree bark, grass and their own children.[52] He concludes with a bold statement, proclaiming "all this was carried out deliberately by the state, and the state knew about this."[53] It is unknown as to if Stalin received this letter or had replied for that matter, but looking back on history it did not change his mind about the situation.

Instead of the famine being caused by a lack of food, it was rather caused by a lack humanity toward the Ukrainian people. Stalin was relentless in their war against the people of Ukraine. These actions were so calculated, there is no doubt the intentions of the devastating event was to formulate an attack on ethno-Ukrainians. The government was well aware of the issues facing Ukraine and rather than solving the problem it let people starve and reach severe levels of disparity. It is the government which was accountable for the deaths of millions and since this atrocity it has yet to assume responsibility.

Aftermath: Denial and Independence

Toward the end of the tragic event now known as the Holodomor, the USSR was approached by foreign powers in following years in regards to the famine. The Soviets, however, refused to acknowledge a famine in Ukraine and yet the government decided not to do anything in terms of solving the problem presented in front of them. In one report by Otto Schiller, a German Agricultural Attache stationed in Moscow, written to the Duchess of Atholl in May of 1933, Schiller explained since the late Autumn of 1932 the situation in Ukraine had reached appalling levels. He describes the deportation of kulak populations in the Kuban province thinning out the Cossacks in the region.[54] Although he had seen the horrors of the famine first-hand, he noted "the authorities have not acknowledged and do not now acknowledge that famine exists."[55] Schiller was disgusted by the actions committed by the Soviet Union. He goes as far as to call the famine an extermination of the Cossack people and that it was certainly desirable by the Soviets.[56]

Denial of the famine continues until today through the attempts to blame the starvation on other natural circumstances. In April 1983, a press office news release from the USSR Embassy in Canada stated: the "So called 'Famine' in the Ukraine" was caused by a drought. According to the Soviets, the drought was one of the major reasons the famine had occurred, along with the continued argument of Ukrainian crop failure.[57] Looking

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51   "A Woman from Ukraine Tells of Famine and Cannibalism" from (Ukrainian Voice, Winnipeg) Klid, Bohdan, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor reader: a sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: 176 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press Translated by Alexander J. Motyl

52   Letter from the collective farmer Mykola Reva to Joseph Stalin about the Famine Klid, Bohdan, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor reader: a sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. 187 Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

53   Ibid., 187.

54   "Conditions in Northern Caucasus in Spring of 1933" Report by Otto Schiller Carynnyk, Marco, Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, and Bohdan S. Kordan. *The Foreign Office and the famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932-3*. Limestone Press, 1988, 271

55   Ibid., 272.

56   Ibid., 272.

57   (News release, Press Office of the USSR Embassy in Canada) Klid, Bohdan, and Alexander J. Motyl. *The Holodomor reader: a sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012, 303

back earlier in this paper it is true, Ukraine did suffer from crop failures on multiple occasions, but they were usually caused by warfare which ravaged the country, thus, making the Soviet conjecture false. Later in the news release, the Embassy claims the kulak class's actions against the government stalled the progress of collective farming within the country. It also noted, peasants saw the advantages of collective farming and immediately wanted to join. This is untrue as evidence presented, including the letters from Stalin to Kaganovich and Molotov suggests peasants did not enjoy the collective lifestyle. Stalin actually feared the peasants roaming across the Western part of Russia possibly demoralizing the workers of collective farms in the region. Later in the report the embassy also states the horrors of the famine were overplayed and although 10 million people have been reported killed by the famine the Soviet government believes this is completely falsified. Although, the actual number of people killed during the Holodomor is widely disputed today amongst a number of scholars. It would be impossible for there to be an accurate estimation considering the fact that Soviets were not as organized with their documenting. It is popular belief that the number of those killed during the Holodomor reaches around 7 to 10 million people which makes this event one of the largest genocides of all time. Since then, the Russian government has never claimed any sort of responsibility for the atrocities committed during the Holodomor.

The Soviet Union collapsed on December 25, 1991, and Ukraine almost immediately declared itself an independent country. Although the country was no longer connected to Russia this event set off a series of inter-political rivalries on whether or not to continue relations with Russia. In November of 2013, Vladimir Putin threatened the fourth president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, with economic sanctions if Ukraine were to join the European Union (EU). Russia has yet to accept the fact of Ukraine as its own independent state and continues to dismiss its legitimacy. It is clear, the loss of Ukraine has remained an open wound for Russia and the situation is still sensitive. Along with this embarrassing loss of what Russians believed to be their "little brother", came an ideology that Russians had the right to defend Russians outside of their borders.[58]

In March of 2014, Russia began a covert conflict in the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces, populated by those originating from Russia. Said population was defined as volunteers who fought alongside ill-trained separatists. As the conflict ensued there was overwhelming evidence of the Russian government directly supplying separatists with heavy weaponry. Yanukovych who was already distrusted for his connections with the Kremlin was eventually ousted from power and fled to an estate outside of Moscow. 2014 also saw the annexation of Crimea, territory explicitly connected to Ukraine, yet populated by Russians. Covert war was still being fought between Ukrainian forces and separatists in the Eastern provinces. To finish an eventful year, 2014 saw the election of the newest president of the Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko. The new President had hoped the country would be able to unite under his leadership and has expressed a fair amount of pro-Western sentiment which has put even more pressure on the Kremlin to respect the legitimacy of the country. Since the election of Poroshenko, the conflict in Ukraine has not stopped although there have been multiple signings for ceasefires between both sides. This event, if it does conclude, will permanently drive a wedge between the two countries with little doubt of reconciling in the future.

In the early 2000's Ukraine initiated a campaign to recognize the Holodomor as an official genocide and wanted to create international awareness. Many foreign powers including Canada and the United States accepted the fact that Holodomor was intentional recognizing it as a genocide, this attempt to identify responsibility was immediately protested by Russia. This is considering that Russia is the legal successor of the Soviet Union. This was a milestone for Ukraine to separate themselves from their Soviet past. Whether Holodomor was a genocide is widely disputed amongst different countries, but Ukraine is sure that the atrocities committed were a direct attack on its people becoming a staple for Ukrainian identity.[59]

Conclusion:

Ukraine has proven itself through years of struggle to be a strong state, capable of independence.

58   Serhy Yekelchy,. *The conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. 28 New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. 35.
59   Serhy Yekelchy,. *The conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. 28 New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. 49.

Although imperialist Russia and the USSR have for centuries claimed control over the region, Ukraine and it's people managed to hold on to their national identity and culture. Through the Holodomor the Soviet Union broke down the Ukrainian people to horrifying measures. This death by starvation has gone down in history as one of the most disturbing and inhumane acts of genocide to have ever been committed. The evidence explored here such as Gareth Jones, Suzanne Bertillon and Mykola Reva it is clear Holodomor was a direct attack on the Ukrainian people and the actions were intended on breaking down their national and cultural identity. These were deliberately orchestrated by the Soviet government as a way to bring Ukraine into the totality of the Soviet Union and ultimately sovietize the entire country while wiping out any sort of cultural expression. Since the Holodomor, the Russian government has yet to acknowledge the role it directly played in the effort to liquidate any form of nationalism and anti-Soviet rhetoric.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine went through it's fair share of trials while trying to create a new independent nation. While it was trying to establish a strong government, it had to fight off old communist ideology which had ruled the country for nearly 72 years. With strong nationalist rhetoric the country was able to set an agenda which would be followed by most of it's leaders until Yanukovych, who managed to draw Ukraine closer to Russian control and thus, ruined Ukraine's chances of entering the EU in 2013. Since then, the Russian government has seen it as its right to defend ethnic Russians in foreign lands. With this mindset the Russian government led by Vladimir Putin found it appropriate to create covert war in Crimea and Eastern regions of Ukraine. This is a primary example of how Russia continues to meddle in Ukraine's affairs. Since Petro Poroshenko has been elected as the new President there have been attempts by the Ukrainian government to move closer to a pro-Western influence, making the Russian government feel more and more uneasy about the situation. Currently, the two countries are at a standstill as the Ukrainian army and separatists are fighting over the Eastern region. What will come out of this situation is uncertain, but what is clear is Ukraine will not step down from Russian pressure. This shows how stubborn Ukrainians are and how much true independence means to them.

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Transitional Policies: The Secret Police in Russia & Czechoslovakia Following the Collapse of the Soviet Union
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Introduction

The institution of a "secret police" to protect the government in Eastern Europe has been in existence for centuries with one example being Russian leader Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century and a relatively more recent example being the last tsar of Russia, Nicholas II. In the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Vladimir Lenin, the institution persisted with the introduction of communism into society, in the Stalinist period and also during the rest of the 20th century as an apparatus concerned with preserving the security of the state. Additionally, other independent countries in the region had their own version of a secret police such as the StB in Czechoslovakia. The role of a secret police, comparable to the organizations like the FBI and the CIA, is to gather foreign intelligence as well as counterintelligence to protect the autonomal status of a country. This paper will explore the ways in which the Russian and Czechoslovak secret police forces operated and influenced state affairs. It will also consider the initial sentiments people held following the collapse of the Soviet Union and will present each country's approach in disbanding the KGB and the StB. Furthermore, a comparison of the two approaches will give way to an analysis of how transitional policies manifested in Russia and Czechoslovakia.

As nations sought to reorganize after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, they were forced to make decisions regarding how to handle the secret police agencies that were present during the old regimes. The countries of Czechoslovakia and Russia decided to confront the issue of the secret police in two very divergent manners. Although different, neither approach was fully successful in accomplishing its goals because of the very nature of secret police organizations. Secret police forces like the KGB and the StB are often equipped with a wide array of resources and charged with necessary security missions in all aspects of society, making the deconstruction of such a body and the establishment of a society free of influence almost virtually impossible.

