

GPR

GEORGIA POLITICAL REVIEW
spring 2013

THE INFORMED STUDENT'S GUIDE

to

BRIDGING THE
GREAT DIVIDE

*Can Immigration
Reform Lead to
Bipartisanship?*

A COAL CONUNDRUM
*Inside the Clean
Energy Debate at
UGA*

FEMINISM ON THE
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*Women and
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THE FUTURE OF
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*An Interview with
Anthony Michael
Kreis*

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Well, that's that; the hurly burly's done, the battle's lost and won.

With the 2012 election in the rearview mirror, the murky U.S. political landscape is finally put into a more specific relief. President Obama is back. Issues like marriage equality, gun control, and a new debt-reduction plan seem likely to occupy Congress for the coming session. And while the scars of a hotly-contested and contentious election have only just begun to fade, the first quarter of 2013 has already filled our news feeds with enough headlines to make our heads spin: an emboldened and aggressive North Korea, a record-high Dow Jones Industrial Average, a retiring Pope, an old-timey Senate filibuster, and more. We tried to catch a breath, but we didn't have a chance.

So it goes with The Georgia Political Review. Our march to become the most interactive political review in the country continues on. We hosted an enlightening panel discussion about new HOPE Scholarship legislation with members of the Student Government Association and professor of economics Dr. Christopher Cornwell. In addition, we had two members represent

GPR at the first annual Dawgs at the Dome event, where members of SGA, College Republicans, Young Democrats and more joined together to get a firsthand glimpse at lobbying in the Georgia State Capitol. Our efforts to evoke an elevated discussion of politics devoid of partisanship will carry us into the second half of the semester, where we will cover SGA elections at the University of Georgia and continue to analyze the race to fill Saxby Chambliss' U.S. Senate seat.

This spring's issue has something for everyone. Readers will notice an international flair as our writers explore new perspectives on North Korea, analyze the drug trade in Central Asia, and reflect on Iran's nuclear program and its effects on Middle Eastern politics. More concerned about the goings-on at home? We delve into new dynamics in the Republican party, evaluate Georgia's FY2014 budget, and ask questions about coal energy at the University of Georgia. We're also excited about our most robust Culture section yet, with looks at Michelle Obama as a fashionista, dogs in the U.S. military, and the woes of a heartbreaking sports season for Georgia sports fans.



Tucker Green

We hope you enjoy our perspectives in these pages, and we hope you learn as you do. But most importantly, we hope you join the conversation.

GPR The Georgia Political Review

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IDEOLOGY QUANTIFIED: THE STORY OF GEORGIA'S NUMBERS



WISDOM.
JUSTICE.
[BUT MOSTLY]
MODERATION.

Greyson Clark
Associate Editor

Discussion of Georgia's FY2014 budget, though laced with bureaucratic and statistical stigma, is eminently important. This year's budget and the budgets of the last decade are a case study of national debate, emerging ideologies, state-level concerns, and social issues that impact nearly every individual. Georgia's recent budgets quantify austerity, and funding changes to higher education reveal the actual effects of an abstract ideology.

In order to fully understand the "higher education budget," it must be held in context of the budget in its entirety. On July 23, 2012, the Office of Planning and Budget released its annual memo instructing all executive offices on how to formulate their respective budgets for FY2014, requesting across-the-board reductions.

The directive is not a solitary incident. It reflects the story of ideological cuts, defended in terms of fiscal stewardship, business savvy, and government accountability. The Georgia Budget and Policy Institute (GBPI) tracked the cuts made in each agency since 2009. In these few years, public primary education had been reduced nearly 10 percent. Most agencies had taken even steeper cuts. Their proposed 2014 budgets will cumulatively all fall between 20 percent and 30 percent less than they were in 2009.

Generally, austerity is accompanied by an obsessive aversion to any revenue increases; GBPI indicates that Georgia has the lowest state tax revenue per person in the nation. Despite the important task of quantifying an abstract ideology, budget numbers and percentages are still too intangible to reveal the real impacts that cuts have.

Cuts in the budget for higher education in Georgia can illustrate the effects of austerity while also suggesting the parallel ramifications of austerity on most state agencies. The Board of Regents uses state funding to oversee and manage the University System of Georgia. According to GBPI, the Board has seen its state funding decrease by 17.5 percent since 2009. Janice Barrocas, director of the public interest campaign HOPE for Georgia, describes this as a prolonged disinvestment in education. A GPBI report tracked rising levels of enrolled students and falling per-person spending. The ramifications include: larger class sizes, fewer courses offered, layoffs, limited pay increases, and declining hiring rates in universities.

Failure to accommodate larger student bodies as a result of less state funding is only one effect. How did the Board of Regents, despite facing substantial budget cuts, manage to operate the University System of Georgia without a corresponding decline in quality of services offered? The answer to this question brings light to other hidden costs of austerity.

The Board of Regents has a second source of revenue. The student body funds its own education through tuition, activity fees, institutional fees, and other various burdens placed on them. The Board of Regents has shifted its revenue base by decreasing its reliance on shrinking state investments and increasing the costs imposed on students. Since fall 2008, GBPI has recorded a 74 percent increase in tuition and mandatory

fees across the entire University System of Georgia. Research universities like UGA have nearly doubled the personal financial burden on students.

The chain reaction does not end here. Tuition changes have been shrouded by the HOPE scholarship. But a vicious cycle has begun. Due to skyrocketing tuitions, Georgia can no longer afford to continue operating HOPE at its current level and has subsequently slashed the number of students who qualify for funding. As tuition increases, further reductions to the HOPE Scholarship will likely take place.

Policies of austerity affect historically underrepresented groups. The HOPE Scholarship can often be the determining factor of whether an individual goes on to higher education, and cuts to it can push individuals out of college. Dropout rates increase, and enrollment rates decline. A *Wall Street Journal* article from December 2012 reported a 1.2 percent enrollment decline at public colleges, emphasizing that black enrollment fell 3.2 percent in the same period. The article also points out that increasing the merit-based requirements of HOPE to limit state expenditures negatively impacts students from poorer economic backgrounds. These students are also the most likely to take out student loans. Barrocas describes student loan debt as a "speculative bubble" comparable to predatory mortgage lending practices a decade ago. Student loan debt has surpassed credit debt in the United States, breaking over \$1 trillion. The rising tuition costs and cuts to HOPE force tens of thousands of currently enrolled students to either take out loans or to drop out, the latter option begins an immediate loan repayment process.

Barrocas urges students to inform themselves on the issues, to share their stories of pain and struggle with their communities and representatives, and to keep in mind that legislators may not know the severity of the problems. These impacts of austerity, while specific to higher education, provide an illustration of how across-the-board cuts can impact each state agency and beyond. Austerity has real world impacts and budgets, while tedious, are critical.



A COAL CONUNDRUM

IN ATHENS, GA

Environmental policy continues to trouble Washington, and UGA finds itself in the middle of the debate.

Aashka Dave and Charlie Spalding
Associate Editors

In recent years, politicians have struggled to find common ground on fiscally responsible policy that addresses environmental concerns. President Obama, for instance, upped the political ante by issuing a climate-change ultimatum to Congress during his January State of the Union address. The University of Georgia has not been exempt from this discussion, and has in fact been embroiled in a micro-level environmental dilemma of its own surrounding the continued use of an outdated coal boiler at the University's central steam plant.

The Physical Plant uses steam production to heat several buildings that occupy the University's 739-acre main campus. The central steam plant on the corner of Carlton Street and East Campus Road is a fixture of the University's steam production, and contains four boilers, three powered by relatively environmentally friendly natural gas, and one powered by coal. This coal boiler, used only during the coldest months of the year, is used to create steam that heats some residence halls and hot water for both dining hall

washing and lab sterilization. Coal plays a vital role at the University by accounting for 28.5 percent of the steam production on campus.

Coal remains an important fuel in America's cumulative energy sector as well. According to the United States Energy Information Administration, coal-fired power plants account for 40% of the nation's energy production. Due to its large scale, the industry is an important provider of private sector jobs, particularly in Appalachia and the western United States. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the coal industry supported around 86,000 jobs in 2011. The coal industry is an important part of the cultural identity of states like West Virginia, where generations of families have mined coal in the Appalachian Mountains.

Although coal plays an important role in America and Athens, it is one of the least efficient fossil fuels available. While coal is only used to produce around 40 percent of the nation's electricity, it is responsible for almost 80 percent of the carbon emissions associated with electricity generation. Every time coal is burned, carbon dioxide, sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and mercury compounds are released into the atmosphere. In turn,

these compounds cause harm to the individuals breathing the air near coal burners and contribute to acid rain. The extraction process itself is also inherently destructive. Strip mining, the most economically efficient mining technique, literally scrapes earth away to reach coal seams, causing soil erosion, chemical contamination of water, and dust and noise pollution. Underground coal mining, the most prevalent mining system, brings large quantities of toxic waste to the surface and lowers the water table.

Student groups like the UGA Sierra Student Organization and its Beyond Coal campaign have been outspoken critics of the University's continued use of the coal-fired boiler, citing many of the aforementioned environmental criticisms and condemning the exploitative nature of the coal industry. According to Heather Hatzenbuehler, co-founder of the UGA Sierra Student Organization, "In Appalachia, for example, a historically oppressed region, the people are taken advantage of. Coal mining is an industry where the mule has always been more important than the man." The Beyond Coal campaign has met with a number of challenges, most notably a lack of information and support

from members of the UGA community. When students representing Beyond Coal meet with administrators, they often face the challenge of a completely uninformed body. Beyond Coal has also run into the stigma associated with activism. As Hatzembuhler put it, "Activism is a dirty word both among students and administrators... To make people care about something so heavily politicized and related to political ideology has been an incredible challenge." Despite these challenges, the campaign has gathered approximately five thousand signatures in the past three years for a petition urging the administration to abandon the coal burner. Compared to the petition that resulted in the University's Green fee, which had signatures numbering in the hundreds, this is a significant accomplishment.

A 2011 op-ed in the *Red and Black* penned by Senior Vice President Tim Burgess acknowledged Hatzembuhler's environmental concerns by explaining, "The University recognizes that coal is not an optimal fuel source and that its use carries environmental costs." Despite this conscious awareness of the effects of coal use, the University continues to employ the fuel in its overall energy portfolio due to its cost and dependability. In a fuel source report issued by the Department of Energy's Southeast Clean Energy Application Center, estimates for capital investment required to replace the coal-fired boiler "are in the \$20-26 million range." With a weak economic recovery and cuts in state funding, replacing the coal boiler is simply not financially feasible. The energy needs of a burgeoning research campus like the Uni-

versity of Georgia are also a significant factor in the administration's decision to continue operating the boiler. In order to continue to rise to the highest echelons of educational institutions, the University must maintain a dependable source of energy for laboratories and dormitories alike. At this point in time, it seems as though administrators are willing to take the "heat" for an environmentally unfriendly process in return for continued expansion and increased prestige of the University.

**“WITH A WEAK
ECONOMIC RECOVERY
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FUNDING, REPLACING
THE COAL BOILER IS
SIMPLY NOT
FINANCIALLY FEASIBLE.”**

It is also important to note that the University, despite having added four million square feet in the last decade, has reduced its energy consumption per square foot and is well on its way to a 20 percent overall reduction by 2020, as outlined by the University's Strategic Plan. All new construction projects are required to receive a silver

Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification, and the retrofitting of existing buildings, like the Jackson Street College of Environmental Design, has focused on renewable materials and solar panels.

This month, the University also began soliciting bids from environmental engineering firms for a comprehensive study of possible coal boiler replacements. The University hopes to incorporate all facets of a new plant into the study including logistics, space required, fuel efficiency, and long-term viability. The commissioned study, particularly timely given the critical age of the coal fired boiler, is an important step towards an optimum energy solution that incorporates both environmental concerns and the University's burgeoning energy needs.

Ultimately, Hatzembuhler acknowledges that the efforts the University is making are steps in the right direction. Compared to the efforts made by other institutions, however, and the potential that the University has to be a leader in the field of sustainability in education, advancements are few and far between. University officials are faced with the unenviable task of allocating the increasingly limited resources of the school in a process that inevitably leads some interest groups to cry foul. Perhaps as green technologies become more affordable and Georgia addresses its economic woes, the University will undertake more extensive sustainability efforts. In the meantime, the voices of students like Hatzembuhler are integral to ensuring that the University honors its commitment to the environment in the fullest degree.



SHOULD GAY RIGHTS BE COMPARED TO CIVIL RIGHTS?

Darrian Stacy
Associate Editor

African Americans, like most of the country, are divided. Months after the first half-black president advocated the importance of gay rights by juxtaposing the Civil Rights and Gay Rights Movements, there is still a lingering debate about whether the comparison is appropriate.

