

GPR

GEORGIA POLITICAL REVIEW
fall 2013

THE INFORMED STUDENT'S GUIDE

to

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS
FIVE YEARS LATER

Have We Recovered Yet?

UNDOCUMENTED
IMMIGRANTS IN THE
UNITED STATES

*Government Immigration
Policies*

THE MINIMUM WAGE
DEBATE

Should the Bar be Raised?

THE CHANGING TIDES
OF THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

*The Digital Age and its
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THE NSA'S

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR



Megan White

With a month and a half left to go, I think it's safe to say that 2013 will be a year for the history books. On a global scale, the Middle East has remained embroiled in conflict, with one army fighting to tear down a regime in Egypt and another struggling to prop one up in Syria. The

Boston Marathon bombing and the Kenyan mall attack showed the world a new face of terrorism, and Edward Snowden's rogue flight showed the world a new face of America. In the United States, the Supreme Court reviewed a docket of landmark cases that further defined the place of race and sexual orientation in American law. The continued implementation of the Affordable Care Act inflamed ongoing political gridlock in Congress and sent the government spiraling into a 16-day shutdown.

The University of Georgia has had a big year, too, with the appointment of a new president and new deans in the School of Public and International Affairs, the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication, the College of Education, and the College of

Engineering. And, of course, this year saw the Dawgs come tragically close to competing for the BCS championship title.

In a fast-paced political landscape where people seem to process information faster than they receive it, balanced, objective analyses are more important than ever. That's where Georgia Political Review comes in. In Spring 2011, a group of students recognized the need for thoughtful political discourse on campus and founded a publication to provide just that. Since then, GPR's staff has nearly tripled in size, and the organization has carved out a place in the university's political landscape. Today, our mission remains to provide a vehicle through which undergraduate students at the University of Georgia can offer their unique perspectives on what is happening in the world around them. In doing so, we publish content from all points on the political spectrum, so long as the analysis is fair, factual, and considerate. In the fifth edition of our magazine, the reader will find just such content. From the role of the justice system in Liberia to the fate of the music industry, GPR

is there with fresh analyses from UGA undergrads.

I sincerely hope that you will enjoy our perspectives and will continue to follow GPR throughout the year at www.georgiapoliticalreview.com. And with that, I invite you to read, think, and join the conversation.

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Progress Due in *Educational Due Process*

Andrew Roberts
Senior Editor

On Nov. 7, 2012, a male University of Georgia student was expelled for allegedly raping a fellow student. The incident, which was reported by the female victim on Aug. 26, 2012, resulted in the student's expulsion by the Equal Opportunity Office (EOO). The student claims he was not afforded due process.

After the student filed for an injunction to finish his semester based on his argument that he was not given due process, the university settled with the student outside of court. Although the police did not move forward with prosecution and the case was dropped on Aug. 16, 2013, the student did not return after the fall 2012 semester.

Must a student receive due process before being penalized for misconduct, even for an action this terrible? The answer is not entirely simple. A Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals case, *St. John Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education*, involved a handful of black students who were suspended from Alabama State College for participating in a sit-in at a courthouse lunch grill, violating a state law segregating public places. In *Dixon*, the court held that because they attended a tax-supported college (like the University of Georgia), the students were deprived of their educational opportunity and property without their constitutional right guaranteed by the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. As the opinion of the court states, "Due process requires notice and some opportunity for hearing before a student at a tax-supported college is expelled for misconduct."

Groups like University Judiciary, a student-run organization at the University of Georgia that conducts formal hearings for alleged conduct violations and helps students through this conduct process, started to pop up at public colleges following *Dixon*. Conduct processes like that of University Judiciary have been challenged and upheld in court as a legitimate form of due process.