The Origin of a Soviet and Czechoslovak Secret Police

Following the October Revolution in the fall of 1917, the Bolshevik party, led by Vladimir Lenin, believed it was in need of a mechanism that would consolidate the party's power and weed out any counter-revolutionary movements. The answer to this issue was the Cheka, a secret police force that often acted without any sort of accordance to the legal system or tribunals that had been established in the early days of the revolution.[1] Early aspirations for the Cheka were comprised of duties such as seeking out and spying on individuals who were anti-Revolution, organizing uprisings, using their positions to undermine the state and were going against the word of the government.[2] The Cheka would then bring these names to three men press tribunals and they would be the ones to further investigate, capture and punish counter-revolutionaries.[3] Citizens from all realms of society were executed by the Cheka. The two most targeted groups were the bourgeois intellectuals and the peasants with around one thousand killings of each class in the year of 1918. The other targeted groups were ordinary workers, criminal elements, white-collar criminals, servants, bourgeoisie, priests, soldiers and sailors.[4] Under Stalin, the need of a secret police continued and the new organization became known as the NKVD. After the end of World War II and Stalin's death, the secret police force would continue to exist, but as the Komitet Gosurdarstvennoy Besopasnosti, or the KGB.[5]

The KGB wielded its power over the entire USSR and was also the spy organization that worked abroad to gather intelligence. In the late 1940's, the Communist party within Czechoslovakia was on the rise with 2.5 million members by 1948.[6] Former KGB member Ilya Dzhirkvelov explains in his memoir *Secret Servant: My Life with the KGB & the Soviet Elite* that many individuals joined the agency as noble Soviet

1   E.H. Carr, "The Origin and Status of the Cheka." Soviet Studies no. 1 (July 1958): 4-5.
2   Matthew Rendle, "The battle for spaces and places in Russia's civil war: revolutionary tribunals and state power, 1917-22." Historical Research 90, no. 247 (February 2017), 696
3   Ibid.
4   Yevgenia Albats, The State within a State: The KGB and its Hold on Russia: Past, Present, and Future. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999): 95.
5   Martin Ebon, KGB: Death and Rebirth. (Westport, CT: Praeger), 1994, ix.
6   Mary Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 153.

men wanting to fight the party's opponents. He describes their main objective as actively trying to prevent any discussion of opposition and taking action against any individuals who defy this.[7] With the Soviet Union's support, Czechoslovakia decided to model many of its state bodies after the Stalinist communist system. In her book *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed,* historian Mary Heimann informs readers that it became apparent that there was a need for a tiered police network to handle mass trials, executions, expulsions and relocation of various ethnicities and state enemies in the country. The Sbor nárondí bezpečnosti (SNB) was the umbrella organization that gave rise to the Státní bezpečnost (StB).[8]

The specialized mission of the StB was to figure out who in Czechoslovakia were collaborators in any anti-state affairs. The StB sought out individuals within society that they could trust to feed them useful information. The agency often chose their informers on the basis of who they had blackmail on. Informers were easy to draw in because the StB relied heacy on the use of fear to get what they wanted out of people.[9] After threatening to leak the blackmail, the StB would ask the candidate to sign a form in which they agreed to cooperate with the agents. The StB kept very descriptive files on the individuals who they had recruited as informers as well as their interactions with these individuals. With a large force at work, the StB was able to infiltrate many of the important sects within society. After a few years of successful, highly organized operation, the StB served as the main sect of the police network that would handle mass trials, prison sentences, expulsions and executions of individuals or groups that were deemed threats to the party.[10]

The secret police forces in the USSR and Czechoslovakia were established over concern of political enemies. Although the forces were intended to cooperate with other judicial entities within the country, this lay-out appeared to fail almost immediately. Both the KGB and StB operated much more aggressively by dealing with suspects on their own, without any kind of consultation with the other branches of government. Such a phenomenon led Nikita Khrushchev to regard the KGB as "a state within a state" in the 1950's into the 1960's.[11] The secret police forces had become so large and influential and their communication with governing bodies less and less transparent. The main task of both the KGB and the StB was to deal with enemies of the state and the spy work that was done on the enemies was not always thorough. Furthermore, the decisions and actions made by the secret police forces were notoriously brutal with execution being one of the main sentences administered. Individuals were said to be given "fair trials," but this was not actually the case. An example of the unfairness of the StB police work is that 97% of people that were tried for crimes were convicted with use of controversial and inconclusive evidence.[12] Furthermore, the government did not allow any time for an appeal because executions were performed on the exact day that the sentences were administered. Such a trend gave the secret police a controversial reputation among government bodies and citizens alike.

Another way in which the work of the StB became controversial was the fact that citizens were treated inconsistently. One factor that often impacted the results of trials was ethnicity. Two trials held in the 1940's specifically highlight how there was often a clear disparity in the treatment of different ethnicities within Czechoslovakia. In the spring of 1947, Slovak Catholic priest Jozef Tiso was hung for being a part of a group that supported Slovak nationalism despite widespread protest to have him serve a long term prison sentence.[13] While Tiso was sentenced to death for his involvement in the Slovak nationalist group, a Czech nationalist party leader named Rudolf Beran was sentenced to only twenty years in prison.[14] This differential treatment of the varying ethnicities within the country fueled mistrust between the two groups, but also gave people ammunition to make the claim the work of the secret police was not fair.

Initial Thoughts after the Collapse of Communism in Russia

It was commonplace for USSR citizens to call the actions of the KGB into question and accuse the organization of corrupt practices when they were being tried and sentenced. Countless Soviet citizens played the role of victim, but when the Soviet Union collapsed, retribution was not as unilaterally supported by Russians

7   Ilya Dzhirkvelov, Secret Servant: My Life with the KGB & The Soviet Elite. (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc, 1987), 160-161
8   Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed, 159.
9   Ibid., 203.
10   Ibid.
11   Albats, The State within a State, 22.
12   Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed, 159.
13   Ibid., 169.
14   Ibid.

as one would have thought. Other countries in the region were actively attempting to punish secret police agents for their actions while Russia dealt with a mixed opinion of how the country should proceed with dealing with the KGB. Some people believed that KGB agents were a product of their state as they were taught to act in accordance with the longstanding tradition that was created back in 1917. Others believed that the actions of the KGB agents were unjust and that such neglect of human rights could not go without some kind of punishment.

Both Russian government officials and citizens felt reluctant to punitively punish former KGB agents for their actions with the belief that the agents were brought up in the system and were simply going through with the daily tasks of their occupation as a citizen within the communist state. Russian investigative journalist and writer, Yevgenia Albats argues that Soviet political and social culture taught citizens that such intense scrutiny by the government was to be expected. The author uses the book *Zalkind's Revolution and Youth,* published in 1924, in which the writer explains, "murder committed in an organized manner by a class collective on the order of class rulers in the name of salvation of the proletarian revolution is lawful, ethical murder."[15] Even more importantly, agents grew up being told that any sort of rule of law goes against the ideas set forth by Lenin.[16] Such teachings exemplify the way in which propaganda framed citizens' philosophies regarding the role of government. Albats also explains that not only did agents grow up experiencing events such as collectivization, ethnic deportations and purges, but they also grew up with people like Felix Dzerzhinsky, initial leader of the Cheka, as one of their role models.[17] Agents grew up under chaos and took many of these horrific tragedies to be normal occurrences. Their lack of resistance to carrying out their duties is just a representation of them following their boss' orders. These examples display why some Russians did not find it fair to punish former KGB agents for their actions prior to 1991.

On the other side of the spectrum, it was clear to many Russian government officials and citizens that the power that the KGB had amassed was overwhelming. When Gorbachev came into power in the late 1980's, he introduced the reform *glasnost* which allowed for much more freedom of speech and press than the country had had in a long time.[18] Such a policy was threatening to the KGB because many of its operations thrived under conditions of censorship and the privatized nature of governmental affairs. Furthermore, countries all over Eastern Europe were taking more aggressive approaches in investigating their own secret police forces as well as putting pressure on other countries to do the same. Although Gorbachev's policy threatened the organization, he still felt the need to tread lightly around the KGB because of how much sway it had in Soviet state affairs. His reticence was often viewed as disappointing, especially to other government figures such as Boris Yeltsin.

When Yeltsin became President after the failed coup in August 1991, he fired over 400 members of the KGB to illustrate his opposition to many of its longtime leaders.[19] Additionally, there was a concerted effort to make the affairs of the KGB from the previous decades known to the public. With the formation of a newly independent Russian state, many citizens initially hoped that change would occur. However, the ubiquitous influence of the KGB would prove that agreement upon purging all of its former agents would be hard to accomplish.

The USSR as a New Nation

On multiple occasions, the secret police forces were downsized in the 1980's and 1990's to show the the Russian people that the widespread corruption was not acceptable. However, this downsize did not diminish the power grab of the KGB. In August 1991, conservative communists feared that the final Soviet General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, was leading to Union towards its demise with his reforms. In an attempt to stop him, the conservative communists attempted a coup, but failed due to resistance on behalf of the Russian Republic and future Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The August 1991 coup especially brought the KGB into the spotlight by revealing the fact that top KGB members had supported it and even helped conservative communists implement it. Government officials and citizens alike suspected that the coup was staged by the members of the agency, ultimately leading Gorbachev to replace the Chairman with one that was supposedly an outsider to the KGB after he had returned to power in late 1991. The new chairman, Vladimir Bakatin, as urged

15   Albats, The State within a State, 79.

16   Ibid., 80.

17   Ibid., 103.

18   Amy Knight, Spies without Cloaks: The KGB's Successors. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1996.

19   Ebon, KGB: Death and Rebirth.

by Gorbachev, promised that the KGB would operate with consideration of the law and the rights of individuals as their top priorities.[20] He also oversaw an investigation into the coup, resulting in the firing of fourteen KGB agents. Many others were reprimanded for suspicious involvement.[21] Despite such initiatives, Gorbachev still sensed discontent among citizens, leading him to disband the organization in October 1991 and create three separate entities in its place. The three new institutions were called the Interrepublican Security Service (ISS), the Central Intelligence Service (CIS) and the Committee for Protection of the State Border (CPSB).[22] Although Bakatin and Gorbachev attempted to change the nature of the KGB agency in order to preserve the Soviet Union, none of this mattered as Boris Yeltsin was rising in stature as the President of a sovereign Russian Republic. In December 1991, Gorbachev was forced to resign and the Union would cease to exist just a few days later.