The argument boils down to the belief in a fundamental difference in the nature of struggle that gays face compared to those who fought in the Civil Rights Movement. Former RNC Chairman Michael Steele says that the difference is in visibility and that gays can choose not to disclose their orientation. Meanwhile, he argues, "whatever racial feelings [one has] about African Americans, about black people...is visceral, [and] it comes out." Some blacks even feel insulted by the notion of drawing parallels between the two movements and, in the words of African American Bishop Gilbert Thompson, "homosexuals are trying to piggyback on the civil rights struggles of the '60s."

Valid or not, such outspoken criticisms of the notion of even comparing the movements has furthered a misconception that African Americans are intolerant. Adding to this sentiment is a 2009 survey by the Pew Research

Center that indicates "blacks are much more likely to think that homosexuality is morally wrong (64 percent) than whites (48 percent) or Hispanics (43 percent)." While the social climate has changed considerably since 2009 and this statistic is not representative of every African American in the country, the "anti-gay" stereotype still plagues the black community and ultimately arises when discussing the comparison between Gay Rights and Civil Rights.

It is not just some black officials against the comparison though. In a memo from the pro-gay rights think tank Third Way, the group mentions how lawmakers should "exercise caution" in comparing the two movements because it can cause people "to think about the differences between the experiences of African Americans and LGBT people, not the similarities," a self-evident sentiment given the reasons for opposition to the comparison.

Third Way's words speak to the heart of the issue. Comparison is not necessarily meant to equate two things. Why should blacks be labeled as being homophobic when some within the community speak out to protect what they feel is a sensitive and historical source of identity? More importantly, what are we losing in the discussion by only focusing on either the differences or similarities of the two movements?

AN INTERVIEW WITH ANTHONY MICHAEL KREIS

Uzma Chowdhury
Associate Editor

The ravaged remaining dregs of coffee, a plain bagel, and an apple cinnamon scone sit before Anthony Michael Kreis in a half-empty Walker's Coffee Shop.

"I've been up since 7:30," he wearily informs me before he shuts off his Macbook Pro.

It's no surprise he has been working such long hours—a doctoral student specializing in issues concerning sexual and racial minorities and civil liberties. Kreis is also a political co-chair for the Human Rights Campaign's Atlanta Steering Committee. He has also assisted in legislation, drafting various states' marriage equality initiatives, including the 2011 New York Marriage Equality Act. He came to Athens from Charlottesville, Virginia, where he earned his law degree from Washington and Lee, and served as research assistant to First Amendment scholar Rodney A. Smolla and a leading expert on marriage equality and religious liberty, Fretwell Wilson. In addition to his coursework at UGA, Kreis continues to pursue LGBT rights advocacy at the state level, organizing and facilitating lobbying events at the capitol in order to promote equal rights and nondiscrimination policies in employment.

We begin our discussion with the question of whether same-sex marriage legislation impinges upon First Amendment rights.

"This is something I struggle with for a number of reasons," Kreis said. "I am a firm believer in the First Amendment. I believe in parcel with our constitutional rights however, comes a realization that there are some constitutional rights that carry baggage."

Kreis goes on to explain that there are religious practices that embrace things that he disagrees with, but that's part of the American system of government. But that doesn't mean we need to accept a law that is wrong. He gives the example of *Boy Scouts v. Dale*, explaining how the Boy Scouts of America clearly have a free right not to accept gays; the substance of that Supreme Court decision was right on the constitutional premises of free association. However, that does not mean that someone has to lie down and accept the decision.

In his research, Kreis focuses mostly on religious institutions and what they can and cannot do. "I don't believe that any religious organization should be able to discriminate on any basis if they accept taxpayer dollars. I also don't think that anyone has religious

based rights to discriminate if they engage in a business, such as florists or wedding planners," Kreis said. But what about those organizations that don't rely on taxpayer funds but are closely related to religious institutions, like the Catholic Church? The response to these institutions, Kreis recommends, is to create a sphere where religious liberty is protected while also promoting marriage equality. "We have to understand that we live in a pluralistic society. We can't make everyone see things the way we see them. The best thing, then, is to let things take their course so it can be demonstrated that religious liberty is not impinged by marriage equality."

The Supreme Court set a very low standard for the state to win the free exercise claim in *Boy Scouts v. Dale* with the accompanying clause to the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. It establishes that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." *Employment Division v. Smith* observed that the Court has never held that an individual's religious beliefs excuse him from compliance with an otherwise valid law. The case states that allowing exceptions to every state law or regulation affecting religion "would open the prospect of constitutionally required exemptions from civic obligations of almost every conceivable kind." Referring to this case, Kreis said, "It's very easy to create laws that impinge on religious exercises that don't run afoul of the Constitution. Every single piece of marriage equality legislation is given far more protection than what the Supreme Court said the Constitution requires."

My discussion with Kreis then transitioned into how recent victories for same-sex marriage legislation affect future policy change. "There is a 3-part process that worked in Maine, Maryland, and Washington that will pave the way of future legislation," he said, "Firstly, we now know how to message. The idea of equal rights doesn't sell well, but when you talk about people, humans, fellow Americans, being in loving, committed, long-term relationships and raising children, you get an accurate reflection of what we are doing and it resonates with people." Bringing this personal aspect to the movement makes it relevant to constituents.

"Secondly, by having robust religious liberty language, you take away a big claim from opponents of same-sex marriage. Churches are religious organizations that don't have to recognize and participate in same-sex mar-



riages if they don't want to, but if taxpayer money is involved, it's unconstitutional."

Finally, Kreis said, "It's very important to have strong, heterosexual politicians supporting same sex marriage legislation." Governor Martin O'Malley of Maryland, Governor Andrew Cuomo of New York, and even President Barack Obama all represent the strong leadership that people want to follow. These leaders give people direction and galvanize constituents to move towards marriage equality.

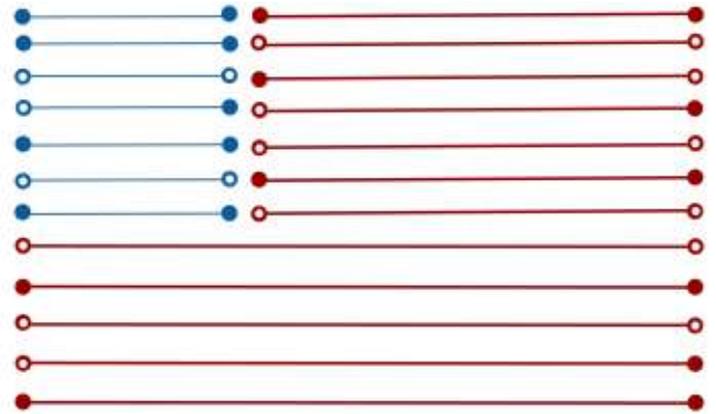
Kreis predicts that by the end of 2013, several more states will pass marriage equality laws under this formula. Though he is somewhat concerned that the South won't have marriage equality until there is judicial intervention from the Supreme Court, he said that an opinion of that kind is four to five years away.

"Even if we don't expect marriage equality to pass in the next five years, I don't think we should be unmindful of marriage equality public policy in the South. We should always be pushing public policy in the right direction."

Kreis suggests that there are many other things the movement for gay rights can push while marriage equality seems out of reach. Nondiscrimination for public employees, or private employees, housing, and public accommodations are all policy initiatives that Kreis believes can be reasonably accomplished in the South in the near future.

While the future of marriage equality remains to be determined, the movement behind it is determined—determined to change the face of marriage equality and equal rights in the United States, determined to create a more inclusive base for our nation's LGBT population, and determined to maintain civil liberties for all citizens. Passionate members of this movement, like Kreis, will continue to work tirelessly until the Supreme Court decision occurs that will institutionalize these changes—setting a precedent to have and to uphold.

POLITICS IN THE AGE OF BIG DATA



Gautam Narula
Webmaster

Every day, Internet users generate millions of gigabytes of data. Every time someone clicks a link, visits a website, uses an app, or makes a phone call, data is created. These actions are tracked, recorded, and added to increasingly large datasets. The creation of these truly massive data sets and the newfound ability to analyze them -- thanks to cheap hardware and improved algorithms -- has led observers to call this phenomenon "Big Data". The consulting firm McKinsey called Big Data the "next frontier for innovation, competition, and productivity."

Technology companies have been well aware of Big Data and its implications for the past decade. Google and Facebook comb their billions of users' actions to personalize ads and search results. Netflix and Amazon analyze users' browsing and reviewing histories to offer personalized recommendations on new products. Palantir Technologies, a Silicon Valley startup, has worked with the CIA and the FBI to analyze and integrate intelligence data to disrupt terrorist networks and combat credit card fraud. However, 2012 was the first time that large-scale data analytics entered the political arena, leading some observers to dub it the "Year of Big Data."

As people share increasing amounts of personal information online through their social networks, purchasing history, and browsing habits, companies—and political campaigns—will learn much more about them. Nate Silver, a statistician blogging for the *New York Times*, used aggregated data analysis to consistently predict Barack Obama's electoral victory to be a near certainty, drawing the ire of political pundits pushing "too close to call" narratives in opinion columns

and nightly talk shows. Joe Scarborough, a conservative political commentator with MSNBC, criticized Silver's analysis, asserting that "anybody that thinks that this race is anything but a toss-up right now is such an ideologue, they should be kept away from typewriters, computers, laptops and microphones for the next 10 days, because they're jokes." Indirectly referencing the furor over Silver's predictions in his *New York Times* column, David Brooks wrote, "If there's one thing we know, it's that even experts with fancy computer models are terrible at predicting human behavior." But come Election Day, Silver correctly predicted the winner of all fifty states and the District of Columbia.

The 2012 election also saw both the Obama and Romney campaigns using complex data analysis algorithms operating on massive voter databases. These algorithms integrated data from multiple sources to create targeted, personalized ad campaigns and identify swing voters most susceptible to campaign advertising. The campaigns spent tens of millions of dollars hiring teams of data scientists to merge offline and online data to create sophisticated profiles of potential voters—How likely a voter was to donate? how often an individual talks to friends about politics? What messaging would be most effective to persuade an indecisive voter? and many other crucial questions..

This is just the tip of the iceberg. In the midst of the recent debate on gun control, some have suggested creating a massive database of all guns and ammo purchases, with data algorithms identifying unusual patterns in purchase history and flagging individuals most likely to attack others with guns. As Republicans and Democrats battle over deficits and budget cuts, data mining may play a vital role in reducing fraud and waste

in government expenditures. From education to healthcare to counterterrorism, Big Data promises to transform many of the issues currently debated on Capitol Hill.

The greatest obstacle to the rise of data crunchers is concern about privacy and the amount of information corporations, campaigns, and governments have on individuals. Target was caught in a public relations nightmare when its algorithms sent pregnancy related coupons to a teenage girl's house before she had told her father about the pregnancy. The Federal Trade Commission now requires Facebook to undergo privacy audits for the next two decades after the social network provided user data to third parties for advertising and app development. At the same time the Obama administration was pushing for greater online privacy protections, the Obama campaign was collecting vast amounts of data about potential voters through the very same methods the administration was trying to impede. As data collectors become increasingly aggressive in collecting information, policymakers face the difficult task of respecting privacy rights without choking off the power of Big Data.

The politics of the future will be a much more precise affair—more evidence based, more targeted, and more invasive. In the coming years, the advanced techniques employed by the Obama and Romney campaigns will trickle down to state-wide and local races. Elections will be decided not on eloquent speeches or slick photo ops, but on the volume of data gathered. Political pundits will eventually have to incorporate rigorous metrics into their analysis, or risk embarrassment and ridicule from the Nate Silvers of the world. Welcome to the age of Big Data.

SO LONG, STATE DEPARTMENT

ANALYZING HILLARY CLINTON'S TENURE AS SECRETARY OF STATE

Jacqueline Van de Velde
Associate Editor

On February 1, 2013, Hillary Clinton submitted her official resignation as Secretary of State.

Her retirement sparked waves of speculation about her next step. With the 2016 presidency on the distant horizon and Clinton's approval ratings sky-high, newspapers, blogs, and networks began analyzing her chances of running in the next election. While her potential role four years in the future has been thoroughly explored, her role over the last four has not received the attention it deserves. The question needs to be asked: What is Clinton's legacy as Secretary of State?

Merely in terms of travel, Clinton's achievements as Secretary of State were tremendous; over four years, she traveled almost a million miles over 401 days through 112 countries. Her service was historic; she was the third female Secretary of State and the first ever First Lady to earn the position.

Her accomplishments were vast, but for many, her pinnacle achievement was reestablishing diplomatic relations with Myanmar, allowing her to make the first trip from a U.S. Secretary of State to the country since 1955. This trip was a small reflection of Clinton's much-emphasized "pivot to Asia." Clinton broke tradition by traveling to Japan, Indonesia, South Korea, and China instead of to Europe as her first trip in February 2009. Her work supported President Obama's efforts to reestablish the United States as a Pacific power.

Clinton also played a large role in Libya, coordinating the effort to overthrow Moammar Gadhafi. She also successfully negotiated the freedom of Chinese dissident Chen Guangcheng. Additionally, she introduced the reform-seeking Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) process to the State Department to continually review and streamline bureaucratic processes.