Based on the *Dixon* precedent and the court approval of conduct processes similar to those of University Judiciary, it seems clear that the University of Georgia student should have received due process. But did he? E. Janyce Dawkins, Director of the Equal Opportunity Office at the University of Georgia, said her office does offer due process. A 2011 Department of Education Dear Colleague letter

written to universities that receive federal funding said that face-to-face hearings here the student can confront his or her accuser are inappropriate for the safety of the alleged victim. Now that the Equal Opportunity Office handles these cases, it decides how much due process the student is afforded. Ms. Dawkins said that due process is the opportunity to be heard, not necessarily the opportunity to confront one's accuser, an opportunity the student in this case argued he did not receive. The office's investigations include physical evidence, such as photos and recordings, as well as personal statements from all parties involved, including witnesses. Based on the preponderance of the evidence – whether it is more likely than not that the incident occurred – the final decision is made through office collaboration. There is also an appeals process in place if the student disagrees with the decision. While these are all strong protections of due process, this system has missing pieces. First, whereas University Judiciary assigns an advisor familiar with the rather complicated system to help the student, the EOO does not. Second, in spite of that fact that *Dixon* requires "some opportunity for hearing," the EOO uses only a rather loose, if even existent, form of this hearing.

Despite the terrible nature of the incident, why is the use of court-approved due process so important? *Dixon* argues, "Education is vital and, indeed, basic to civilized society. Without sufficient education the plaintiffs would not be able to earn an adequate livelihood, to enjoy life to the fullest, or to fulfill as completely as possible the duties and responsibilities of good citizens." It is imperative that an individual receives the greatest extent of due process possible, so that his or her education opportunity is not wrongfully terminated.

This is far from a defense of the student's actions or a condemnation of the university's policies. It is also not an argument against the EOO's procedure or for University Judiciary's procedure. This is a passionate plea for the right to due process, a right that *Dixon* calls "fundamental to the conduct of our society." Most importantly, this is a definitive defense of educational opportunity. If an individual is willing to threaten his or her education by engaging in misconduct, then he or she should simply no longer be allowed that education. Still, it is a grave mistake if that individual is not first afforded true due process before losing that education, an opportunity so precious, vital and deserving of all extents of constitutional protection.

Give Me Your Huddled Masses*

**Uzma Chowhury and
Rachael Zipperer**
Staff Writers

The Statue of Liberty has gracefully raised her golden torch over New York Harbor for over a century, atop a pedestal emblazoned in bronze with an invitation to immigrants. “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses,” she says, but perhaps we ought to add an asterisk to the poem. American immigration history has shown that welcoming these huddled masses involves a very stark “except.”

Over the course of this nation’s history, there have been numerous immigrant groups targeted and labeled as unwelcome, especially after they have been economically exploited for labor. History classes look back with retrospective admonishment for the laws that degraded and oppressed Chinese and Irish immigrant workers, but how will history view the current immigration policies of the United States?

Taking a close look at the history of immigration policy in the United States, a solid year with which to begin the timeline is 1889. This year marked the ruling of the Chinese Exclusion Case, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Chinese Exclusion Act provided an absolute ten-year moratorium on Chinese labor immigration, excluding people of Chinese descent from United States territory. Tellingly, the act was created shortly after the completion of the first Transcontinental Railroad, the heavy labor of which was primarily completed by Chinese immigrants. For the first time, federal law proscribed entry of an ethnic working group on the premise that it endangered the good order of local jobs for American citizens.

Such legislation relates not only to labor but also specifically to race and ethnicity. The National Origins Quota of 1924 developed immigration policy “in an effort to preserve as nearly as possible, the racial status quo in the United States.” Non-whites, or not-the-right-whites, were allowed to work within the nation’s borders but could never become citizens. Separate on the premise of skin color, and therefore absolutely not equal. This opinion carried forth through the creation of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). Congress overrode the Presidential veto that attempted to stop this policy, and in 1952 the

enacted INA sought to “preserve the sociological and cultural balance in the United States...because [Northern and Western Europeans] had made the greatest contribution to the development of [the] country.”