Just as countless leaders in history have feared that their power will be compromised, Boris Yeltsin did too. Although he used accusations that the KGB was implicated in the failed coup as a mechanism for gaining the public's support, Yeltsin was still wary that the people of Russia would not support him. In order to protect himself from potential political enemies, Yeltsin established Russia's very own KGB in May 1991 rather than just having the Soviet Union KGB. When the Union collapsed, Yeltsin renamed the Russian KGB and attempted to merge it with the regular police force and the ISS, but failed when the Russian Republic parliament did not allow him to do so.[23] Government officials accused Yeltsin of wanting to merge with the regular police in order to better protect himself. Furthermore, officials believed that the merger was undermined the dynamic of maintaining separate branches of the government.[24]The structure that would prevail under Yeltsin would be a force split into five different entities that dealt with counterintelligence, government communication, federal security, presidential security and border security.[25] According to historian Amy Knight, this relegation of power meant that the KGB was not viewed as a "mighty, all-powerful entity" temporarily restoring many Russians' faith in the security systems within the country.[26]

Unlike the Soviet KGB, the newly divided Russian secret police forces did not necessarily have one sole person to report to. Instead, there was President Yeltsin himself, but there was also the Russian Parliament which had its own agenda for the agency. Almost immediately, it would become clear that there would be a conflict of interest. Yeltsin wanted the security system to have four main areas of concern: protection against political opposition and domestic threats; foreign counterintelligence; foreign relations; and control over the Eastern European Commonwealth of Independent States.[27] The Russian Parliament had the united stance that it wanted to exert its control over the security systems, but from this point, agreement ceased. The different sects within Parliament had varied expectations for the role of the new agencies and so did Yeltsin, resulting in a constant power struggle.

With all of the different individuals who were in positions of power, corruption was rampant. President Yeltsin was aware of this fact and therefore put combating corruption high on his list of priorities. After asking one of his top security officials to investigate where in society the major forms of corruption were occurring, the official claimed that organized crime and foreign intelligence services were the main culprits. After this knowledge went public, the media began to pay extra attention to scandals within the government. Yeltsin's plan ultimately backfired as media outlets such as *Pravda* exposed some of his secret negotiations, as well as that of other government officials.[28] The spotlight on the five different institutions of the secret police revealed how many of its agents were using their positions to make their own personal gains within the economy. Since the security services oversaw law enforcement in terms of business deals with other countries, agents were now able to tap into information that they otherwise would not have known. Such a privilege led many security

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20   Ibid., 47.
21   Knight, Spies without Cloaks, 29-30.
22   Ibid., 31.
23   Ibid., 33.
24   Ebon, KGB: Death and Rebirth, 99.
25   Knight, Spies without Cloaks, 35.
26   Ibid., 37.
27   Ibid., 39.
28   Ibid., 55.

officials to do their own entrepreneurship on the side.[29]

To make matters even worse, agents who had been dismissed from specifically the foreign intelligence forces used their knowledge to their own advantage. Ex-agents sold their Russian intelligence to other countries for a monetary profit. Additionally, these individuals would become entrepreneurs by working as consultants and providing enterprises and banks with advice concerning international business. The individuals also began to work as intelligence employees in these very same corporations and banks that carried out their own security and spywork.[30] Such a development meant that old KGB personnel were not only infiltrating the new security systems, but they were also dispersed throughout the country's biggest economic players and even foreign players. Although President Yeltsin prioritized ending the widespread corruption, no formal policy was ever enacted which would undermine any of his efforts in doing so.

The plethora of reorganizations were also viewed in a negative light by the intelligence service agents. Many security officials felt that the policies enacted since 1991 were very inconsistent in nature and as a result, the interests of security agents were also disregarded. Agents claimed that they were often stereotyped, discredited in ability, demoralized, and experienced unwarranted dismissals or transfers for years.[31] Additionally, many workers even felt embarrassed to tell others where they were employed because of the negative stigma that such organizations had. Workers believed that the collapse of the Soviet system meant that the divided agencies had no real philosophy or mission that tied them all together and motivated them to do what was asked of them. The interaction of these different forms of failure and deficits led the new security apparatus of the state to be disillusioned and inefficient in performing their duties. Furthermore, agents became tired of constant reform, reduction in pay, and loss of benefits, which further enticed them to engage in suspicious activities.[32]

In *Spies without Cloaks: The KGB's Successors,* Amy Knight points out Russia's haste to restructure the KGB in an effort to prove to citizens that change was occurring, but also explains that the government was not efficient in laying out exactly how the new systems would operate and who would control them.[33] Knight believes that these kinds of logistics are essential ones to work out when establishing a new state. President Yeltsin was quick to acknowledge this, resulting in an attempt to reign in the actions of the security systems. However, many of his reforms ultimately led the security forces back into similar habits that had been commonplace in the region for almost a century.

There are countless instances in the early 1990's in which the new Russian government restructured and redefined the role of the different organizations of the state, but many of them were ineffective. The lack of one clearly planned policy of how to combat the influence of the old KGB agents ultimately resulted in Russia reverting back to its reliance on a secret police force. President Yeltsin created reforms, but they ironically were reminiscent of the exact behaviors that initially frustrated people living in the Soviet Union. Although KGB members were dismissed, the organization was renamed and divided up, many of the old agents still remained in active positions within the state's government. Gorbachev and Yeltsin both downsized the force at points to illustrate to people their commitment to ending corruption, but this is not what really was occurring. Instead, the agents were simply being transferred to other security apparatus' within the state. Leaders wanted it to be known to the public that they wanted to redefine the duties of the security service in Russia. In a *Current Digest of the Russian Press* release, KGB officials invited journalists to a press conference in which they described that their newly divided agencies would have no commonalities with the old KGB.[34] Yeltsin and Gorbachev also knew in the back of their minds that they would be dependent on the KGB agents for their own political safety net, prompting them to ensure that they had some kind of involvement in the secret police.[35] With all of these different actors and motivations in mind, it is no surprise that old regime KGB continued to exist in Russia even

29   Ibid., 56.
30   Ibid., 58.
31   Ibid., 46.
32   Ibid., 47.
33   Ibid., 41.
34   A. Vasilyev. "The FSA is no KGB" in The Current Digest of the Russian Press Vol. 43, No. 48 (January 1, 1992), 21.
35   Ebon, KGB: Death and Rebirth, 93.

after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Initial Thoughts after the Collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia

In the few years prior to Vaclav Havel's presidency, the Velvet Revolution inspired citizens to disassociate themselves with the communist regime with the slogan "we are not like them."[36] Initiatives attempted to hinder the power of the StB, but were not successful due to the government lack of wholehearted reform. The fall of Communism in Eastern Europe would not come until 1989, two years prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Almost immediately, it became clear that the Soviet way of life was no longer the correct approach to follow. Instead, the newly emerging leaders began favoring the liberalism of the West that had long been deemed invalid. Heimann states, "Czechoslovaks suddenly behaved and spoke differently, making clear that the Soviet system had been a deeply resented foreign imposition and showing, how they, too, wanted a share of freedom, sovereignty and consumerism."[37]

Initial actions consisted of stripping the nation of any ties with the Soviet Union and its system of communism. The country changed its name, removed any flags, signs, or statues, and asked Soviet soldiers to leave the country.[38] Communism and all of its moving parts were deeply entrenched in the state and its customs, but leaders such as President Vaclav Havel were well aware of the challenge. This is why they believed that rapid transition was a necessity. By the end of 1990, the National Assembly had written the Bill of Rights to be enacted in January 1991, some businesses had been privatized and lands that had been seized in the last half century were returned.[39]

In terms of how to combat the secret police, President Havel's government also wanted a transitional period that was fast and proactive. Early failed attempts to deal with the former StB agents and intelligence included the burning of over 50,000 StB files and enormous amounts of money put towards removing only 3,500 agents from the force.[40] However, this would change in late 1991. According to many Czechoslovakians, communism was synonymous with the old regime, leading to the implementation of the policy called "lustration" at the start of 1991.[41] The law excluded any former Communist officials, agents and informers from being able to take part in any part of the new governing body. The country believed that this "all or nothing" approach was the only way for the country to succeed without the influence of prominent leaders from the years before 1989. Additionally, the Soviet Union, which had collapsed at the close of 1991, struggled to find common ground on how to sort out the former secret police agencies. In turn, their tentativeness furthered Czechoslovak motivations for lustration. After considering the initial attitudes that both Russians and Czechoslovakians held in regards to their secret police forces, the actual implementation and outcomes of laws in these countries will be examined.

Lustration in Czechoslovakia

As Russia constantly struggled to find the balance between not implementing enough laws and implementing too harsh of laws, so did Czechoslovakia in the late 1980's and the early 1990's. However, Czechoslovakia was much quicker to choose one over the other. Failure in legislation and enforcement persuaded politicians to opt for the latter option of the two. In late 1989, the communist party within Czechoslovakia finally fell to its overwhelming opposition. After the first free and fair elections were held, the ubiquity of former StB agents and Communist party members was apparent. On the very same day that the new government, comprised of the House of Nations and the House of People, began to assemble, StB agents were traveling to different countries and being given directives assignments by the party. In *The Haunted Land,* a nonfiction book about Eastern European countries following the fall of communism, Tina Rosenberg recounts a conversation she had with longtime communist party dissident Jiri Ruml. He mentions a directive that "ordered the StB to foment confusion in opposition groups, infiltrate the media, and place agents in the

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36   Roman David, Lustration and Transitional Justice: Personnel Systems in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 112

37   Mary Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed, 307.

38   Ibid.

39   Ibid., 314.

40   Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed, 315.