But critics are not convinced. A June 2012 Pew Research Center survey found that in general, global attitudes towards the United

States worsened during Clinton's service.

Critics find fault in Clinton's performance during the Arab Spring, which produced immense challenges – some handled better than others. Perhaps most problematic was the deadly attack on the American mission in Benghazi, for which the State Department came under heavy criticism both for not providing adequate security to the mission and for not responding to Ambassador Stevens' requests in a timely fashion.



Secretary Hillary Clinton says farewell to State Department employees.

In addition, as Fox News correspondent Brit Hume pointed out, many of the greatest international issues are no closer to being solved now than they were when Clinton took up her position as Secretary of State. Arabs and Israelis are no closer to peace, evidence indicates that both Iran and North Korea are still pursuing nuclear programs, and the "reset with Russia" appears unsuccessful. Hume also alleges that there is no "Clinton doctrine" that can be defined or pointed to as her lasting legacy, nor any major treaties she negotiated to a successful conclusion.

While Clinton may not leave behind any Accords, what she does leave behind is a fundamentally different brand of diplomacy than any the United States has ever conducted before. Clinton has shifted American

foreign policy away from reliance on military force to the utilization of "smart power," her own term, used to describe foreign relations that are heavy in diplomacy and international economic assistance.

Clinton's is a type of diplomacy in which talks are not just between government officials, but in which the U.S. government develops relationships with people on the ground, encouraging contacts in nongovernmental organizations and civil society to act as local advocates for development. To this end, Clinton has embraced the use of social media as a way to hear the needs of citizens and build connections between governments and civil society.

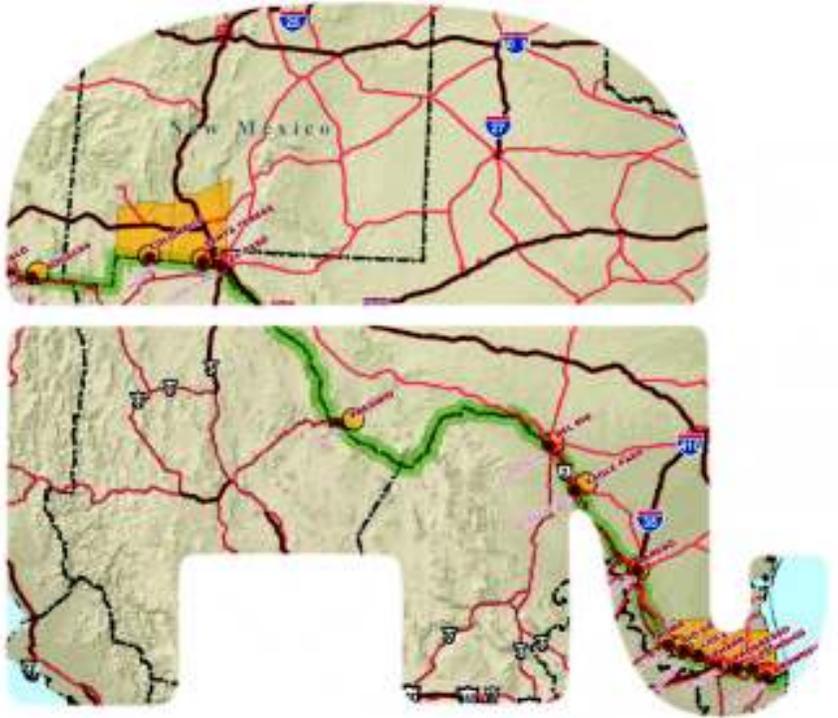
Clinton argues that it is critical to ensure that *all* voices are heard – including those of women. Stressing that the status of women is directly related to development, she has stressed increasing women's rights as a means of promoting peace and creating long-lasting change. Building upon her work as First Lady, Clinton leaves the State Department having created within it a new office: the Office on Global Women's Issues, in which the ambassador's responsibility is to bring the needs of women to the forefront of policy development and evaluation.

But whatever critics may say, they are in the minority. In a USA TODAY-Gallup poll from May 10-13 of 2012, Clinton achieved 66 percent approval ratings, higher than those of the president. She has been featured on the cover of Newsweek, and has been rated the world's most admired women in Gallup polls for 16 of the past 19 years. Yet, it's important to note that this support is largely domestic – and that approval ratings are subject to change.

While Clinton's tenure cannot be considered perfect, her tireless work over the past four years benefitted the United States. Most importantly, she leaves behind a legacy of a fundamentally *different* kind of diplomacy: a people-to-people diplomacy that protects the rights of the underrepresented and enables citizens to act as local diplomats. It is a legacy as strong as, and maybe stronger than, any formal treaty.

Bridging the Great Divide

HOW IMMIGRATION REFORM COULD SAVE BIPARTISANSHIP.



Max Wallace and Nathan Williams
Associate Editors

Our nation's capital, where responsible decision-making is the fundamental responsibility, is paralyzed, broken, and dysfunctional. The obligation of functionality seems to have died alongside the norm of institutional patriotism. Legislators once maintained friendships with fellow lawmakers from across the aisle, but the atmosphere has changed in recent years. Legislators now embark on crusades against one another – not the other's policy positions – and lack the comity necessary for compromise. This increased polarization is also beginning to dissuade more moderate members from returning to Congress. Those members' votes typically facilitate the passage of major legislation, which begins a corrosive cycle that only exacerbates the underlying issue.

In 2012, the most moderate member of the upper-chamber, Sen. Ben Nelson (D-Neb.), announced his retirement to avoid an uphill reelection battle and veteran Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) lost

his party's nomination to a Tea Party-backed challenger. Moderation may be considered a vice by some, especially in today's political climate, but the American people demand it in practice. President John F. Kennedy's words of wisdom are as relevant today as ever: "Let us not seek the Republican answer or Democrat answer, but the right answer. Let us not seek to fix blame for the past. Let us accept responsibility for the future." Political obstructionism, partisan posturing, and legislative stalemates may have dominated Washington for the past decade, but pragmatism can still be revived through strategic political calculus. Conditions are right for discipline and patriotism to ignite a revolution where political altruism supersedes brinkmanship. The nation's rendezvous with destiny can begin now, but only if our legislators in Washington choose to resist partisan gravity.

The immigration debate presents an opportunity to bridge the gap between Democrats and Republicans. Both parties acknowledge the necessity of reforming existing laws since many have not been revised since President Ronald Reagan

THE NATION'S RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY CAN BEGIN NOW, BUT ONLY IF OUR LEGISLATORS IN WASHINGTON CHOOSE TO RESIST PARTISAN GRAVITY.



was in office nearly three decades ago. First-term Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) is serving as the country's chief delegate working to draft a comprehensive reform plan. The youthful power-broker leads a bipartisan coalition of senators known as the "Gang of Eight" whose purpose is to design a blueprint for debate before legislators begin constructing legislation. Both the coalition's existence and Sen. Rubio's partnerships with influential Democrats like Sens. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), signal that bilateral legislating is still achievable.

How can this gallant attempt at compromise succeed when so many others have failed? The last Congress failed to address the fiscal cliff until after its deadline, managing only to delay the problem by holding a midnight session as the New Year began. Likewise, the heavily publicized "Gang of Six," which sought to address the nation's budget woes in a substantive manner, failed to convince their colleagues to unite behind a solution. In fact, membership in this bipartisan coalition resulted in their being ostracized from their general party delegations.

Immigration reform is noteworthy from these cases of historical failure since the Republican Party now finds itself confronting an issue that threatens its very survival. Faced with an exploding minority population to whom the party has minimal appeal at the polls, Republicans realize compromise is cardinal. Democrats are ecstatic to finally be presented with a chance to bring to fruition their decade long attempt to address the broken immigration system. In short, immigration reform looks all the more likely, not because legislators have finally realized that they need to rise above petty squabbles in order to serve the greater good, but rather because the individual interests of each party seem to finally be aligning in a way that may at last promote progress.

Perhaps it is disheartening to conclude that compromise in Congress looks to be driven more by survival instinct than by pure patriotism. Nevertheless, the stage appears set for immigration to be merely the first in a series of compromises that will end in Congress resolving its impotence on fiscal issues. Legislative momentum may be posed to shift sufficiently toward the Republican Party so as to break the crippling gridlock afflicting the Capitol. In the House, Speaker John Boehner (R-Ohio) heads the conservative majority, laboring tirelessly to keep the moderate and extremist portions of his party united; meanwhile in the Senate, Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV) stands at the front of a tenuous Democratic majority which was recently unable to secure ratification of the president's nominee for Secretary of Defense.

This situation is poised to produce change based upon two factors. A majority of the senators up for reelection next year are members of the president's party, who capitalized on the fervor that then Sen. Obama generated in 2008. Forced to campaign without a charismatic figurehead and a much less enthusiastic electorate, reelection becomes a daunting challenge, especially in a midterm election where research has shown that the president's party has a strong tendency to lose seats. The second factor involves two powerful, independent legislators who together could be unstoppable.

Senator Marco Rubio and Congressman Paul Ryan (R-Wis.) have both earned reputations as rising stars within Republican Party. What better way to manifest progressive ambition than to construct the image of a leader capable of delivering on promises that the sitting president has vowed but failed to manifest? Rep. Ryan has already demonstrated willingness to compromise when he voted for the fiscal cliff extension. It is unlikely he will sacrifice his convictions this time around

in the upcoming fiscal battles. In order to draft and pass viable budget legislation this year, he will likely best be served by uniting his conference under Speaker Boehner. Then, by sending definitive legislation to the Senate where Sen. Rubio and Republican leadership can then exert pressure on politically vulnerable Democrats, Congress could finally begin resolving crises that have been mismanaged for far too long.

With the fires of ambition driving them, these two men may finally be able to deliver what America has demanded for far too long — change. By capitalizing on the legislative momentum built during the immigration debate, Congress could begin a substantive pursuit to resolve issues plaguing our federal government, like the ballooning national deficit, and not just simply delay action. Legislative momentum is rare, especially in a gridlocked Congress wrought with hyperpartisan ideologies. The immigration debate is nationally salient, and presents an opportunity that must be seized to construct a bridge both Democrats and Republicans could safely cross.

Former Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-Maine), an unwavering centrist never bound by party, advised in her retirement announcement last year that "our leaders must understand that there is not only strength in compromise, courage in conciliation and honor in consensus-building — but, also a political reward for following these tenets." Whether their rationale is personal, political or simply patriotic, legislators recognize the need to bridge parties in Washington. The immigration debate presents a divine opportunity for reunification and for generated momentum to influence subsequent debates this year. The divide can be bridged once legislators are assured they can cross without the fear of collapse. Washington must engineer a bridge that will endure the forces of partisan gravity. It could save itself from impending disaster.

Individualism and its Discontents

Park MacDougald
Associate Editor

Margaret Thatcher famously stated, “There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families.” Though British, Thatcher’s quote has in a sense been the unifying American theme in the last half-century. Individualism itself is embedded into our culture; whether embodied by the cowboy or the entrepreneur, the rugged individual occupies a privileged place in the American mythos. Since the 1960s, however, the ideology of individualism has spread into almost every aspect of our lives, shaping how we think about ourselves and our politics.

During the post-WWII decades, America was governed by a general consensus centered around the maintenance of the New Deal welfare state at home and anti-Communism abroad. Keynesianism reigned supreme, while in the private sector strong manufacturing and widespread union membership meant that even blue-collar workers enjoyed high wages and relative job security. This era was no utopia, especially given its institutionalized racism, but it was, by and large, a prosperous era for most Americans.

In the 1960s this consensus began to collapse. Bitter social divisions erupted over the Vietnam War and Civil Rights movement. In the realm of culture, the radical Left lashed out against what it perceived as a conformist society and celebrated individual resistance to stultifying cultural norms, while in economics the New Right came to see the welfare state, and the taxes that financed it, as an immoral imposition upon the individual. Milton Friedman dethroned John Maynard Keynes as Grand Poobah of economics, while in the social sciences game theory and rational choice theory taught that humans are little more than rational actors advancing their own self-interest. Any appeal to a collective interest, especially by politicians, was merely a cynical smokescreen. Even the natural sciences, particularly in Richard Dawkins’ *The Selfish Gene* (1976), suggested that selfishness was written into our very DNA.

As self-interest became the dominant

logic, the government shifted towards privatization. Of course, the issue of consumer demand never went away. Since the shift, however, demand has been financed not by government spending, but by private credit-cards and mortgage debt. As unions – those bastions of socialism – have declined, so too have real wages, and a good job now requires higher education, usually at the cost of even more debt.

In our emotional lives, too, increasing focus on ourselves has led to decreasing satisfaction. Data from the National Institute of Mental Health indicate that nearly half of all Americans will be mentally ill at some point in their lives, the highest rate in the world. According to psychologist Jean Twenge, Americans are now living through an epidemic of narcissism unprecedented in our national history. Though mental illness is generally presented as an individual medical problem, it is, in the words of Jiddu Krishnamurti, “It is no measure of health to be well adjusted to a profoundly sick society.”