Current immigration rhetoric still defines which groups’ existence merits an equal place in American life, echoing the past policies that today seem archaic. The terms “illegal,” “alien,” and “undocumented” are now nearly synonymous with Mexican immigrant. Though the language and policy of today is almost entirely negative, the history of immigration from Mexico to the United States has had many incarnations. When work was largely unavailable during the Great Depression Mexican immigrants as well as citizens of Mexican descent were repatriated to Mexico, and as many as two million people were targeted by their physical distinctiveness according to the INS and forced to leave the United States without due process. However, a mere three years later the 1942 Bracero Program invited Mexican laborers into the United States to fill the increased labor demand during World War II. After the War the policy on Mexican labor and immigration shifted drastically yet again. With the implementation of “Operation Wetback,” the United States government launched an initiative to tighten borders and remove the Mexican laborers already living and working in the United States. In this short time span, immigration policy changed quickly to serve the needs of the United States without regard for the Mexican laborers, a back-and-forth entanglement centered on cold economic realities. This criminalization of immigrants from Latin American countries disregards the benefits the United States reaps from immigrants. Like the Chinese immigrants affected by the Chinese Exclusion Act, Mexican immigrants contribute largely to the American labor force, mostly in areas requiring unskilled labor. Immigrants are overrepresented in certain labor sectors, though all together they only make up 15.8 percent of the employed population, immigrants comprise 49 percent of all workers in private households and 31 percent in the accommodation sector.

Advocates of stricter immigration laws have a number of reasons for their views on Mexican immigration. Some might argue that immigrants who enter the United States without going through the legal sys-

tem should not be awarded the same rights as those who are legal citizens. This argument fails to acknowledge the difficulties of immigration and the unique situation of undocumented immigrants already residing in the country. Most undocumented immigrants entered the country legally but have overstayed their visas, or were brought into the country as children. These undocumented immigrants continue to contribute to the American labor force without receiving the benefits of American citizenship. And though another argument might state that immigrants take jobs away from American citizens, the statistics on which kind of jobs Mexican immigrants hold show that there is little risk of job stealing. In fact if undocumented immigrants were granted citizenship, they would actually contribute more to American economic growth. With better wages, immigrants would have more expendable income to put into the economy. This increased consumption of goods would create a large number of jobs for all U.S. citizens.

However, there is still a great debate about the status of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States. The history of exclusionary American immigration policy and the tradition of using disenfranchised immigrants for labor have set the stage for current policy.

Specifically, education is limited for Mexican immigrants today. United States institutions have formally limited the education of so-called “illegal immigrants” through numerous policies, including Georgia’s own Board of Regents rule. Since 2010, this rule has effectively banned undocumented students from attending the top public colleges in Georgia and does not allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition at any college in Georgia. The rule was imposed to stop undocumented students from taking away seats from American citizens.

Both the federal government and individuals have taken action in response to these strict rules regarding education. University of Georgia professors have begun holding weekly seminars for undocumented students, and the federally proposed DREAM Act would create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented young people who immigrated to the United States before the age of 15. In order to gain citizenship, these young people would be required to attend

a university or serve in the military for two years. The DREAM Act, however, would not counteract the Board of Regents rule denying in-state tuition to undocumented students.

Even if the DREAM Act passes, and the Board of Regents ban is lifted, these changes will hardly affect the greater attitude toward immigration. Though these policies should be enacted to provide education rights to immigrants in the United States, alone they will not be enough to alter the anti-immigrant attitudes that so often emerge. The United States has a clear history of exploiting minority groups that provide cheap labor. What these American policies say is what older policies said to the Chinese immigrant who built the Transcontinental Railroad: you can stay until your shift is over.

While positively changing immigration policies that affect Latino immigrants would indeed be a great step forward, another minority group may well take their place as the next “illegals.” Just as the United States has negated previous anti-immigrant policies only to create others that exploit and discriminate against different outgroups, the end of discrimination against Latino immigrants will not likely be the end of discriminatory immigration policies. The question then remains – after this – who’s next?



Top: Irish immigrants labor in a textile factory during the 19th century.

Middle: Chinese immigrant workers toiled to complete construction of the Transcontinental Railroad.

Bottom: Anti-Japanese sentiment embodied in a crude sign reading “No Japs wanted.”