41   David, Lustration and Transitional Justice, 99.

new state administration and state enterprises"[42] just as his committee, which was investigating the events of the November 17th, 1989 revolution, was beginning to meet. Such an occurrence was commonplace, making lustration a high priority.

The lustrace law began in January 1991 with investigations of members of the Federal Assembly, or Parliament, with the use of secret service files.[43] By March, the investigation had been completed, revealing on national television that ten members of Parliament were agents for the secret police. Later into the year, the law was expanded upon. The new and improved version investigated individuals such as communist party functionaries, individuals in the People's Militia (the communist party army), StB agents and StB informers.[44] The Ministry of the Interior drafted the law to make certain stipulations for individuals serving or wishing to serve for elected and appointed posts within the state administration.[45] In order to be able to work for any part of the state, citizens had to get a form from the Ministry of the Interior that confirmed that they did not have a past that could be considered suspicious. The country of Czechoslovakia had experienced a long and hard 40 or so years in which the Communist party dominated. Since 1948, the party had claimed every election by winning 99 percent of the vote.[46] Therefore, the country's decision to opt for a more rigid approach in purging old employees of security and intelligence services is not surprising.

Even after the lustration policy was implemented, Czechoslovakians were nervous that the new state would not be able to free itself from the influence of old powers. Czechoslovakian university professor and lawyer Vojtech Cepl wrote a journal article titled "Retribution and Restitution in Czechoslovakia" in which he describes his observations of how the nation became preoccupied with the idea of lustration shortly after its implementation. Companies, factories, local governments and national officials alike all took to the purging process. Common citizens even asked to be lustrated so that their names would be free of any kind of stigma.[47] Cepl believes that lustration was implemented on such a large scale because people were aware that the StB in the former regime was so immense in size. The StB had contacts in almost every single sect of the state to ensure control. Furthermore, the widespread networks of contacts that the StB had coerced into cooperation resulted in a country dynamic in which citizens did not trust their closest companions.

President Vaclav Havel assigned the Ministry of the Interior to the task of looking at the files that the StB had meticulously kept while in power. After the demise of the StB, members of the Ministry of the Interior were the only individuals in the entire country who had access to the files. The government believed releasing these files to the public would lead to further complication and could increase the risk of compromising the goal of lustration.[48] Cepl acknowledges how an overall feeling of distrust within the Czechoslovakian public made the policy of lustration very popular at its onset. In its early phases, transition to democracy was conducted with very little resistance.[49] However, citizens and government officials alike would soon learn that transitioning out of communism would be highly complicated as different parties within society had different expectations and goals. Cepl explains that while the files contained a lot of information on informers, they did not give a lot of insight into who exactly were among the upper echelon of StB agents. A second issue was that the files were not always accurate and the wrongly accused individuals had no real chance to explain themselves. In some cases, informers were scouted out, but never supplied information. Another facet to consider was that many informers were supplying information because they really had no other choice. On the other hand there were also individuals who gladly worked with the StB because they got money in return.[50]

Vojtech Cepl goes on to say that the files supplied the names as well as the blackmail that agents had compiled, but the actual information that the informers had been supplying was a large gray area. Sometimes the information that they gave was so trivial that banning them from the government may be deemed too harsh of a punishment. Furthermore, some citizens wanted the policy of lustration to take on a criminal

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42   Tina Rosenberg,. The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism. (New York, NY: Random House, 1995), 67.
43   Bernard Wheaton and Zdenek Kavan, The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988-1991. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 179.
44   Heimann, Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed, 316.
45   Wheaton and Kavan, The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 180.
46   Rosenberg, The Haunted Land, 31.
47   Vojtech Cepl, "Retribution and Restitution in Czechoslovakia." In European Journal Of Sociology 33, no. 1. (Sage Publications: May 1992), 202.
48   Ibid.
49   Sharon L. Wolchik, Czechoslovakia in Transition: Politics, Economy, and Society (London: Pinter Publishers Limited, 1991), 59.
50   Cepl, "Retribution and Restitution in Czechoslovakia," 204.

punishment component.[51] This gray area definitely made adding punishments to the policy more unlikely to ever occur. He also says that another issue with lustration was that the country had no real way of knowing who the Czechoslovakian StB agents were.[52] The thought of former StB agents infiltrating the new government apparatus could be considered even more risky than former StB agents and informers. StB agents worked all across the Soviet Union which provided them with even more connections across many different ethnicities and countries.

With the various categories mentioned above in mind, the policy of lustration was designed by the Federal Assembly to include a classification system. The classification system went from A to H. A's were StB staff, B's were secret agents, C's were attempted recruits, D's were Communist party officials, E's were National Security Corps officials, F's were individuals within the People's Militia, G's were people who had served on purging commissions after the 1948 coup and 1968 Prague Spring, and H's were students of the KGB.[53] All of the categories except for C were permitted to sue in court in order to fight for themselves. Category C could not appeal and was later removed for being too vague.[54] Although this system was incorporated into the law to cover as many of the different types of perpetrators as possible, there were countless inconsistencies, leading Cepl to argue that it should be halted and re-evaluated in 1992.[55]

In his personal account of the period of transition titled "McCarthyism Has a New Name--Lustration: A Personal Recount of Political Events," Czechoslovakian politician Jan Kavan agrees with Cepl in his claims that lustration was an incomplete policy. Kavan argues that the main problem with lustration was that individuals were deemed guilty affiliates just because they belonged to a group or category. He uses the example of Alexander Dubcek to make his point when he explains,

> Alexander Dubcek, whom history will remember as the symbol of a defiant attempt to replace Soviet-style totalitarian communism by 'socialism with human face' would not, under the terms of the law, be allowed to run a local state bank or to obtain a license to be a taxi driver, auctioneer or antique dealer. These restrictions would, however, not apply to the thousands who persecuted Dubcek supporters after the Soviet tanks crushed the reform--from the journalists, who vilified them, and the employees, who sacked them, to the prison warders, who beat them up, to the government ministers, who issued the orders.[56]

Such an example illuminates how someone from the anti-Communist side would be negatively impacted when the law was really created to punish the high level StB agents whose names were hidden from files.

There is no popular opinion about whether or not lustration was for the best. Kavan tells readers that he has not come up across any data that suggests lustration restored confidence.[57] Tina Rosenberg's discussion with parliamentary member Jiri Dienstbier Jr. calls attention to this same claim. He tells her that in retrospect he would not have voted for lustration as it revealed to be too complex.[58] Many believe that lustration limited the number of corrupt individuals within the country's government while others feel that too many innocent people were barred from certain rights. Besides the issue of inconsistencies, citizens came to realize that purging individuals connected to various groups across a span of fifty years completely ignores the fact that the

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51   Ibid.
52   Ibid.
53   Rosenberg, The Haunted Land, 74.
54   Ibid., 75.
55   Cepl, "Retribution and Restitution in Czechoslovakia," 204.
56   Jan Kavan, "McCarthyism Has a New Name--Lustration: A Personal Recount of Political Events," (London: Praeger, 2002), 48-49.
57   Ibid.
58   Rosenberg, The Haunted Land, 72.

dynamics of the country were constantly changing throughout this time.

The Dissolution of Czechoslovakia

The inconclusive nature of the success of lustration is also reflected in the dissolution of the country of Czechoslovakia in 1993. On the first day of the year 1993, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist and the countries of Slovakia and the Czech Republic emerged. Vaclav Havel would be elected president of Czech Republic and Michal Kovac would be elected president of Slovakia shortly after the split. Although both groups had experienced lustration while Czechoslovakia was in existence, both did not keep the law. The Czech Republic renewed the law after the split while Slovakia did not.[59] This fact alone illustrates how the policy of lustration was one that was not widely agreed upon and supported by Czech and Slovaks alike.

A Comparison of the Two

After discussing each country's approach, it is clear that there are not many similarities in Czech and Russian policies regarding their secret police forces. Czechoslovakia hoped that a hands on approach would prevent the old regime from being involved in the new one. Meanwhile, the Russians drafted very little legislation to protect their new governmental bodies from old Communists and secret police agents who were looking to still be involved. Although the policies were practically polar opposite of one another, the attitudes of the people living within the countries were congruous. Both groups of citizens had grown tired of the mechanisms that their old governments had employed and rightfully so. With these sentiments becoming widespread, the two governments were aware of the need to address the state of the secret police forces. In Czechoslovakia, lustration immediately fulfilled the demands of the citizens. Although, in actuality, Russia was not implementing a lot of policy on the matter, the government was nonetheless making large spectacles of its so called "downsizings" to appease its populace.

Clearly, Russia and Czechoslovakia's decisions were divergent of one another. However, was one policy superior to the other? In Czechoslovakia, many corrupt individuals were indeed purged from being able to take part in the government, but there were also those individuals who were innocent and potentially could have been positive and resourceful influences for the country. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the years 1998-2002, Jan Kavan equivocates lustration with McCarthyism. As an individual who experienced lustration on multiple accounts, Kavan claims that many of the investigations and accusations were made without proper evidence.[60] He explains his early support of the policy even after a few rounds of it had been administered, but ultimately deems it as problematic. The main reason Kavan points to is its large basis on getting revenge rather than trying to build a more liberally functioning government. Additionally, Kavan points out that no matter how many ex-communists were purged, the individuals had still amassed enough power to ensure their involvement in other areas of society such as the economy or working for international organizations.[61] Kavan believes that lustration was also impossible to implement properly because the files were incomplete. He acknowledges the removal of some collaborators, but insists lustration was not successful in ridding the state of the individuals who held the highest positions.