Technology has also helped to amplify our sense of self. While nominally “social,” Facebook and Twitter provide us with perpetual shrines to our own egos, elevating the most banal details to matters of public interest. This is no accident. As media theorist Douglas Rushkoff argues, “we’re not [Facebook’s] customers. We are the product.” We do not pay to use Facebook; rather, market researchers pay Facebook to learn about us, and the more we can be nudged into sharing about ourselves the better. In our professional lives, we are constantly told we must develop our “personal brands” to better advertise ourselves – not just our skills but our personalities as well. We are products asked to sell ourselves.

The sociologists Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett argue in *The Spirit Level* that although Americans are deeply ambivalent

about our lifestyles, we feel isolated; we are afraid that no one shares our concerns. They go on to say, “we have lost sight of any collective belief that society could be different.” We have fallen into what BBC documentarian Adam Curtis calls “the Trap.” Though unhappy (according to Curtis), we have ceased to believe in the possibility of positive political change and withdrawn from politics, and in so doing we have created a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Despite our predicament, all is not lost. Many Americans sense that something is not right; what remains is to channel this gut feeling into political consciousness. Millennials – those born between the early 80s and mid 90s – show remarkable cause for optimism in this regard. Despite the potentially atomizing effects of information technology, generational surveys suggest that Millennials put high value on family, community, and meaningful, rather than high-paying work. A 2010 study from the Center for American Progress claims that “the Millennial Generation is the most pro-government generation,” with an important caveat: we prefer better, rather than smaller government. All this suggests a renewed belief in the importance of the social in addition to the individual. While no one should hope for a return to the 1950s, perhaps there is hope that after 40-odd years wandering in the desert, we have found our political faith once again.



ISRAEL PALESTINE IRAN OH MY!

ISRAEL'S PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO IRANIAN NUCLEARIZATION

Megan Ernst
Associate Editor

The international community agrees that Iran must halt its nuclear weapons program. This has been displayed through increasingly tough sanctions on the country to prevent the potential dangers of Iranian nuclearization – from the risk of further proliferation to the likelihood that a nuclear Iran would be an even bolder supporter of terrorism.

Those dangers don't affect all nations equally. Many of the countries speaking and acting out are doing so as a matter of principle, not because Iran poses a direct threat to them. Iran's nuclearization is most dangerous to its immediate neighbors and the U.S. And then there's Israel. The dangers Iran poses to Israel are unique. It's the only United Nations member country subjected to threats of destruction by another member country, and there's no reason to believe Iran isn't serious. Iranian statements concerning Israel are frequently genocidal and anti-Semitic.

But the destruction an Iranian bomb could cause to the Jewish state isn't the only thing Israel's worried about. The mere threat of Iranian nuclearization is a threat to the existence of Israel, said Jerusalem Post political analyst Gil Hoffman. The looming presence of a nuclear or near-nuclear Iran makes life in Israel seem too dangerous. Israelis worry that Jews won't feel safe in Israel if nothing is done about Iran.

Why, then, are the Israelis allowing Iran to inch closer and closer?

Well, Obama and Netanyahu have a plan – a plan that would allow for a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear issue with minimal involvement from either country. Iran is set to hold elections in June. Optimists, such as Hoffman, expect change. He believes Obama and Netanyahu do too.

The newest sanctions and oil embargo on

Iran are costing the country \$130 million a day. Iran has been able to weasel its way out of previous sanctions through creative trade and payment practices, but so far, the most recent sanctions are sticking.

Look back to what Netanyahu has said about Iran. In his September 2012 address to the United Nations – the famed “red line” speech -- he told the assembly that if Iran enriched enough uranium, its possession of a nuclear weapon would no longer be preventable. This “medium” level of enrichment is where Netanyahu implored the assembly to draw a “red line” – a point they would not allow Iran to cross:

“By next spring, by most, by next summer, at current enrichment rates, they will be finished with the medium enrichment and move on to the final stage, where it's only a few months, possibly a few weeks, until they get enough enriched uranium for the first bomb,” he said. “A red line should be drawn right here. Before Iran completes the second stage of nuclear enrichment necessary to make a bomb.”

Netanyahu indicated that something must be done this spring or summer—and June conveniently straddles both seasons. This June, Iran will hold national elections. And Netanyahu is betting that this election cycle, in the wake of the Arab Spring, the Iranian people will speak up.

Iranians are starving and the sanctions are hurting the whole country. The hope is, Hoffman said, that Iranians will rise up to protest the country's lack of democracy and food insecurity, which they see as directly linked to the nuclear program, and demand change.

“Iranians don't want to be hated by the world,” Hoffman said, “and they see the nuclear program as the reason for that hatred.”

A combination of the crippling severity of the newest round of sanctions and the U.S. government's skill at quietly supporting

citizen rebellions could make Iranian protests for political change successful. The Iranian people are angry, and the country is losing money at alarming rates. If the current regime wants to maintain control, they're going to have to make concessions on a national scale. Their citizens see the nuclear program and its resulting sanctions as the source of all their problems. And if the current government doesn't offer a solution to these problems, they run the risk of losing to opposition that *can* offer changes; namely, cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations.

The President of the United States is going to Israel in March, but the White House has not yet confirmed the dates of the visit, despite the fact that the Israeli are printing his arrival date for March 20. Obama did not visit the country during his first term, and this will mark his first trip to Israel during his time in the presidency. This seems to raise a rather obvious question— why now?

It is known that Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu legally has to form a coalition government by March 16. And while it may seem coincidental that Obama's expected arrival is only a week later, the political world does not lend itself to such happenstance.

Many have speculated about the timing and reasoning for the visit, and Hoffman thinks Obama plans to kick off a renewed peace process with Palestine. “He wouldn't come if he didn't expect to launch a peace process,” he said. “He's going to be coming to Jerusalem, he's going to be coming to Ramallah, and it's going to happen.” The president would only do this if he knew the Iranian threat was under control. For this reason, if Obama ushers in peace talks in March, we should expect movement on a solution to Iranian nuclearization in June.

THE UNREPORTED NORTH KOREA

Shedding light on labor camps, humanitarian crises, and the silence of the United States.

Cecilia Moore and Holly Boggs
Associate Editors

On January 28, Google Maps laid out a detailed depiction of North Korea for the first time in history. Aside from a marker over its capital city Pyongyang, the country had previously been an empty space. And then in an instant, virtual-world North Korea had details of cities, roads, and national monuments dotting its previously white space. Yet above all else, one new aspect of the map garnered the most media attention: political prisoner camps.

Most Western news sources depict North Korea as being led by an oppressive regime that follows an irrational line of behavior and commits numerous horrific crimes against humanity towards its own brainwashed populace. The media wields the enormous power of alerting the world to dire human rights situations. It is widely accepted amongst the Western media that millions of people in North Korea are starving, denied freedom of speech, and forced to work long hours of hard labor, and that this unrelenting regime is the cause of this internal strife. However, despite this com-

mon narrative, there is merit in analyzing this issue with an open mind and a blank sheet of paper. In fact, some in the diplomatic community believe this is the only way the North Korea situation can be addressed.

The University of Georgia happens to house one of the world's leading scholars on North Korea, and he promotes such an attitude toward the country. Dr. Han Park, a professor in the School of Public and International Affairs and the director of the Center for the Study of Global Issues, has cultivated favorable diplomatic relations with North Korea by playing the role of the truth-seeking academic. Fascinated with understanding the people of North Korea, he strongly advocates for demystifying any ethnocentric preconceptions of the state in order to develop peaceful relations. This viewpoint is extremely important in understanding the complexities of North Korea's actions, and it is through this reasoned, open-minded framework that North Korea's intentions and U.S.-North Korean relations will be analyzed.

For the United States, the primary focus of diplomatic negotiations with North Korea centers on the country's nuclear program.

Simply put, the United States does not want North Korea to be a nuclear power. From the North Korean government's perspective, however, the international community has backed them into a corner by demanding that they dismantle their nuclear program. According to Dr. Park, "We say to them, 'give up your only leverage,' which are their nuclear weapons, 'and then we will talk.' They can't do that." Nonetheless, when the United States' strict demands to denuclearize are not met, North Korea is slapped with even more sanctions, further isolating their economy and pushing them to commit more belligerent actions.

In addition to North Korea's desire for leverage, its nuclear program is also spurred by the wartime economy it promotes. The Korean War did not end in peace. A ceasefire was signed sixty years ago that left American troops stationed in South Korea, and even American nuclear weapons remained in South Korea until 1991. This has made North Korea weary of future attacks. With the Cold War unfolding throughout the 20th century and enemy nuclear weapons stationed just below them, North Korea felt a sharp need to increase its defenses,

thus explaining the military-industrial focus that persists within the country today.

It is in the name of national security that the North Korean government defends its domestic atmosphere. There are countless instances of nations infringing on the rights of their citizens during times of war. Even the United States has had numerous examples of such violations, such as the Japanese-American Internment Camps in World War II, which stemmed from wartime anxiety. North Korea, which considers itself still under the threat of war, validates their human rights abuses with this reasoning. Furthermore, due to its past and present human rights violations, the North Korean government-sponsored news agency discredits the United States' attention to global abuses as a "politicization of human rights" and an "application of double standards and selectivity and arrogant admonition."

Even though there is a large amount of data verifying human rights abuses in North Korea, Dr. Park warns readers to take these stories with a grain of salt: "The only first person, non-government-filtered view of North Korea currently available to the world comes from these people who fled North Korea. They have a bad relationship with the government, and it is very possible that it would serve their best interests to embellish their stories to further demonize the North Koreans." Dr. Park proposed the idea that perpetuating the notion of North Korea as an evil regime incapable of negotiation has been politically and economically advantageous to both the United States and South Korea. The United States has invested billions of dollars in funding joint military exercises with South Korea and in developing missile defense technologies that are set to be stationed in East Asia to counter an impending nuclear-capable North Korea. If the threat of North Korea dissipated, then all of this investment would be for naught.

Similarly, Dr. Park purports that the United States and the region's powers might want North Korea to be a threat in order to bolster their own power. Protecting U.S. allies in the region from the threat of North Korea gives the United States a legitimate reason to maintain a foothold in this region

of the world. Furthermore, the Six-Party Talks that are being conducted between the United States, China, South Korea, Japan, Russia, and North Korea to discuss the conditions of North Korean denuclearization give virtually all these countries political sway within the region. This is an advantage that they will not readily relinquish. For the United States, this could also be a strategic move in relation to China, as the United States wants to keep up their military presence in the region as a check on China's power ascension.

THERE IS NO SINGLE ANSWER TO THE NORTH KOREAN CONFLICT. IF ANYTHING, THERE ARE JUST MORE AND MORE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS.

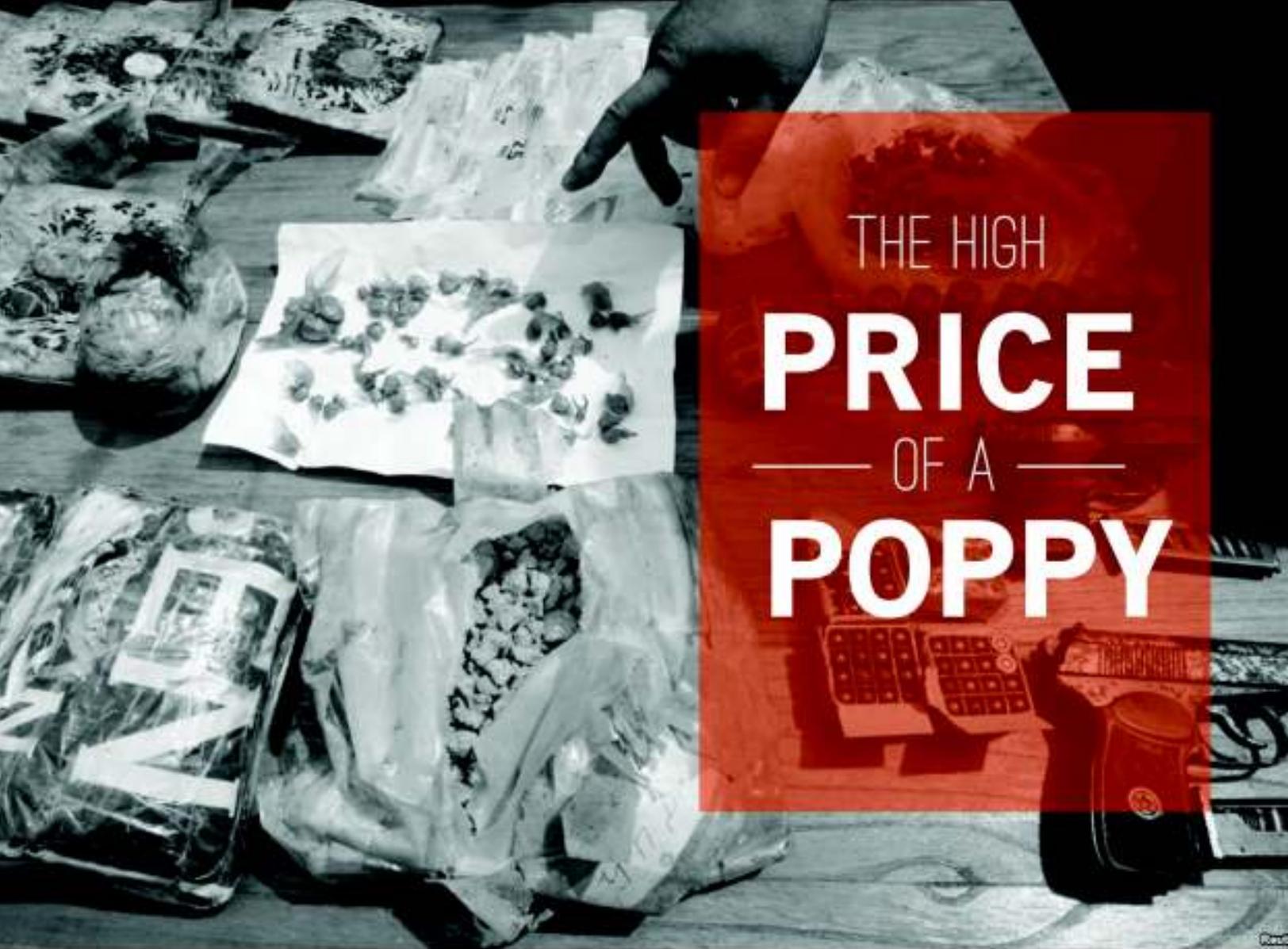
As has been shown, relations with North Korea are extremely complicated. First, very few outsiders actually know what conditions are like inside North Korea's borders; thus, the motives of the regime are often shrouded in mystery. The United States also frequently approaches negotiations with North Korea along a hard-lined stance that easily leads to gridlock. It is also possible that the motives behind the United States' involvement in East Asia are more driven by a desire to create a power complex rather than a necessity to abate a standing one.