Below: Mexican immigrants contribute to the American economy through manual labor.





Meet

the

Dean

— Q&A —
with

Dr. Stefanie Lindquist

Dr. Stefanie Lindquist began her tenure as Dean of the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia on Aug. 1, having previously served as the associate dean for external affairs at the University of Texas School of Law. Prior to her time in Texas, she served as a professor at Vanderbilt University and at the University of Georgia. GPR had the opportunity to hear Dean Lindquist's thoughts on her return to the school where she began her academic career.

Are there any specific lessons from you time at UT that you are going to apply to during your time at SPIA?

There are a few lessons. One is that any problem that comes to your attention when you're head of a school like this is usually a problem with a very long backstory. Before you try to solve the problem, it's important to understand its history and the steps that led to its creation and to do your homework carefully before making any final decisions. The first lesson I learned is that decision-making requires research to ensure that you are making the right decision. I'm always very careful not to make any rash or off-the-cuff decisions when they have long-term consequences. Secondly, I learned that a large, complex organization like this needs a leader that can bring everyone on the same page when

it comes to understanding the mission and purpose of the institution. What are we about? What are our strengths? We should all be speaking the same language about SPIA in terms of shaping our public profile. Consistent messaging is very, very important. And that's what I'm working on now with the faculty. SPIA only has two people working in public relations.

How do you plan to address this as you work to expand the school?

Yes, we had a communications officer and a development director, and that was all. They would occasionally hire a staff member or a graduate student to help, but we really

had only two people engaged in fundraising and communication. The communication person would be involved with the website, the hard copy publications, and updating Twitter, Facebook, and other social media outlets. The development director is in charge of fundraising. That's a big job. It requires event planning, communications with alumni, and developing prospects for large gifts, if we can find them. It's a very big job for two people. So on my way in the door as I was negotiating with President Morehead over the dimensions of my job, we agreed that I would be in a position to hire a third person in the communications development shop, so we'll have an event planner and an alumni director hired soon.

You're coming into a school that is largely dominated by males. Do you see patterns like that at other schools? What do you think that says, and do you think it will change in the future?

I have seen this pattern, and it is of great concern to me here at SPIA. We have very few senior female faculty members, and that's concerning because I think it is important for our female students to have role models in the classroom. It is an objective of mine is to diversify our faculty. But it's nothing new to me. I've seen a predominance of men in all the schools in which I have worked throughout my career. I'm not exactly sure what the reason is. Academia is very conducive to family life because you have a lot of flexibility, so for women who want to raise a family, it seems to me that it's a wonderful profession to pursue. But nevertheless, it is still unfortunately a male dominated profession in many of the disciplines. I don't have the comparative statistics, but I expect that schools of public affairs are all fairly male dominated, or at least the majority the faculty members are men. If I have anything to do about it, I will do my best to change it. I know the faculty here has tried and worked very hard to give offers to women, and there has been no shortage of effort on our part over the last 10 years to bring women here and keep them here. But for various reasons, female faculty have left, including myself. I didn't leave because I didn't love UGA. I left simply because I was interested in looking for other opportunities and trying other environments. I had been here for nine years, and it turns out I came back. I'm glad that I happen to be female, and hope that it sets an example for women students and shows them that the sky's the limit.

Looking beyond the short term, what do you hope will be your legacy at SPIA 10 or 15 years down the line?

There's a number of things I would like to see happen during my time here as dean. First, I would like to see the school's public profile be elevated. I would like to find a naming opportunity for the school. The school needs to be more easily identified by its name. SPIA is a shortcut for a