Furthermore, Kavan looks to the people of Czechoslovakia for answers. Although designed to reaffirm the public's confidence in the new government, lustration did the opposite. Instead, he explains "the lustration law harmed innocent people...the public will never learn the names of top officials directly responsible for the major acts of persecution, for ordering those long-term imprisonment of political opponents or causing the death of some."[62] While many believed that lustration was the answer, some Czechoslovakians realized that building a nation centered around the idea of distrust is not the proper route to democracy, as shown in Slovakia's decision to discontinue the law.

In the same way that Czech lustration was inconsistent and did not target the key players, Russia's sporadic and random legislation meant that the state would have a hard time leaving old individuals and habits behind. As mentioned earlier, Russian legislation did little to remove individuals from working within the government even though secret police forces were downsized. Additionally, a new "secret police" replaced the

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59   David, Lustration and Transitional Justice, 137.
60   Kavan, "McCarthyism Has a New Name--Lustration: A Personal Recount of Political Events," 301.
61   Ibid.
62   Ibid.

old one and operated under the same agenda of protecting the country's most powerful. President Yeltsin used his security services to protect himself from his political opposition with the use of surveillance, wiretapping and other spying mechanisms.[63] Furthermore, the Russian Parliamentary officials did just the same. The re-emergence of a security apparatus and the lack of state purification led to a continuation of the despised corrupt and anti-democratic practices of the Soviet Union.

In addition to renaming and transferring individuals within the organization, Russian media tried to portray the country as actively attempting to bring to light the history and injustices that occurred prior to Russian autonomy. In a October 1991 press release from *The Current Digest of the Russian Press*, E. Maksimova informs readers that the KGB files would be exposed to the world in a collaboration work in which several institutes planned to fill in any gaps within the history of the Soviet state.[64] Such a decision reflects the government's need to correct the wrongs of the past. However, shedding light on the incorrect behaviors of the secret police, but continuing to have a secret police force within the new country is contradictory. In Russia today, the inability to separate the state from the security apparatus can be seen with Putin formerly being the head of the Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti, or the FSB and now serving as the President. As one of the more corrupt countries within Europe today, Slovakian citizens often point to their government's inability to assert justice by not punishing some of the country's most powerful criminals.[65] Furthermore, corruption within the Czech Republic most often occurs when political and economic forces collaborate in conniving manners.[66] The persistent theme of the existence of corruption in all three countries today suggests that perhaps having one policy either in favor or against lustration did not actually matter in the long run.

Conclusion

Although both Czechoslovakia and the Russia had different ways to transition into a society that was free of corrupt and untrustworthy individuals, neither country fully succeeded. In the case of Russia, the lack of a policy that sided one way or the other prevented progress. Even worse, the newly emergent leaders implemented the exact practices which were deemed unjust, but did so under a different veil. Czechoslovakia filled their citizens with hope as they attempted to draft and revise a process to combat corruption. Inconsistent implementation and excessive loopholes within the law shows that citizens viewed lustration as an obsolete practice, which only furthered suspicion and negativity. The lack of generating a policy or the half hearted implementation of a policy has resulted in continued corruption and long harbored resentments that have affected Russian, Czech, and Slovakian societies in the years since the fall of communism. Even more importantly, however, is a country's basic need for a security apparatus. Dependence on a body to oversee the actions of every sect of society including the lower class workers, the skilled laborers, the educated, the upper class, the dissidents, the foreign players and even government officials ranking as high as the President ultimately eliminates the opportunity of creating a completely transparent and trustworthy state.

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63   Knight, Spies without Cloaks, 39.

64   E. Maksimova, "CPSU and KGB Archives to be Opened to the World." Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press No.38, Vol.43, (October 23, 1991), 42.

65   Tatiana Jancarikova, "Thousands of Slovaks protest corruption, demand ouster of interior minister." Reuters, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-slovakia-politics-corruption/thousands-of-slovaks-protest-corruption-demand-ouster-of-interior-minister-idUSKBN18W2BV (June 5th, 2017).

66   John Feffer, "The Czech Culture of Corruption." The Huffington Post, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-feffer/the-czech-culture-of-corr_b_4832645.html.

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Women of the Crescent:
An Analysis of Sovietization in Central Asia
Andrew Fernicola

Introduction and Background

<u>Introduction</u>

Throughout its existence the leaders of the Soviet Union attempted to combat the regressive and traditionalist elements of Central Asian culture. At the heart of this were the issues of women's liberation and the widespread practice of Islam and the customs that come with it such as the forced veiling of women when in public. This process of Sovietization, while fairly successful in Eastern Europe, was a mixed bag in Central Asia. On the one hand the opportunities of women in Central Asian nations today far exceed the opportunities of women in other predominantly Muslim nations; they are still behind Western former Soviet nations such as Estonia. Moreover, while Islam was liberalized in Central Asia, it was not obliterated. In fact, in Uzbekistan the late Soviet period saw an Islamic revival. Despite the rhetoric of the Soviet Union, in practice Sovietization did not fully achieve its goals and while the Central Asian successor states certainly bear marks of a Soviet legacy, the impact of this legacy is not subnational.

<u>General Background</u>

Officially the church and State were separate in the USSR. In actuality, the state made great efforts to prevent the spread of religious ideas and to combat those considered fanatics. This was done under the auspices of the state promulgated scientific atheism. Originally the idea was through education the Soviets could combat the "regressive" elements of religion. Religion was seen as a feudal superstition, a tool to control the working people. Additionally the class systems of organized religion, the clergy and laity, were seen as a barrier to the creation of a unified class consciousness. Furthermore religion has caused large amounts of violence in human history so the elimination of it was also seen as a way to avoid religious conflicts which would allow the creation of a Soviet ethnicity. To lead this charge, the Soviet elite established The League of Militant Godless who would work for the party and would be the enforcers of scientific atheism throughout the Nation.

Scientific atheism as a concept sought to address the social aspects of religion. To further this, rather than examine the piety of a person, proponents of scientific atheism created a new term, religiosity. Religiosity was defined by one Soviet scholar as "the influence of religion on consciousness and behavior, both in separate individuals, and in demographic groups."[1] Though this method the advocates of scientific atheism sought to isolate the motivation behind the possession of religious beliefs and icons. They sought to subvert the practices of religion by pointing out the irrationalities in it. One example is an agent who lambasts a father for having his son baptized stating "it was unsanitary, that there would have been bacteria in the water, that you exposed the child to the danger of falling sick or becoming infected."[2] This line of thought is very common amongst the agents meant to promulgate scientific atheism.

Islam is an Abrahamic religion based on the teachings of Muhammad who Muslims believe to be the last and greatest of God's prophets. The religion is based around a series of tenants called the five pillars of Islam. For the purposes of this paper, the most important are Hajj, a pilgrimage to Mecca that every Muslim is supposed to make if they are financially and physically able, and Zakat, the giving of alms to the less fortunate, these payments, colloquially called fitr, where to be collected by the mosques and then distributed. While these tenants are universally true, Islam as a religion in practice is very diverse and is therefore practiced very differently among the Central Asian nations. However, there are a several practices common throughout of the Muslim world. For example, unlike the Christian Bible, the Muslim holy book, the Koran, is supposed <u>to be in Arabic</u> rather than translated. Additionally, the preachers of Islam are almost always men with most

1   Klimova, Svetlana, and Elena S Molostova. 2013. "'Scientific Atheism' in Action: Soviet Sociology of Religion as an Agent of Marxist-Atheist Propaganda from the 1960s to the 1980s." Forum Philosophicum: International Journal Of Philosophy 18, no. 2: 169-190. Philosopher's Index, 171
2   Ibid., 187

female Muslim theologians being members of the prophet Muhammad's household or modern theologians. These spiritual leaders are called Imams. Finally, while Islam is traditionally separated into two camps, Sunni and Shiite, there is another tradition called Sufism. Sufism is widely practiced throughout the Muslim world and while isnot technically a denomination separate from Sunnism or Shi'ism; members of Sufi orders view Islam very differently focusing on the mystical aspects of the religion. Sufis tend to be aesthetics and live further away from urban areas in cloisters called waafs in Central Asia. The nomadic lifestyle of the Central Asian peoples gave rise to a number of Sufi movements and to this day there are many practitioners of Sufism in Central Asia.

The conflict between the state sponsored atheism and their ancestral religion weighted heavily on all Soviet citizens of Central Asia, but especially on the women of Central Asia. Women in Central Asia were subjected to a number of traditional practices that the Soviet regime considered backward including the de facto segregation of the sexes, the use of a veil in public, and child marriages. Women were also denied access to higher education and often worked in the home having little to no independent income separate from their families. This did not fit the Soviet mold of sexual equality and so women were targeted as a source of combating, not only sexual inequality but the practice of Islam as well.

The two issues went hand in hand and so the Soviets tried to mobilize women in order to combat Islam. While Soviet policy proved ineffective in combating Islam they did place a last mark on the women of Central Asia and, while not entirely equal scholars agree that "measured against conditions for women in neighboring Afghanistan, Pakistan, and China in the late 1980s, Central Asian women in the Soviet era were living the dream."[3] However the Soviets were unsuccessful in rooting out Islam and to this day Islam is prevalent throughout the region.