Even through this complex web of interactions, the initial focus on human rights issues stemming from the Google Maps story is still important. Dr. Stacey Mitchell, a professor at the University of Georgia and an expert on human rights, said that human rights violations and their consequences can be seen through two different perspectives -- statism versus cosmopolitanism. The

first view is that nations as sovereign beings determine human rights. When it comes to human rights, countries take into consideration their own national interests first, and when these do not coincide with human rights obligations they will not act. On the other hand, there is the view that everyone in the global community is deserving of the same level of human rights, and when different peoples, regardless of their ethnicity, nationality, age or gender, experience abuses, the global community should rise in their defense.

National leaders around the globe often adopt this first perspective. However, the second perspective is of particular theoretical importance. As Dr. Mitchell noted, "If we want international law to mean *anything*, then we have to care." Summarily, if the media did not disseminate information on these issues, and if NGOs (non-governmental organizations) around the world did not investigate and develop campaigns against these violations, then the vast majority of human rights breaches would be completely neglected, and all the internationally supported laws and treaties passed would have less meaning. So while human rights violations are not the only things that the United States should focus on while defining a relationship with another nation, their advocacy is crucial.

There is no **single** answer to the North Korean conflict. If anything, there are just more and more unanswered questions. North Korea's regime and its ideology are extremely unique and generally misunderstood. Even China, its closest ally, is often blindsided by the actions and positions that North Korea takes. But perhaps the world has been given a new vantage point from which it should view North Korea: From the perspective of Google Maps, North Korea is a country of cities, roads, national monuments, and political prison camps. If American policy makers wipe away preconceived notions and political agendas, and begin their studies anew with this basic knowledge and a desire to understand North Korea, then a chance to improve relations might exist.



THE HIGH PRICE — OF A — POPPY

Yuliya Bila and Megan White
*Associate Editor and Associate Senior Editor of
Foreign Affairs*

Marco Polo, the famed 13th century explorer, would hardly recognize the Silk Road that he once knew so well. In its heyday, the trail connected Europe and China by way of Central Asia, a region acclaimed for its rich culture and diverse heritage. Today, however, Central Asian trading hubs are known for something much more sinister than spices and silks.

At first glance, the vibrant red poppy flower glows with innocence and familiarity, evoking sleepy images of wartime remembrance popularized by Lieutenant McCrae's poem "In Flanders Fields." But for a small-time farmer in the Golden Crescent of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, the plant is more than a symbol; it can be a livelihood. A favorable climate, effortless cultivation, easy storage, and high demand combine to make opium cultivation a lucrative economic

venture. Estimates from the Central-Asia Caucasus Institute show that a farmer in Afghanistan can make 17 times more profit by using his land to cultivate poppies instead of wheat. Selling the poppy sap to a local merchant provides the farmer with only a limited understanding of its ultimate form and destination on the streets of a bustling European metropolis. But the truth of the matter is: What keeps one man alive can destroy another.

The producers and consumers of heroin need not meet; they are connected by a multi-layered chain of distribution that includes lab workers, truck drivers, corrupt government officials, destitute border control officers, and savvy businessmen. As the poppy changes hands and transforms into a deadly white powder, it leaves behind a trail of heroin addicts who pool together along the highways and in the cities of Central Asia and Eastern Europe. These men and women, mostly under the age of thirty, should be in the prime of their life. They are the genera-

tion that can lead their countries into the future as productive members of society. Instead, they find themselves as part of growing underclass of injecting drug users increasingly plagued by HIV/AIDS.

Since the turn of the century, heroin as cheap as \$1-2 per dose floods the region with has led to an explosion of new HIV infections. Central Asia has now surpassed sub-Saharan Africa in having the fastest growing rate of HIV infection in the world. The sharing of syringes and preparation equipment among heroin addicts contributes to 60 percent to 80 percent of new HIV infections in Central Asia and according to UNAIDS, approximately a quarter of injecting drug users are presently living with HIV/AIDS. The opium trade along the various silk routes is also strongly affiliated with a rise in organized crime, corruption, domestic violence, prostitution, and human trafficking.

All of these societal ills combine to destabilize the region by maiming its most important resource, human capital, and leading to



An Afghan National Police officer inspects some bags from a 600 pound opium stash discovered in a Taliban safe house in Afghanistan's Helmand Province in 2009.

a social and public health catastrophe with immense implications for regional security.

The international community has not turned a blind eye to the problem. As the global implications have become increasingly apparent, the fight against drug trafficking in Central Asia has attracted the attention of the United Nations Organization for Drug Control (UNODC) and major state actors including the European Union, the United States, and Russia. Each party has launched various initiatives, both individually and cooperatively, bolster border security, provide monetary aid, and stifle drug production. So far, promises to rethink security in the region and to innovate the anti-trafficking effort have remained largely rhetorical.

Between 2004 and 2009, despite rising production levels in Afghanistan and a higher degree of international attention and support, heroin seizures in Tajikistan decreased by nearly 75 percent. As this example demonstrates, the roots of the problem extend deep beneath the soil, and surface-level solutions have yet to produce sustainable results.

A key factor behind the fruitless fight against drug trafficking in Central Asia is an overarching simplification of the issue. Regional experts have divided the Central Asian drug trade into three types: "green," which involves trade by Islamic networks for the purpose of raising money for militant activities, "black," which refers to small-scale criminals supplying local markets, and "red," which describes trafficking through large, elaborate organized crime networks intertwined with governmental institutions.

Local and international efforts have focused primarily on stamping out green and

black trade. The majority of trafficking that occurs in the region, however, falls into the red category. While linking the drug problem with terrorism has popularized the issue, it has also helped to legitimize repressive social policies and has only drawn attention away from government involvement in trafficking.

“THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM EXTEND DEEP BENEATH THE SOIL, AND SURFACE-LEVEL SOLUTIONS HAVE YET TO PRODUCE SUSTAINABLE RESULTS.”

In the face of high-level corruption, efforts to assist in the material aspects of border security, such as providing money for buildings, infrastructure, and equipment, have only pruned the problem. High-tech checkpoints, barbed wire, and watchtowers mean little when a trafficker can simply buy a false passport or bribe a border guard. Combating the Central Asian drug trade does not stop with physical means, but also requires a fundamental change in the region's political culture.

High-level corruption is not the only factor responsible for perpetuating the drug

trade. Thus far, international efforts have focused on cutting into heroin production and transport. The demand curve, however, remains untouched. In keeping with their Soviet heritage, Central Asian governments leave the medical and psychiatric domains in the hands of law enforcement agencies. Drug users are criminalized, and treatment centers are legally required to submit their patients' names to the authorities. Oriented around abstinence and zero-tolerance, these ill-equipped facilities often provide sleeping pills as the sole means of treatment. Introducing educational and preventative measures proves, in most cases, culturally unpalatable.

Fighting drug trafficking at all may raise economic issues as well. Poppy farming and processing play an important role in Central Asian livelihood, with estimates showing that illicit drug trafficking constitutes 30 to 50 percent of Tajikistan's economy. Strategies such as Russia's "Rainbow-2" plan, which calls for poppy eradication, would deal a heavy blow to a large number of ordinary farmers in the region. In order to preserve peace and stability, an effective campaign against drug trafficking must involve alternative sources of revenue for Central Asia's small-scale farmers.

Solving the problem requires changing the culture from which it stems. Central Asia has historically been a hub of goods and ideas; the Silk Road, once a conduit for scholars and merchants, is now known for connecting impoverished farmers in remote fields to heroin users around the world. The legendary link between East and West is no longer a road paved in silk, but in poppies.



Emily Kopp and Patrick Wheat
Senior Editor and Associate Editor

Over two years ago, the world watched as one of the largest demonstration movements of the past century took the Middle East by storm. In over 20 different countries ranging from Morocco to Kuwait, from Oman to Tunisia, individual citizens began protesting government regimes that had been in power for decades. Numerous factors have been cited as causing the protests, including oppressive governance, human rights violations, political corruption, economic decline, unemployment, extreme poverty, and a number of demographic structural factors, such as a large percentage of educated, but dissatisfied youth within the population. The response to these demonstrations varied from government to government. Some regimes ignored or gave relatively minor concessions to remain in power, such as in Oman where lawmaking powers were transferred from the Sultan to the state legislature. Other governments were removed or completely transplanted, as seen in Egypt, where Hosni Mubarak resigned and was sub-

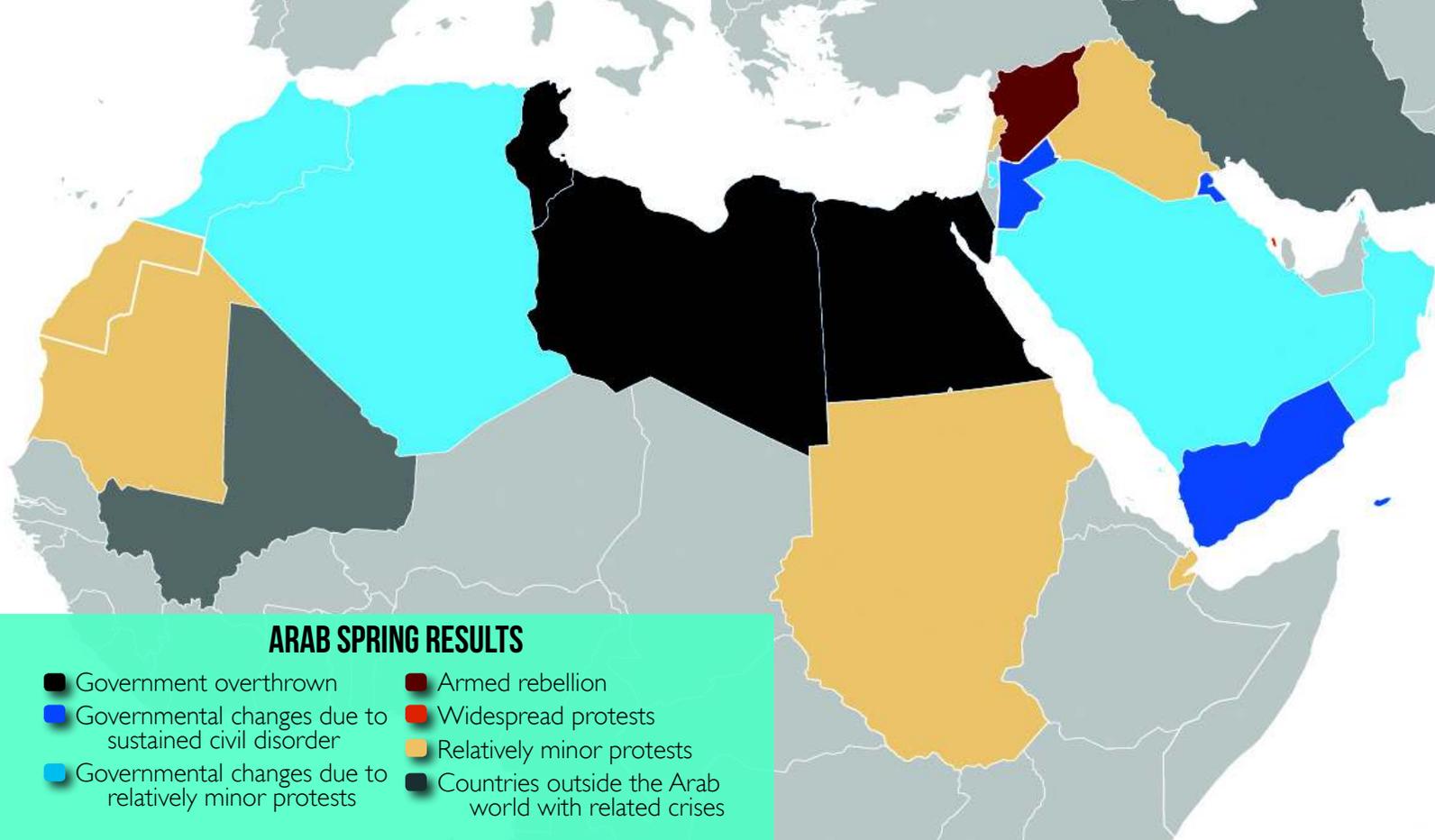
sequently tried for crimes against the people of Egypt. In every case, however, we can see a clear indication of public desire for a government that better responds to the will of the people instead of one that panders to the entitled few in the Arab World.