A Conflict of State and Culture, Central Asia in the U.S.S.R

Central Asia in the Pre-War Soviet Union

In the early 1920's under Lenin and during Stalin's early years, the cultural practices of the Central Asian Socialist Republics were largely unchanged. Central Asia had been administered like a colony so the Tsars had never bothered to really shake up the local governments and other institutions. Disbanding these institutions would have left the Soviets with no one to run the Central Asian republics. For example, despite the desire to close religious schools many remained open because without them the Soviets "would face an almost unmanageable task of educating the population."[4] The country had just finished a devastating civil war and at the time lacked the funds and willpower for major upheaval, even in the more populated areas of Central Asia. Islam also formed the bedrock of the legal system and for many years Sharia law dominated in much of Central Asia. The Soviets needed some form of judiciary while they tried to set up the infrastructure for their own. The greatest success of the early 1920's was the formation of Zhenotdel. These were programs for women were designed to Sovietize them as well as provide educational services[5]. While they saw limited success, those women who did join the communist party from Central Asia were often non-Muslim;[6] Zhenotdel would lay the groundwork for movements in the later 1920's. Major change would come in 1928. In this year a comprehensive law was passed outlawing, child marriage, the marriage price, forced marriages and the use of the veil. To garner public support for these new laws two government sponsored movements arose, the Red Yurts, and Red Scarf movements. The Red Yurts allowed women a place they could go that was separate from men where they could revise health care, literacy and work training, and hear the Soviet message.[7] The Red Scarf movement was led by Russian women transplanted to Central Asia who encouraged women to discard the veil in favor of a kerchief worn over the hair. This public display of resistance to the traditional way of life resulted in the death or injury of hundreds of women by men and clerics.[8] Finally Sharia law and Sharia courts were banned in 1929, only Soviet law would be practiced in Central Asia. This action would cause reverberations throughout the 30's as a wave of religious persecutions began.

The murders of 1929 spurred a change in Soviet policy, rather than focus on women as the impetus for

3   Kamp, Marianne. "The Soviet Legacy and Women's Rights in Central Asia." Current History 115, no. 783 (October 2016): 270-276. 270
4   Olcott, Martha Brill. "In the Whirlwind of Jihad." Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012. 55
5   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005.49
6   Ibid., 51
7   Islam women and Identity 1
8   Ibid., 1

Sovietization; the party would attack Islam directly. In the 1930's, massive land reforms were pushed through and almost all religious lands were confiscated. Furthermore, the League of Militant Godless ventured into the rural areas in pursuit of the Sufis. Considering they're special connection to the spiritual, the waafs were destroyed almost causing the disappearance of Sufism in the Soviet Union as the destruction of their cloisters "lead many Sufi sheikhs to flee the country or to go into hiding in remote regions of Central Asia."[9] In these remote regions the Sufis would create the first of the unregistered religious communities, known in Central Asia as Hujra. All schools were placed under party administration in the early 1930's. The man of steel was willing to purge religious communities and during the early years of his administration saw the "beginning of a campaign of terror against clerics."[10] Mosques were forcibly closed and many were changed into civic centers, one blasphemous example was even turned into a winery, a direct insult to Muslims who, for religious reasons, don't drink. As the purges intensified, party officials used religious leaders as convenient sheep to be slaughtered as many "seemed concerned with arresting, imprisoning, and killing enough people to save themselves."[11]

Women were placed aside in favor of this religious terror. The Zhenotdel were disbanded and replaced with the Zhensektors. This would weaken the role of the women's movement in Soviet policy as issues previously placed under the Zhenotdel and the Red Yurts, such as healthcare, would be redirected to other commissariats.[12] Women's liberation was placed on the backburner. In effect the Zhensektors were reduced to work related activities rather than addressing wider cultural movements. Despite this, as resistance grew against the brutality of the Soviet terror the Zhensektors would become some of the last bastions of Soviet influence in rural areas.[13] Despite this the Zhensektors were deprived of resources necessary to continue the struggle for women's liberation and the veil. The most outward symbol of opposition to the Soviet regime, emerged. The one great success for women's liberation in the `1930's was the mandatory schooling of all girls in the Soviet Union starting in 1930.

The 40's to Khrushchev

In the face of German aggression Stalin was forced to use religion as a uniting force to keep civilian morale up. To this end the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (SADUM) and the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults (CARC) were established in 1944 after two years of debate. Under SADUM Islam received the official protection of the state apparatus at the cost of limited scripture. Mosques registered under SADUM were protected, to an extent, by the state. However, SADUM also served to limit how Muslims could practice their faith. For example, shortly after its creation SADUM would decree a miniscule amount of Muslims were able to go on Hajj "a maximum of 20 people could go each year."[14] However, the good will built upon by the Muslim clergy would also cause the party to reverse its decision on the fitr, a payment made by the community to fulfill the Zakat; in 1945 these payments were collected by the Muslim clergy essentially allowing the mosques to collect a tax separate from the Soviet system.

While SADUM would handle the spiritual practices of Islam, the legality of religion was handled by the CARC. CARC agents would periodically observe religious ceremonies and report on the legality of these ceremonies, and their possible regressive elements, to the central authority. While the NKVD and KGB would deal with underground religious elements, the CARC would work above ground searching for and identify religious gray areas that needed to be addressed. They would work with SADUM to see which registered mosques and Imams were starting from the party position and bring them back into line. They would also take control of opening the prayer houses of all religions. Much like SADUM this administration would prove to be a boon for the faithful. By allowing for the creation of new houses of prayer, Sovietization was delayed as people contained to practice their traditional beliefs and costumes.

Despite the creation of CARC, in the Post-WWII world, no one knew who was even in charge of enforcing scientific atheism. Yaccov points out that in 1947 Polianskii, the head of CARC stated that he was "aware that religion contradicted the official ideology; it was simply not their task to unmask religious ideology

9   Olcott, Martha Brill. "In the Whirlwind of Jihad." Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012. 58
10   Ibid., 58
11   Ibid., 61
12   Ibid., 58
13   Ibid., 59
14   Olcott, Martha Brill. "In the Whirlwind of Jihad." Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012. 67

and dwell on the dangers inherent in it."[15] So suddenly the chairman of the Soviet council of religious affairs didn't think it was his job to enforce scientific atheism, if not him then whom. This would lead to a breakdown of the relationship between the CARC and the NKVD as the two would not work together to produce any sizable change.

The CARC would blame The League of Militant Godless saying that their methods were ineffective because their agents refused to engage with the doctrine of the religion. Klimove and Molostova point out that, in a Christian context, the agents of atheism had "poor knowledge of the bible."[16] The agents are only taught one side of the equation and merely told the benefits of atheism not how to debate atheism with a believer. Klimove and Molostova go onto to say that these agents "embrace the kind of rationalism according to which 'believing' in God is identical to 'knowing' the truth about God."[17] Islam as a religion may claim that, but that doesn't address how individuals approach religion. Muslims believe in Islam because they have faith not because they know it to be true. To the agents of the atheist propaganda were often poorly versed in what they were meant to be fighting and did not understand the difference between belief and knowledge which severely limits their potential in converting the populace. You cannot attack a person's religious beliefs based on knowledge because they are, by definition, based on faith. This demonstrates the flaw in the sociological approach taken by scientific atheism to address the question of religion. So with Polianskii refusing to use his agents to root out the illegal elements of Islam, the NKVD having little to no intel to work with, and the ineffectiveness of training among the League of Militant Godless, Sovietization was put on the back foot especially since the Zhensektors still lacked the power of the Zhenotdel. There simply was no organization combating the traditional practices of the Central Asian peoples.

Finally, as is common in many aspects of Soviet structure, people over reported their success and under reported their shortcomings. Albina argues that the state trapped itself into a corner as it proclaimed that "according to party officials, most believers in the 1940's were women and the older generation."[18] Herein lies the problem, the state cannot attack organized religion because doing so would demonstrate that progress was not being made towards the creation of a communist state which was unacceptable, even if the Muslim population was increasing no one would ever tell their superiors for fear of being blamed for not dealing with the issue, and even if someone noticed the problem, no one whose job it was to deal with it or even how to deal with it correctly. However, this issue was observed by Western scholars who pointed out the potential risk in having a large Muslim population in an officially atheist country.

Despite all this legislation, there was no real desire to strike at Islam after WWII. While the stability issues surrounding the mass closure of unregistered mosques, provide some insight into the thought process of the party, it does not address the individuals who were meant to carry out the legislature, the bureaucracy on the ground. Perhaps before the war, with the looming, threat of liquidation, refusal to become a Soviet citizen could not be tolerated, but after the German invasion, dealing with religion in Central Asia was no longer a priority.

However, despite the return to some traditional practices, the war, much like in the U.S caused a shortage of male workers. This being the case, women began to enter heavy industry and receive increased training in order to keep production up, especially as industry was moved further from the front and into Siberia and parts of the Central Asian Republics.[19] This would be a responding success and over time the number of women employed in heavy industry increased rapidly throughout Central Asia. Furthermore, the traditional practice of polygamy was highly controversial in Central Asia, especially after World War II when many women in Central Asia called for the legalization of the practice arguing that "men be allowed to marry two or three wives in the light of the surplus of women created by the war."[20] However the idea of one man dominating a household of three women directly contradicts the spirit Sovietization as it is an inheritably unequal partnership. In closing, many women and girls were married young and, despite laws forbidding it would often not

15   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst. 565
16   Klimova, Svetlana, and Elena S Molostova. 2013. "'Scientific Atheism' in Action: Soviet Sociology of Religion as an Agent of Marxist-Atheist Propaganda from the 1960s to the 1980s." Forum Philosophicum: International Journal Of Philosophy 18, no. 2: 169-190. Philosopher's Index. 179
17   Klimova, Svetlana, and Elena S Molostova. 2013. "'Scientific Atheism' in Action: Soviet Sociology of Religion as an Agent of Marxist-Atheist Propaganda from the 1960s to the 1980s." Forum Philosophicum: International Journal Of Philosophy 18, no. 2: 169-190. Philosopher's Index. 179
18   Albina, Zhanbosinova. 2013. "The Evolution of Soviet State and Religion Interrelation (1920s – Early 1950s)." Bylye Gody, Vol 28, Iss 2, Pp 51-57 (2013) no. 2: 51 p6
19   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005. 66
20   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst. 539

complete their education. Many young girls were taken out of school upon reaching puberty in order to further their perspective marriages. In the 1947-1948 school year "just 34 Tajik girls completed their education."[21] Furthermore, after being married these girls, would be instructed not to work by their husbands, a direct affront to the policies of the Communist party. The later part of Stalin's life would see Central Asia embrace their traditional patriarchal, Muslim society rather than conform to the Soviet norm.

Soviet Policy during the Thaw

The most obvious example of the ineffectiveness of Sovietization in Central Asia, under Stalin, is the continued practice of veiling of Muslim women. Despite limited success in the 1920's the post-war period was a resurgence of the traditional veil. One Soviet writer in 1950 commented that "on the streets of certain cities in Uzbekistan, particularly Margelan and Nangan, the black veil still appears-a shameful vestige of darkness and superstition which reflects on the national pride of the Uzbek people."[22] The practice was so prevalent that in Tajikistan it was said that "to have become almost universal in a number of oblasti."[23] Even party officials seemed to support the use of veil as in Fergana Oblast, in Uzbekistan SSR, the "wives of some local officials were wearing the paranja in the mid-1950 or concealed their faces 'some other way.'"[24] A surge of atheistic propaganda developed to combat this issue. The Red Scarf movement was revived under a new name, Khudzhum, in the 1950's. Additionally the U.S.S.R mobilized SADUM clerics who began to preach that "both the Qur'an and the Shari 'an allowed them to move around with uncovered faces."[25] While this may have been true for some, many clerics, even those registered with SADUM, still forced their wives and daughters to wear some sort of face concealment. Clearly the situation in Central Asia had deteriorated during the years of World War 2 as the Soviet focused their efforts to war in Europe rather than the domestic issues of the East. Additionally in the 1950's there were 97 court cases involving the forced marriages of adolescent girls.[26] This second wind for traditional practices and the subjugation of women would not stand for long.

Khrushchev, seeing the reemergence of traditional practices would radically change Soviet policy in the mid 50's and would intensify throughout the thaw as Khrushchev promised the creation of a truly communist state and would focus his resource on attacking traditional costumes which he felt held Central Asia back. Staring in the late 50's the CARC began a massive campaign to limit the practice of Islam. Rather than try to completely snuff out Islam the party attempted to curb its expansion. Learning from the violent resistance in the 30's, the Soviets realized that direct and brutal action would spark widespread resistance in Central Asia. Even those clerics who practiced outside the SADUM registration were tolerated to a point. It was simply too monumental a task to completely wipe out Islam in the course of a generation. Ro'i summarizes the soviet policy stating "to permit an error was easy, to correct one was more difficult, and it was unthinkable to commit a folly and embitter believers against the regime."[27] By this Ro'i means that the CARC administration was unwilling to crackdown on Islam. It was merely easier to live and let live than to risk a mass revolt by forcibly closing mosques and executed imams. The writings of one Soviet Journalist, M.S. Bezahayev, demonstrate this apathy. A special committee in 1961, after vigorous debate concluded "that arrangements be made for the initial and supplemental training of lecturers on atheism."[28] The conference decided not to take any drastic action and merely hope they're failing methods will work. The situation was deemed too volatile for the local authorities to do more than slowly chip away at the religious institutions, even those which existed illegally. Additionally since the collection of filters was legalized the mosques had an independent source of income and could maintain themselves without the support or interference of the state. Seeing this, the fitr would once again be outlawed in 1960. Unlike the ordinances against veils, this decree seems to have worked as "sums contributed fell accordingly."[29] While the policy of CARC was very mild, people did take notice and many began "to refrain from public identification of Islam."[30] However, many people still held to traditional practices and beliefs in

21   Ibid. 541

22   Unknown author. 'Encounter With a Woman in a Veil.' The Current Digest of the Russian Press, No.25, Vol.2, August 05, 1950,

23   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst. 544

24   Ibid., 545

25   Ibid., 545

26   Ibid., 541

27   Ibid., 557

28   M. S. Bezhayev 'Conference on the urgent Problems of Scientific Atheism' The Current Digest of the Russian Press, No.20, Vol.13, June 14, 1961, page(s):7-12. 12

29   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst. 561

30   Ibid., 562

private.

Unfortunately for the Soviet citizens Khrushchev had reorganized the NKVD into the more infamous KGB. Surely one of the most advanced intelligence networks in the world would intervene in the private lives of the peoples of Central Asia. Yet, even the KGB seemed not to care. The only area where the KGB seemed particularly concerned with the practice of Islam was during the Hajj. All applicants to Haji were approved by the KGB and some scholars, such as Po'i argue that in every group sent on Hajj "at least one person who, if not actually a KGB agent, collaborated actively with security forces."[31] This would appear to be the only Muslim activity that the KGB was concerned with at Olcott states that "the KGB was very aware of where the Hujras were and who was studying there."[32] The Hujras would have been the perfect target for the KGB as they exist outside the soviet authority, they teach the spread of Islam, and even if the people were upset that one had been destroyed, they were small and generally isolated. Destroying a Hujra would have been clean and efficient and yet the KGB focused their efforts "on 'everyday' or 'household' Islam."[33] The very places where we have seen Soviet agents try and failed to convert the populace! In addition, this focus on household Islam allowed for the growth of Sufism in the 1960's. This mass movement to Sufism, combined with the limited success of women's liberation, served to cause the emergence of female preachers, colloquially known as otine, who unofficially interpreted the Koran to their followers and others in their order.[34]Finally, the KGB could not take action in these regions because; according to a statement from CARC they had cut funding to the atheist propaganda campaigns in Jambul Oblast because "Islam did not exist there."[35]Despite Gorbachev's resolve to stamp out religion in the region, the bureaucratic incompetence of his regime limited to the progress of Sovietization in Central Asia.

Brezhnev's Apathy

Brezhnev, in contrast to his predecessor was not very concerned with the practices of the Central Asian peoples. The best example of this is the lack of action against Central Asian marriage practices. For starters, rather than allow young people to find their own spouses, in much of Central Asia marriage decisions were normally made by the parents and/or grandparents of the bride and groom-to-be. The Soviets too limited action against this and in the 1970's it "became illegal to consummate a marriage without the consent of the bride and groom."[36] Despite this many women were married young; one source claims that, in 1970, over a third of the women in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan were married at the ages of 18-19.[37]. Finally, the worst of these offenses must be the abduction of young girls and women to be forced into marriage. Even late into the Soviet Union's existence of this act of tradition bride kidnapping occurred. Between 1969-1973 "no less than 14 brides, some of them not yet of age."[38] The prevalence of bride kidnapping occurred in large part, due to the continuation of another Islamic practice, the Qalym, a dowry paid to the bride's family meant to replace the work the wife could do if she stayed with her family. While this practice was banned fairly early, the concept continued to be predicated as families would exchange livestock in lieu of money.[39] This payment limited the options of poorer men and so many of them resorted to kidnapping in order to get a bride. The youth of Central Asian brides led to a massive population boom. The CIA estimates that "between 1970-1979, the average population of Moslems in the USSR was 22% and that of Russians was 6.5%."[40] This massive boom was not ignored by the Brezhnev regime and a large women's health initiative took shape in the 1970's. In 1979 a special center for mothers and their children's health was established. By the following year the center had formulated a five year place to construct women's clinics and provide pediatric care.[41]

In addition, Brezhnev's policy actively served to help the survival of Islam. While publicly Brezhnev proclaimed that the Soviet Union was an atheist state, his actions in Central Asia did not reflect this. To begin,

31   Ibid., 575
32   Olcott, Martha Brill. "In the Whirlwind of Jihad." Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012. 80
33   Ibid., 80
34   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005.136
35   As quoted in Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst 569
36   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst. 535
37   Kozlov, Viktor, et al. "Peoples of the Soviet Union." In Peoples of the Soviet Union, 1. n.p.: 1988. Historical Abstracts with Full Text 120
38   Ro i, Yaacov. 2000. Islam in the Soviet Union: from the Second World War to Gorbachev. London: C. Hurst., 540
39   Ibid., 537
40   William J. Casey "Soviet Islam." CIA ,March 26, 1984,
41   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005. 119

under Brezhnev, an independent Muslim newspaper, *Muslims of the Soviet East* was established in 1968 and put under the control of SADUM. Furthermore, Brezhnev authorized a change in focus for SADUM. Rather than focus on how Islam was practiced inside the Soviet Union, SADUM's new directive was to reconcile Islam with the Communist party and strengthen ties with Muslims internationally.[42] So rather than focus on the practice of Islam and how to limit it, SADUM was given orders to aid the practice of Islam and in doing so seek help from outside the Soviet Union. This policy seems ludicrous for a totalitarian state. Like Stalin in his later years Brezhnev was content to allow the people of Central Asia to live as they had for years and not push for the Sovietization of the region.

Glasnost and Perestroika

At the beginning of his tenure Gorbachev seemed insistent on curbing Islam. Rather than remain apathetic as Brezhnev and his successors had done, Gorbachev would strike hard. He realized that, despite the party's official position on religion, many members of the communist party in Central Asia were practicing Muslims. In 1986 Gorbachev gave a speech lambasting the party structure in Central Asia stating "people in responsible positions who pay lip service to our morals and ideals but themselves practice in religious ceremonies must be made to answer for their behavior."[43] In addition to attacking religion, Gorbachev also initially sought to Russianize Central Asia and Clearly Gorbachev was determined to begin his regime from a place of strength.

However, little came of this. While there were massive purges in Central Asia, these involved participants of the Great Cotton Scandal, a falsification of cotton exports from Uzbekistan which in turn resulted in an increase in funding from the central committee in Moscow, not those who were meant to combat religion. Furthermore, in 1989 the construction of new mosques was permitted and the establishment of more training facilities for those wishing to become Imams. Additionally SADUM was given more freedom and for the first time in Soviet history, was allowed to give exit visas for the Haji. Those registered Imams who wished to take themselves and their followers on Haji could do so though SADUM.[44] This lead to a massive revitalization of Islam, especially in Uzbekistan as Imams attempted to gather as many followers as humanly possible. Finally SADUM allowed for the reintroduction of both the Arabic script for prayer services and the Latin script for more public uses. One example of this was the establishment of a non-government related newspaper *The Light of Islam* in 1990.[45] Regardless of his earlier posturing, Gorbachev's reforms had allowed for the spread of religion the likes of which had not occurred in the Soviet Union for its entire existence.