Has this desire come to fruition? In the nations that have been able to implement significant reforms to their governments, can we see a difference between how these nations acted before the revolutions, or are the governments committed to more of the same practices? In the past, these nations have been accused of violating the rights of women, minority ethnic groups (particularly Christian and Jewish populations), and non-practicing Muslims. During the Arab Spring, the common theme of freedom and equality bound together almost every group during the protests. The test is whether or not that bond will hold now that revolution is over, and if change really is here.

In the 20 nations identified as participants in the Arab Spring Revolutions, four—Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen—have overthrown their rulers and are working to establish new governments. Two nations—Bahrain and

Syria—have had civil uprisings occur within their borders, and six nations—Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Sudan—have had major protests occur with some concessions made by their respective governments. Finally, six nations—Lebanon, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Djibouti, and Western Sahara—have had minor protests occur with some to no concessions being made by the individual governments.

In the four nations that successfully overthrew their leaders, the governments that have risen to power have been led by parties or individuals who may seek to either reestablish the old status quo or to prop up a new one under their rule. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood has proportional control over both Parliament and the Office of the President, allowing them major input in the drafting of the Constitution of Egypt, an issue that has been heavily debated since the fall of the Mubarak government. The new document, approved and signed into law on Dec. 26, 2012, currently has 33 percent support from the voting electorate, with many groups citing ill-defined restrictions on presidential power, a strong use of Islamic language in the



ARAB SPRING RESULTS

- Government overthrown
- Governmental changes due to sustained civil disorder
- Governmental changes due to relatively minor protests
- Armed rebellion
- Widespread protests
- Relatively minor protests
- Countries outside the Arab world with related crises

definitions of the legal system, no specifications on protections for minorities as indications that this document does not represent Egypt's best interests, and contradicts the spirit of its recent revolution.

In Tunisia, however, the story is somewhat different. While the Islamic party Ennahda did secure a plurality of 90 seats in Parliament, the government has been careful to ensure that they do not shackle themselves to religious fanaticism, even going as far as stating they will not seek to implement Sharia law as the main source of legislation in the new constitution. However, the group has been accused of bypassing women's rights in their platform and leadership, with members of their leadership going as far as to claim it is a "reality" that women are not suited to political positions, according to *The Guardian*. While inherently moderate throughout most of Tunisia, this attitude towards women could be difficult to explain in the long run to their female constituents.

In the aftermath of the civil war in Libya, a national election was called to create seats in the General National Congress. Seventy winners of this election belong to the National Forces Alliance, a moderate Islamic group that served as a main negotiator and mediator during the reconstruction period in Libya. The main concern about the observed actions of the National Forces Alliance stem from their insistence that the primary source

of legislation will be inspired from Sharia law, which has the potential to be difficult.

Finally, Yemen has held one election since the end of the Arab Spring: The presidential election in which the acting president was elected with a 99.8 percent of the votes cast. He was the only candidate on the ballot that year. One event may not create a pattern; however, considering the new president was second-in-command of the previous government and that elections for the General National Congress will not take place until 2014, a rehash of the old status quo seems more likely than positive change.

In Syria, the ongoing civil war has been called catastrophic by the U.S. Department of State. Following the path of Libya, the revolution took a deadly turn when the Syrian military was deployed to quash the demonstrations. This had the opposite of the desired effect and began the war between the government and the rebel forces. The conflict has devolved to the point where there are no clear battle lines with clashes taking place in many different towns and cities across the country. With over 60,000 civilians dead and few signs of negotiation or reconciliation between the government and rebel forces, it is feared that this conflict will continue for the foreseeable future.

In the nations that have had peaceful demonstrations, but have not overthrown their governments, there have been a variety

of reactions, ranging from the government giving in and implementing changes while remaining in power or a general disregard for the protesters' demands. In Jordan, Oman, Bahrain, and Kuwait, the governments either resigned their positions to allow for new elections or given economic and political rights to the people in exchange for a continued hold on power. In Algeria, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Iraq, Mauritania, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Palestine, the governments either allowed "cosmetic" concessions, such as promising not to seek reelection or to allow multiple opponents in future elections or did nothing as the protests petered out on their own due to exhaustion or intimidation.

The Arab Spring revolutions may go down in history as one of the most unsuspected and monumental events of the past century. The courage of the protestors' will shape their countries for years to come. But the initial phase is now over and to ensure that power is shared between all peoples, the citizens of the Middle East must be vigilantly ensure that their leaders do not take their power for granted. The Arab Spring proved that true political power can rest with the people, and was met with unbridled enthusiasm. However, the people will only secure their rights if they have the wherewithal and tenacity to continue to fight for them. Will the Middle East continue to fight? Peace in the region hinges on it.

N PEACE

WITHOUT WOMEN

A Lesson on Dying.

Emily Fountain
Managing Editor

“To be forgotten. The French say that to part is to die a little. To be forgotten too is to die a little. It is to lose some of the links that anchor us to the rest of humanity.”

These words were spoken by Aung San Suu Kyi, known to many simply as “The Lady,” at the Nobel Lecture in 1991 when she accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for her nonviolent struggle for democracy and human rights in oppressive Myanmar.

The forgotten groups she spoke of were Burmese migrant workers and refugees. For Suu Kyi, receiving the Nobel Peace Prize meant the world had recognized the plight of these people and acknowledged “the oneness of humanity.”

Much of her success in peacekeeping efforts have stemmed from her ability to see not only the diversity but also the equality of humankind. Despite what has now become a common narrative, it is her identity as a woman that has aided her ability to empathize with these vastly different groups of people.

The Lady’s life provides an interesting framework for a story that often goes untold. With her success in peacekeeping endeavors, it would only be reasonable to assess that women are capable of not only filling, but also succeeding, in these global security roles. Yet, despite this assessment,

such a conclusion has yet to be acknowledged. In her remarks at the U.S. Institute of Peace, Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women’s Issues Melanne Verweir relayed a quote from a governmental official. The official said, “I don’t get it. They’re [women] not governmental officials. They’re not armed combatants. Why would they be included in [peace] negotiations?”

Beyond the simplified rhetoric, this official addresses a commonly held viewpoint— if women are not actively involved in the conflict, they should not be involved in the resolution. However, the United Nations is working to change these perceptions.

In October 2000, the U.N. passed Security Council Resolution 1325 that aimed to increase representation of women in peace negotiations and in all levels of decision making regarding security. These areas include: disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration efforts, inclusion in post-conflict reconstruction, increased protection from sexual violence, and an end to impunity for crimes against women.

This resolution, however, was not the first. Five years prior, the Beijing Platform for Action was passed with 189 countries pledging to strengthen “the participation of women in national reconciliation and reconstruction and to investigate violence against women in armed conflict.”

Despite women like Suu Kyi and governmental efforts to expand the role of women

in peace and security efforts, women remain severely underrepresented in global conflict resolution. This is alarming given that women account for half of the world’s population. Without their perspective, efforts to build a lasting peace are futile.

A special report issued by The United States Institute of Peace in January 2011 found that more than half of all peace agreements fail within the first 10 years of implementation and moreover, 31 out of the 39 active conflict zones see conflict re-emerge after peace settlements have concluded. And in all 31 cases, women were excluded from the peacemaking process. In fact, the United Nations states that women make up less than 3 percent of all signatories to peace agreements.

For some this statistic paints a picture of women’s unwillingness to enter this field. For others who understand societal implications more clearly, this underrepresentation is not due to lack of willingness, but to a lack of access. Women in countries such as Uganda and Liberia are clear examples of those who have been active in fighting injustices, but yet were not allowed to do so in a formal capacity.

This lack of formality is especially devastating given that many of these areas remain the most dangerous places for women. More importantly, these places remain areas of the greatest concern to international peace and security; some specifically employ



Aung San Suu Kyi meets with President Obama at the White House in September 2012.

violent tactics to target women.

Sexual violence, most notably rape, has become a common weapon of war in many countries. Most recently, the gang rape and murder of a 23-year-old woman in Delhi, India garnered international attention as women's groups sought justice from the attackers. In addition, they questioned the Indian government's role in the provision of women's security. The case in India however is the exception, not the rule. The harsh reality is that cases such as these occur frequently in various countries, but those are met only with impunity and injustice.

While it is tempting to view these women solely as victims instead of providing means of empowerment, such a stringent framework only exacerbates the larger problem and prevents the world from seeing women as the change agents they have proved capable of becoming. In order to end this cycle, it becomes a categorical imperative that the perception of women must change and be included in the peace process. Because the effects of these acts are felt most strongly by women, their voice is necessary in determining how to combat them. This type of inclusion is one that Resolution 1325 and the U.S. recognize.

In December 2011, the United States

became one of twenty-some nations to adopt an action plan to fulfill the resolution. In support, President Obama released the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security and signed an Executive Order to see to its implementation. The U.S. Plan outlines five high-level objectives: National Integration and Institutionalization, Participation in Peace Processes and Decision-making, Protection from Violence, Conflict Prevention, and Access to Relief and Recovery. The plan also stresses the importance of cooperation between international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and legislative bodies.

Though still in its infancy, President Obama's plan has arguably already failed to meet some of its most specifically stated objectives. With the failure of Congress to pass the Violence Against Women Act at the beginning of this year, the idealistic notion of the gender equality and accessibility has clearly been relegated to the back burner as partisanship takes center stage—a partisanship that is mostly male. Though a version of this bill has now been passed, party goals clearly took precedence leaving a legislative void from the time of the bill's expiration in 2011 to its reauthorization. This failure to achieve a timely congressional compromise

does not bode well for future initiatives, though perhaps an outcry is coming.

In recent years the numbers of platforms showcasing the voices of women have risen. TED Talks abound with the thoughts and ideas of feminist giants. Hillary Clinton is considering a presidential run for 2016. This past summer *The Atlantic* dedicated a cover and a multi-page spread to Anne-Marie Slaughter, who sparked a national conversation addressing the issue "Can Women Really Have it All?" Perhaps as these voices coalesce around a common goal, the efforts targeted by Resolution 1325 and the U.S. Action plan can finally be met. Maybe then, when the "oneness of humanity" is achieved, and only then can we truly hope to foster a stable and lasting peace process.

However, if the progress made so far is indicative of that which is to follow, then it will be the words of Aung San Suu Kyi that will ring true. If half of the world's population remains left out and forgotten in these roles, then The Lady is right. We, as a nation and as a global power, will inevitably die a little. We will lose a vital link that connects us to the rest of humanity and perhaps even further; we may lose some of ourselves along the way.

30 ROCK HAS WRAPPED UP ITS FINAL SEASON

JACK DONAGHY FOR MAYOR AND LIZ LEMONISM FOR LIFE

A Look at the Political Example of 30 Rock

Robert Jones
Associate Editor

Before Tina Fey had thought of anything else about *30 Rock*, she knew she wanted an extremely conservative character played by Alec Baldwin. In her memoir *Bossypants*, she discusses the genesis of the show: "A triangle between me, Alec Baldwin, and Tracy Morgan felt like it had potential. These three characters would have completely different views about any topic that came up—race, gender, politics, workplace ethics, money, sex, women's basketball—and they would disagree in endless combinations." The show revolves around the actions of these characters and others behind the scenes of *The Girlly Show (TGS)*, a late night live TV show organized and written by Tina Fey's character Liz Lemon. *TGS*'s star is played by Tracy Morgan and Liz Lemon's conservative boss, Jack Donaghy, is played by Alec Baldwin. Though the characters are well developed and interesting, it is the political commentary subtly woven into *30 Rock* that deserves examination. By drawing a measured but satirical comparison of both sides, the show parodies modern politics while avoiding any harsh judgments of either ideology.