However, these liberal reforms were surprisingly, not all good for women as this freedom resulted in a resurgence of fundamentalists. These fundamentalists would quickly impose a patriarchal hierarchy. The most obvious evidence of this was the rise in domestic abuse in the late 1980's. This abuse would result in over 270 cases of female self-immolation from 1986-1987[46]. In response, I. Vetlugin the chairman SADUM issued an ordinance, condemning the act in 1988. However, this first ordinance did little to limit the prevalence of self-immolation. This would lead to a second fatwa later in the 1980's's which proclaimed that "The Imams of the mosques and all clergymen are strictly forbidden to conduct a funeral service for suicides."[47] Ironically enough the punishment does not fit the published motivation for the action. In one instance the Soviet press reported that "the women who committed self-immolation were not noted for fanatical piety."[48] SADUM had missed the point but thankfully the rest of the regime had not. While SADUM issued their ordinances, the Supreme Soviet Council of Women traveled to the Fergana region, where most of the instances had taken place. Horrified by what they had seen the council demanded that local police authorities investigate every instance of self-

42   As quoted in Lubin, Nancy. "Uzbekistan: The Challenges Ahead." Middle East Journal 43, no. 4 (1989): 619-34. 625
43   Ibid., 627
44   Olcott, Martha Brill. In the Whirlwind of Jihad. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012.. 72
45   Ibid., 73
46   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005.155
47   Igor, Vetlugin. 'The World will be Beautiful if We are kind to One Another.'Mufti Sh. Babakhanov, Chairman of the Moslem Spiritual Administration of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Answers Questions The Current Digest of the Russian Press, No.48, Vol.40, December 28, 1988, page(s):23-24. 23
48   Ibid., 23

immolation in order to determine if the motivation stemmed from domestic abuse.

Central Asia Today

Islam and Modern Central Asia

Despite the official policy against it Islam continued to be practiced and gained ground in the latter years of the Soviet Union. Many have attributed this to the deep interconnectedness of Islam and the cultures of Central Asia. Geoffrey Wheeler for example, argues that SADUM actually served to bring reform to Islam in central Asia rather than completely control it. As the Central Asia republics modernized the could see more of the benefits of Soviet life brought forth in part by SADUM such as "the great development of education, the modernization of languages, and improvements in social conditions have been accepted by Muslims."[49] He argues that for the most part the people of Central Asia were perfectly content to live under the Soviet system, after all mosques were not being destroyed in mass after the Stalin years.

In another argument Sergei Abashin claims that the Soviet crackdown on religion only extended into the public life and that they were less interested in control the private lives of every single person in the Soviet Union, such a task would simply be impossible. However, he argues that the "underground Islam" never really sought to rebel against the Soviet model and many were perfectly happy living under it. Much like, Wheeler he argues that the actions of SADUM never really served to help weaken Islam throughout the region and rather reformed it stating "The fatwas that it issued censured a number of rituals widespread in the region as non-Islamic and non-obligatory."[50] The SADUM served more to reform Islam than to place it under communist control and by phrasing its ordinances as actions against practices deemed non-Muslim rather than damaging to the Union as a whole. They were never trying to enforce the communist hardline and so the people were receptive to the reforms on their own merit.

In relation to women, Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes argues that women's livelihoods were better under the communist regime than in the post-Soviet states. She claims "under the previous system, the commitment to a politics of gender equality, however partial or incomplete, maintained a critical mass of female representation."[51] Her argument, while on its face true, is lacking. Certainly women are not represented in government bodies in Central Asia very well but this is because they have taken different roles in society. She neglects the arguments of the two above and fails to address the liberalization of Islam under Soviet rule and in recent years. Women continued to work in industry after WWII and in 1996 the literacy rate for women of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia reached 98%.[52] Furthermore, a study by the *European Management Review* found four women in Kazakhstan who had worked as CEOs for over 10 years.[53] While this is not a large number, it is evident of a change in societal thought towards women. In addition, the women surveyed came from varied backgrounds, including working in higher education, international sports, finance, construction, and medical services. The positions of these women and the variety of their employment serve as a testament to the change of social norms and the moderate success of female liberation in Central Asia. While they might not be involved in government, these women are certainly breaking new ground for those following them.

Even in Uzbekistan the traditionalism is still being combated. Uzbekistan, as mentioned earlier, had seen

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49   Wheeler, Geoffrey. "Islam and the Soviet Union." Middle Eastern Studies 13, no. 1 (1977): 40-49..
50   Abashin, Sergei. 2014. "A Prayer for Rain: Practicing Being Soviet and Muslim." Journal Of Islamic Studies 25, no. 2: 178-200. International Security & Counter Terrorism p191
51   Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. Lost Voices : Central Asian Women Confronting Transition. London: Zed Books, 2005. 160
52   Anuradha M. Chenoy,."Islam, Women and Identity in Contemporary Central Asia." Economic And Political Weekly no. 9 (1996): 516. JSTOR Journals. 518
53   Kakabadse, Nada, et al. "A Gender Perspective on Entrepreneurial Leadership: Female Entrepreneurial Leaders in Kazakhstan." Academy Of Management Annual Meeting Proceedings 2015, no. 1 (January 2015): 1. Business Source Complete 6

a particularly vibrant Islamic revival in the 80's and as such refused to be passive. In fact these revivals would be increasingly outspoken in their denunciation of the Soviet Union after the perestroika reforms. Rather than accept the actions of SADUM as reform, "they accuse the official clergy of conformism, collaboration, self-interest, violation of Islamic principles."[54] Additionally, one of the first non-communist parties in Uzbekistan was the Islamic Revival Party. The significance of this was not lost on Islam Kasimov, the first president of independent Uzbekistan. The government quickly began a campaign to limit radical Islam. Unlike the previous regime, the Uzbek government initially fought against militant groups in the Fergana Valley. Seeking to solidify his hold over the nation Karimov cracked down on radical Islam until in 1995 the Islamic Revival Party was disbanded.[55] Karimov followed up on his victory by requiring Imam to spread a safe Islam.[56] Much like in the Soviet Union, the practice of religion would be regulated. Yet, much like in the Soviet Union, enforcement is varied. For the most part Karimov and his regime seemed to be more concerned with addressing problems as they arose rather than taking the initiative. This is evident by the continued existence of otine such as Turson-oy. Turson-oy preaches outside the bounds of regulated Islam and yet continues to argue that people should respect their temporal authorities.[57] Women such as Turson-oy demonstrate the intersection of Islam and women's rights in Central Asia. Without the steps made in women's liberation she would not be allowed to preach by traditionalists. In fact she even has a few radicals who come to hear her preach. She claims some of her followers "want to start now and create an Islamic government."[58] The very fact that such radicals would even listen to a women suggest that attitudes towards women have drastically changed even in the past few decades. Where before domestic abuse against women was rampant, now angry extremists sit and listen to women telling them no good will come of their actions.[59] Clearly the status of women has risen showing the mark of the Soviet regime on the region. While women's liberation may not have been a complete success, and traditionalist elements of Islam may remain, the process of Sovietization was not a complete failure.

Conclusion

      Despite fluctuating in status from practically legal, to ban in the public sphere Islam survived in Central Asia. However, influenced by the women's liberation Islam became more liberal in the post-Soviet states. The forced introduction of women into educational programs and heavy industry changed the social norms and allowed for women to enter into positions that Islamic fundamentals would have rebelled against. By protecting the status of Islam, with the creation of SADUM and CARC, the Soviet government had also allowed for the religious protection of women. By forcing mainstream religious leaders to conform to the communist way in some sense the party had allowed the religion to reform in Central Asia. This left a permanent mark on those states which would emerge after the collapse of the central government. Rather than descend back into their traditional way of life, the presence of women in the workforce was protected and traditionalism continued to be combated by the regimes. While certainly not a complete success Sovietization changed to lives of Central Asian women for the better allowing them greater freedom.

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54   Naumkin, Vitaly. "Islam in the States of the Former USSR." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 524 (1992): 131-42. 135
55   Radical Islam 70
56   Leading against odds 25
57   Ibid.,32
58   As quoted in Ibid., 33
59   Ibid., 33

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FINAL THOUGHTS
WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

<u>Reader,</u>

From the staff of the Hayes History Journal we thank you for reading our collective work. In all submissions, it is apparent that each writer is passionate in their love of History by demonstrating excellent research and academic scholarship. This display of historical analysis is a means of understanding the past and it's necessary application to the present.

History surrounds us in all that we do, it has birthed the most beautiful and treacherous moments we have ever encountered. It has manifested the brilliant minds of individuals and encouraged the sinister acts of tyranny. It has shaped who we are as humans, bringing the world closer yet it may have driven people apart. It helps us decide our actions so we may not make the same mistakes again and prevent others from falling into the same cycles.

This is what makes our jobs so important; to present ideas in a way which will inform and hopefully inspire further thought. My late eighth grade teacher had a saying "We learn from history what we don't learn from history". She never explained what this meant directly to us, but instead allowed it to brew in our minds. Now, years later, we can all see it means to explore, look further, and dig deeper into history. We have an obligation as historians to excavate the truth; this journal is one of our first steps. Soon, we will graduate from here and enter the real world while carrying the knowledge in order to make a difference.

We at the Hayes History Journal were excited to hear we would have the opportunity to revive this wonderful tradition. We hope the classes below us will carry the torch, continue to encourage undergraduates in their early stages of research and always strive to learn from History.

James Elliott, Editor