30 Rock's most obvious political references appear in the form of Jack Donaghy, an executive at NBC. Jack is portrayed as the archetypal conservative, consistently in favor of big business alongside his equally conservative CNBC news anchor wife. He takes a draconian approach to business and is extremely peeved when NBC is taken over by the company Kabletown. The parent

company is at odds with everything about him, emphasizing a family-first workplace and each individual worker's "creative potential." But this struggle does not lead him to more liberal beliefs. The Kabletown-NBC merger took place in Season 4, and a few seasons later Jack aggressively campaigns for Mitt Romney. In fact, in the very next season after the merger, Condoleezza Rice makes a guest appearance as a spurned ex-lover. By creating an exaggerated combination of businessman, playboy, and activist, the show sets him up as an ideal target for the liberal-leaning writers and producers who make up Liz Lemon's *TGS*.

The show plays fair though, and Liz's liberalism is as central to *30 Rock* as Jack's conservatism. In contrast to his ruthless ambition, Liz's politics are driven by her emotions. It is normal for a single New Yorker to feel annoyed on Valentine's Day, but how many can say they have invented their own holiday, complete with dispensing feminist critiques of the patriarchal society instead of chocolates and roses? This was the real plot of "Anna Howard Shaw Day," a Season 4 episode that suggests Liz's politics may simply be a front for her middle-aged unhappiness. Her character also becomes famous for a self-help book for women titled *Dealbreakers*, which encourages women to dump their boyfriends for shady behavior instead of hanging on or trying to fix the problem. This is a fierce, feminist take on relationships, advocating female independence instead of blind acceptance of a boyfriend or husband's faults. Rather than parodying one ideology and spotlighting one side as superior, *30*

Rock shows the failings and successes of both sides.

It's not hard to extrapolate real-world implications of *30 Rock*'s tolerance. Away from the universe of *TGS*, Congress is trapped in unprecedented gridlock. Partisan tensions are high and "compromise" has been reduced to a dirty word reserved for closed-door meetings away from most of the party. Both sides say that bargaining is impossible when the opponent is so different, but consider Jack and Liz. He once endorsed a Congressional candidate who said, "If we have to have government, make it as small as possible. Dwarves. Tiny buildings. Pizza bagels for lunch." She fell in love with a New York hipster who owns an organic hot dog stand. Obviously *30 Rock* is only television, but if Jack and Liz can look past their disagreements, then maybe it is not so infeasible that Democrats and Republicans can finally start to work together again.

Fey's writing is grounded in compassion, unlike the toxic atmosphere of Congress today. Liz and Jack often meet sometime each episode to discuss the issues of the week, with Liz usually criticizing Jack's callousness and Jack reminding Liz that her liberal idealism can ultimately leave her upset and lonely. Even though both sides can be ridiculous, each is only human. *30 Rock* is far from an allegory, and it seems clear that Tina Fey created Jack and Liz to carry the show's action, not to purport her ideas about American government. But it is hard to look at such a relationship and not wonder why Congress cannot seem to get it right.

GOING VOGUE

the FIRST LADIES of FASHION

Stephanie Talmadge
Managing Editor

It is nearly impossible to log onto Tumblr and avoid spotting a GIF featuring a dancing Barack Obama, or an article about Michelle wearing yet another gown by Jason Wu, or photos catching Malia and Sasha taking a “selfie.” In America, the President always endures some amount of fame, but at some point since the 2008 campaign trail the Obamas upgraded from political figures to A-list celebrities, recently caught brushing their shoulders off with Jay-Z and Beyoncé. Has the surge in social media turned them into a pop culture sensation? Perhaps more important is the phenomenon’s impact on the popular perception of American government. In the past five years, the public has witnessed the first lady go from a working professional mom look to one of the best dressed women in America, up in the ranks with Emma Stone and Lily Kwong, and results from that transformation have proven quite beneficial for her.

Even more so than her husband, Michelle Obama’s celebrity has piqued dramatically in the past few years, credited in large part to her highly lauded fashion choices. Frequently landing on best-dressed lists of respected style outlets, not to mention a *Vogue* cover in 2009, she receives praise for her modern and versatile style. She vacillates between haute couture gowns by first class designers and chic elements from stores like J. Crew and Target, embodying that “We’re just like you” mantra that the Obamas have mastered. She has also behaved smartly by keeping distance between herself and designers, while frequently helping new designers by giving them their big break. In a *New York Times* article, author Cathy Horne claims that becoming a fashion icon has “effectively protected” Obama in a “culture obsessed by

celebrity and style.” This assessment makes a lot of sense considering how little the first lady has been scrutinized for her spending on wardrobe, particularly for a pair who rallies against inequality while recoiling from recession. Still though, the media has largely put away criticisms and chosen to praise her new confidence and fabulous clothes.

There is no doubting the comparison to “American royalty” Jackie Kennedy is a legitimate and worthy one. A *Wall Street Journal* article by Shelley Branch, “Michelle O Meets Jackie O” charts out the resemblance beautifully -- the hair, the pearls, the classic skirt suits. Beyond the style and popularity, these two women have also been vital to the marketing of their husbands’ campaign and images. According to Horne, Jackie struggled to piece together “state clothing” ensembles that she viewed as a uniform, whereas Michelle has flourished with the help of her personal wardrobe assistant. Jackie also “received stinging criticism for her expensive clothing and bouffant hair,” while Michelle’s transformation “has been fascinating to watch, in part because it happened with very little pushback from the news media.”

In a 2012 Gallup poll, Michelle enjoyed a 66 percent favorable rating with Americans, which has actually increased considerably from the campaign in 2008, when it was 54 percent, coinciding with her rise in the fashion world. Comparatively, Laura Bush held an average 73 percent rating, and Hillary Clinton 55 percent. Michelle’s rating dominates her husband’s as well, which hovered around 51 percent in February 2013. She is particularly revered by women and 18-29 year-olds, reaching 70 and 74 percent approval respectively, according to Pew Research. Gallup also points out “Americans generally have more positive opinions of the first lady than of the president, perhaps because of the first lady’s largely ceremonial position.”



With respect to her rising stardom and growing legacy, Michelle Obama’s political aims have remained mostly stagnant, not being particularly affected by that aspect of her persona. At times, however, her healthy eating campaign, encompassed by her project Let’s Move, seems overshadowed by media coverage of what she is wearing, like in mid-February when “the bangs” happened. For example, in a search performed on February 18, 2013, letsmove.gov was absent from the first page of Google results for “Michelle Obama,” while five results were fashion-related, and one links to the Pinterest account run by her staff. Let’s Move! actually does not show up until the third page of results.

Americans’ admiration of Obama and her personal history place her in a unique position to make waves in areas she is passionate about, like educational reform and healthy lifestyle advocacy, though she has received mild criticism for not doing more to those ends. Gallup speculates that if she did decide to enter into the “political arena, it could have a negative effect on how Americans view her,” but also that her “image would recover once she steps back from that role.”

Oddly enough, Michelle’s rise as a fashion superstar seems to have only helped, not hindered her, which supports the claim regarding America’s obsession with celebrity and style. With yet another *Vogue* cover coming up this year, Michelle’s persona as a modern fashionista is in its infancy and likely to grow, maybe even culminating with a line of her own one day. Perhaps the public has decided to overlook what has historically been a contentious issue for female politicians—dressing too glamorously—because it believes in her endeavors and her power to accomplish such. Perhaps the public has witnessed the internal transformative confidence instilled in her and respects Michelle accordingly.

THE ART OF LOSING:

A GEORGIA SPORTS FAN'S LAMENT



THE GAME: NFC
Championship,
January 20th, 2013

THE SCENARIO:
Falcons give up
24-14 halftime
lead and lose to
49ers 28-24.

HOW MUCH DID WE
NEED?: 10 yards.

THE GAME: SEC
Championship,
December 1, 2012

THE SCENARIO:
Georgia loses to Ala-
bama 32-28 after last-
minute drive runs out
of time.

HOW MUCH DID WE
NEED?: 5 yards.

THE GAME: NL Wild
Card Game,
October 5, 2012

THE SCENARIO:
Braves fall 6-3 to
Cardinals after con-
troversial "infield fly
rule" call.

HOW MUCH DID WE
NEED?: With a win,
Braves advance to
NLDS.



Tucker Green and Ronnie Kurtz
Editor-in-Chief and Associate Editor

As the final seconds ticked down at the Georgia Dome and the empty reality of a suddenly-ended season hit like a punch in the gut, Atlanta sports fans collectively sighed: *Could this be happening again?*

For fans of arguably the three most visible sports teams in the state of Georgia—the Atlanta Braves, the Georgia Bulldogs, and the Atlanta Falcons—disappointment had struck in threes. Even the casual Georgia sports fan can attest to the general sentiment that has engulfed the state: The 2012 sports season had to be the most heartbreaking in memory.

In Major League Baseball, the Atlanta Braves won the first National League Wild Card spot by six games. Normally that would have been enough to guarantee them a spot in the playoffs, but 2012 marked the first year two Wild Card teams faced off in a win-or-go-home play-in game to determine which would continue to the first round of the playoffs. The Braves hosted the St. Louis Cardinals and trotted out their recently anointed phenom Kris Medlen—the Braves hadn't lost in his last 23 starts. But Medlen was shelled early, and though the Braves began to mount a comeback, the infamous infield fly ruling snuffed out any life the Braves had left. And

so football season began.

University of Georgia football fans watched with baited breath as their team, one of the more talent-laden squads in school history, rebounded from an ugly rout at South Carolina to roll into the SEC championship game against second-ranked Alabama. With a national championship berth on the line, the Bulldogs fought through a slugfest that many will remember as one of the greatest college football games of all time. In the final minute, Aaron Murray led a last-ditch drive down the field, only to have his last pass tipped and caught inbounds as time expired, three measly, infinitesimal yards short of glory.

Georgia sports fans had one last chance for redemption: The Atlanta Falcons. The Matt Ryan-led squad marched through the regular season to a number one seed in the NFC. Having not won a postseason game since the days of Michael Vick, it seemed the Falcons' year had finally arrived after they squeaked their way past the Seattle Seahawks and into the NFC Championship Game against the San Francisco 49ers. But hopes turned into nightmare. The 17 points the 49ers spotted the Falcons was not enough to withstand fate; the game ended on an errant fourth down pass by Matt Ryan at almost the exact same spot the Bulldogs had lost hope only a month earlier.

Georgia sports fans had endured the unimaginable. The state's flagship teams in professional baseball, professional football, and college football all made it to the very precipice of a championship, only to falter at the last moment. If disappointment in sports may be measured by how close a team approaches its respective championship before elimination, then Georgia sports in 2012 were doomed by a black cloud. In all three cases, euphoria for a state long bereft of major sports championships dissolved swiftly and absolutely into that tragic, hollow feeling of a year-long campaign suddenly, finally, *done*.

But was this doomed confluence of events for Georgia the most disappointing sports season in modern memory? For still-grieving fans, the answer provides some much needed *schadenfreude*. Fear not, Georgia sports fans—there are plenty of heart-broken contemporaries.

In 1981, the Cincinnati Reds finished with the best record in Major League Baseball. There was just one problem: the season had been interrupted by a strike, and the team with the best record from each division from each *half* of the season was granted a playoff berth. Curiously, Cincinnati failed to meet either criteria and found themselves watching the playoffs on television. The Cincinnati Bengals hoped to rectify this slight. Unfortunately, the Bengals became the first NFL team to



Georgia wide receiver Chris Conley (31) reacts to the loss after the clock ran out during the SEC championship football game in Atlanta, Ga. Photo/Sean Taylor

ever gain more yards of offense and score more touchdowns than their opponent and still lose the Super Bowl when they fell 26-21 to the San Francisco 49ers.

The city of Philadelphia has endured its fair share of catastrophe as well. 1981 began with the Eagles reaching their first Super Bowl on the arm of famed quarterback Ron “Jaws” Jaworski. Fittingly, they were blown out by the Raiders, 27-10. In May of that same year, the 76ers marched into the NBA Eastern Conference Finals and built a 3-1 series lead. They proceeded to blow a 10-point lead in Game 5, a 17-point lead in Game 6, and an 11-point lead in Game 7 to secure a spot on the couch for the NBA Finals.

But if these examples are not enough to convince Georgia sports fans that their misery has been duplicated, there is still hope. Because nothing—NOTHING—could be worse than the year the faithful contingent in Ohio had in 2007.

The Ohio State Buckeyes were pummeled by the Florida Gators in the BCS National Championship Game, 41-14. The Ohio State men’s basketball team fell in the national championship—again, to Florida. The Cleveland Cavaliers were swept by the San Antonio Spurs in the NBA Finals. In the MLB, the Cleveland Indians kissed goodbye to a World Series berth by blowing a 3-1 series lead to the Boston Red Sox in the Ameri-

can League Championship Series. And the Cleveland Browns, after compiling their best regular season record since 1999, were just excluded from the playoffs due to tiebreaking rules. The point is simple: if disappointing sports seasons had their own tournament, 2007 Ohio would make a strong claim for the trophy.

Of course, for sports fans, disappointment comes with the territory. In modern culture, championships are one of the only meaningful currencies left. The maxim “Winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing” is so embedded in our cultural psyche that the quote’s origin is as debatable as parts of the New Testament. (Hint: it goes back way farther than Vince Lombardi). Even Heisman trophy winners and MVPs are called into question unless they end the year with a trophy. And yet since only one team is crowned champion at the end of a given season, the majority of sports teams and their fans are left unfulfilled. We invest so much of our emotional energy into our favorite sports teams, but the odds are stacked against their success. Cheering is a losing proposition.

And yet year after year, fans prove their dedication with money. According to Forbes, the University of Georgia football program was valued at \$99 million in 2012 after posting revenue of \$75 million and profits of \$52 million in the 2011 season. The Atlanta

Braves added \$203 million of revenue to the Georgia economy in the same year. And the city of Atlanta is in the middle of deciding how to raise \$200 million—likely through the selling of bonds—to match with \$800 million from private sources to build a new \$1 billion stadium for the Falcons. Here, we see an interesting way in which sports defy modern cultural standards. When a corporation just misses its quarterly earnings reports, bearish investors may turn away en masse. When a highly-anticipated summer blockbuster flops with the critics, it can tank at the box office. But even when sports fans are faced with the near-guarantee of disappointment, they will continue and continue to spend.

That’s the way of the sporting world. No other part of culture encompasses the essence of humanity more completely. Even beleaguered Georgia sports fans must agree that the faint promise of a championship is worth all the heartbreak. Michael Jordan famously said, “I’ve missed more than 9,000 shots in my career. I’ve lost almost 300 games. 26 times, I’ve been trusted to take the game winning shot and missed. I’ve failed over and over and over again in my life. And that is why I succeed.” And that, indeed, is why we keep coming back to watch.

THE LAW OF THE PAW: DOGS IN THE MILITARY

Marco Roca
Marketing Director

While dogs are endearingly regarded as man's best friend and a bulldog acts as our university's mascot, few know that humans created modern day dogs, and even fewer realize that dogs helped shape modern human civilization. Although it is a bold statement, most anthropologists agree that mankind domesticated dogs from wolves, and that those very dogs upheld their part of our symbiotic relationship by helping us hunt for more food, protecting us and our possessions more effectively, and essentially generating the foundation upon which civilized human society was established. Intuitively, one would think dogs' role in protecting us would grow increasingly gratuitous with the passage of time; however, dogs now play a more important and diverse role in keeping us safe than ever before.

Dogs have a decorated history in warfare dating back to ancient civilizations such as the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, and Romans. Gifted military commanders such as Attila the Hun, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon all utilized dogs for a variety of heterogeneous tasks in their legendary military campaigns. In fabled and glorious conflicts such as the Battle of Marathon, Xerxes' invasion of Greece, and the Spanish conquest of the New World, dogs served nobly alongside humans. In World War I, some of the approximately one million dogs that died in action were officially promoted to the position of sergeant. In World War II, dogs were responsible for detonating bombs on German tanks and assisting in the Pacific Theater effort against Japan. In the Vietnam War, it is reported that dogs' prowess in revelation was so keen in, that they could sense enemy fighters hiding underwater with only reed breathing straws shrouded above the surface. Official records estimate that dogs in Vietnam saved over 10,000 American lives; therefore, dogs' historical use in combat, communications, detection, and scouting cannot be understated.

Contemporary dogs in the military are as important now as ever been, with upwards of 3,000 dogs currently protecting the United States all over the world. The resources devoted towards developing today's dogs of war are astounding, with mammoth complexes in Georgia's own Ft. Benning and the Lackland Air Force Base in Texas.



Staff Sgt. Erick Martinez, a military dog handler, carries Argo II over his shoulder in 2011. This exercise helps build loyalty and trust between military dogs and their handlers.

Basic training lasts between 60 and 90 days, and there the dogs learn how to sniff out explosives, detect enemies from up to two miles away, and protect their handlers. Additional training can run upwards of \$20,000, and the most consummate dogs can learn advanced techniques to specialize in certain areas of combat. If the United States' pattern of spending on military dogs is not convincing enough, General David Petraeus recently said, "By all measures of performance, their [dogs'] yield outperforms any asset we have in our industry. Our army would be remiss if we failed to invest more in this incredibly valuable resource."

Patrick Heller, a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, reacted similarly in an interview with GPR: "Everybody on base is familiar with dogs' role in the military and how countless American war heroes have had the aid of dogs. Even Chris Kyle [the man with the most kills in American sniping history] had a dog who saved his life during combat when it discovered and mauled a terrorist none of the [Navy] SEALs even noticed."

Just as with soldiers, only the most elite dogs are capable of joining the Navy SEALs. Cairo, the dog central to Operation Neptune Spear (the mission to kill bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan) and the only member of SEAL Team Six to have been officially recognized by name, is perhaps the flower of them all. A ferocious Belgian Malinois, Cairo is now famous enough to have met President Obama and to have been depicted in *Zero Dark Thirty*. Cairo's engagements in the operation included catching those trying to

escape the compound, sniffing for bombs and booby-traps, searching for false walls or hidden doors behind which bin Laden might have been hiding, and serving as an intimidating psychological deterrent in a way weapons cannot (the Middle East has a noteworthy cultural aversion to dogs). Furthermore, Cairo and dogs like him are equipped with suits of armor costing up to \$30,000 that come furnished with special protection from shrapnel and bullets, night vision, cameras for handlers to see what the dog can, speakers for handlers to command the dog, and an "intruder communications system" that enables dogs to see through concrete walls. All of this technology, combined with a dog's natural advantages -- including a sense of smell 40 times more powerful than that of a human, a running speed over 2 times as fast as our own and a trained fearlessness -- make the elite dogs of war close to indomitable.

Today's military dogs may be able to parachute, swim, follow complex orders, and do everything in between, but what does the future have in store for the world's pooches of conflict? All signs point to increased development of technology and training to fully harness their physical gifts, but is any of this moral? Should the conflicts of men only be resolved by men? Should we, like PETA and other animals rights advocacy groups, cringe at the thought of dogs dying in action and sometimes suffering post-traumatic stress disorder? As sensitive as these questions are, we are all obligated to salute the canines that fight for us and our freedom every single day.

all funds considered

THE TRAGEDY OF NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

Andrew Roberts
Associate Senior Editor of Politics

With fewer car and in-home radios in use, it is no surprise that programming, music, and news have jumped off the sinking ship that is traditional radio onto the safer shores of HD radio, social media, iTunes, and the Internet. The radio – what was once the central focal point of early-20th century American homes – is rapidly becoming an antiquated appliance in the digital age.

Despite these challenges, National Public Radio (NPR), a publicly and privately funded organization that broadcasts news, music, and cultural media, has stood strong against the tide of new programming options. NPR produces a wide-variety of unique programs that allow it to stay afloat. Look at the show *Car Talk*, a recently ended program featuring hosts Click and Clack whose wisecracking car-repair advice attracted listeners every week for decades. Or take the program *Morning Edition*, a daily news journal with current events and special features on the sciences and culture. NPR is also well known for renowned radio shows such as *Wait, Wait... Don't Tell Me!*, *All Things Considered*, and *Fresh Air*. NPR also partners with Public Radio International (PRI) and American Public Media (APM) to broadcast even more distinctive programs to a greater public radio audience. The best example of this is *A Prairie Home Companion*, a live radio show hosted by Garrison Keillor, a modern storyteller, whose smooth soft-spoken voice attracts 4.3 million listeners each week. The variety show is best known for Keillor's weekly monologue "The News from Lake Wobegon," in which Keillor spins a recurring tale about a made-up town, filled with quirky made-up people and their insightful made-up stories. Unique and interesting radio shows like these have helped keep NPR breathing as the flood of new technology rises.

In addition to its "special brand" of radio shows, NPR has embraced new media in a number of ways. NPR posts many of its

stories and cultural programs online in text and audio form, masters social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook, and utilizes podcasts to allow listeners to subscribe on the go. *Planet Money*, a witty show that makes economics simple and enjoyable, was started as a podcast to create a different audience base than just radio listeners. The NPR smartphone app allows users to read news stories, listen to music, and stream live feeds from public radio stations across the nation.

“THE “P” IN NPR IS AT RISK IN FUTURE FISCAL FIGHTS.”

As if the threat of losing the “R” in NPR was not bad enough, there are a couple other solvency issues NPR must face if it wants to move forward. As President Obama jokingly said at the 2011 White House Correspondents' Dinner, “You guys [NPR] are still here... Personally, I was looking forward to new programming like *No Things Considered* and *Wait Wait... Don't Fund Me!*” Obama was light-heartedly referring to a 2011 Republican plan to cut spending, which would have ended federal funds for NPR. According to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, government funds to NPR amount to only .014 percent of the federal budget. NPR argues on its site that “elimination of federal funding would result in fewer programs, less journalism -- especially local journalism -- and eventually the loss of public radio stations, particularly in rural and economically distressed communities.” Although this budget did not pass, this means that the “P” in NPR is also at risk in future fiscal fights.

The greatest storm NPR has to brave

is directly associated with a phrase that every public radio junkie hates: pledge drive. Normally twice per year, local public radio stations hold pledge drives where they ask listeners to contribute to their station. NPR received 39 percent of its revenue from individuals in 2010 and relies heavily on their support. The dilemma with public radio fundraising is that it exemplifies the free rider problem: individual listeners know that they can continue to listen for free without contributing. In fact, social scientist and economist Dr. Mancur Olson argues in *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965) that in large groups, such as NPR listeners, there is no innate propensity to contribute. Although he has been criticized for this theory because some large groups do in fact cooperate, this problem of free riding is still prevalent in NPR's listener base. When the pledge drive arrives, NPR often must incentivize contributions with giveaways and raffles. Many listeners gripe about the week of fundraising, yet fortunately people normally contribute enough to meet their goals, whether it be because of the incentives, guilt, or the pure intrinsic reward of contributing to something they value.

In Athens, public radio stations WUGA and WUOG – the former supported by NPR and the latter supported largely through student volunteers – often struggle with the same issues that other stations face, or worse. For WUGA, the high poverty rate of surrounding Clarke County often prevents individuals from donating to the local station. College radio as a whole is in danger as it faces funding challenges, but WUOG is doing quite well as it receives a modest budget and a recording studio in the Tate Center from the University of Georgia.

The future for NPR is not clear. Until the day that NPR sinks, however, Garrison Keillor will continue to tell the short-stories of Lake Wobegon, re-runs of Click and Clack mocking their own auto repair advice will stay on the air, and millions of Americans will commute each morning as they listen to the soft, yet powerful words of *Morning Edition*.

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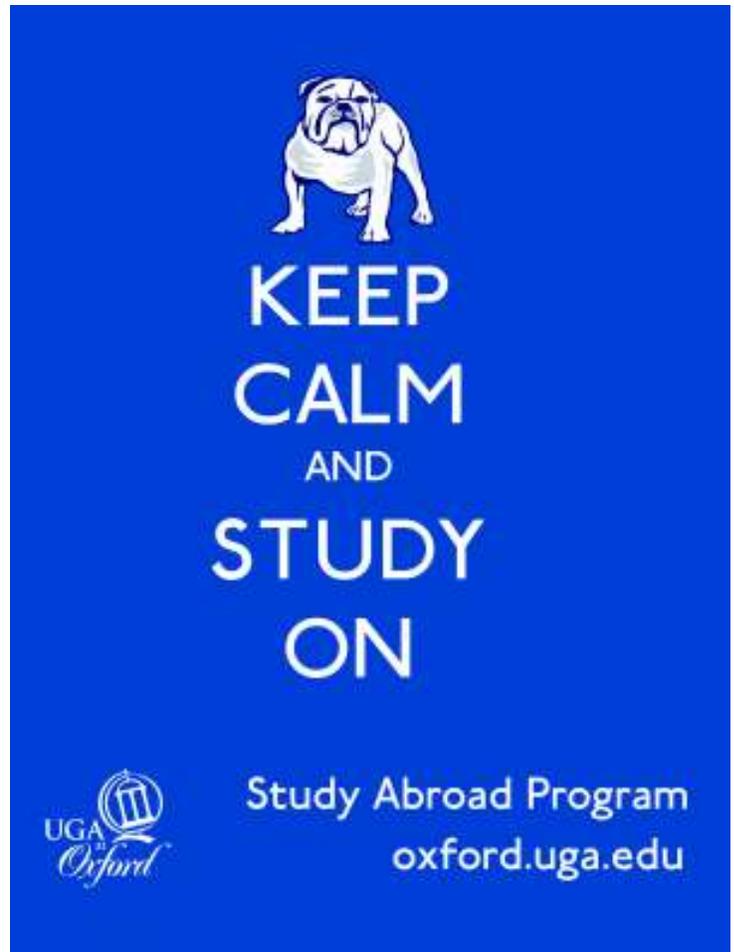
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