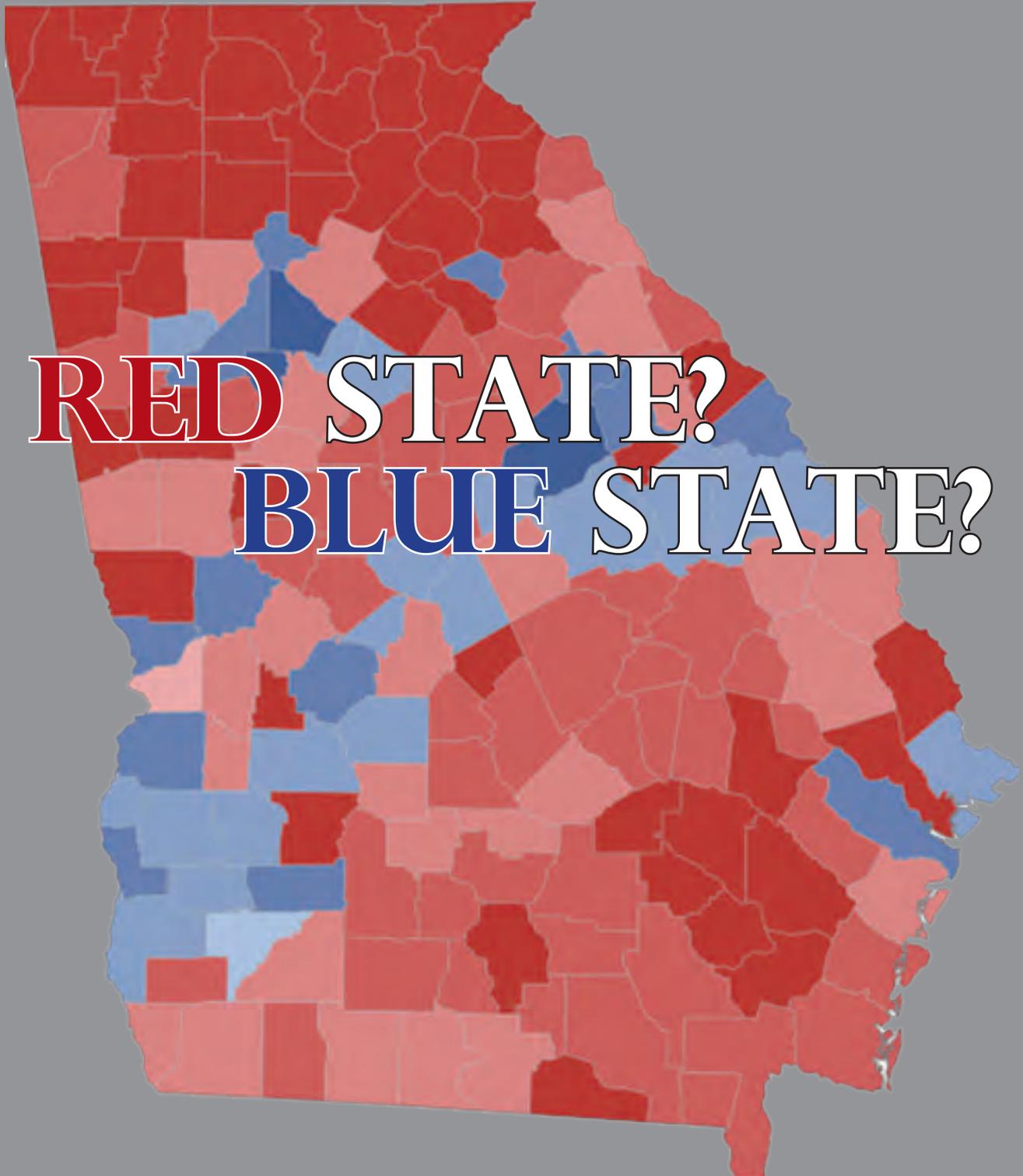
very lengthy name, and that name reflects what the school is about, but outside of Georgia it may be difficult for people to understand what you're talking about if you mention SPIA, unlike the Woodrow Wilson School or the Kennedy School. In Texas we had the LBJ School. So I'd love to be able to find an opportunity give the school better name recognition. I also believe that our profile can be improved in a number of other ways, and one of those is developing our web materials more effectively and highlighting our strengths in a more effective manner, which I don't think we're doing as well as we could. I think we've worked very hard to get where we are. We had an excellent inaugural dean, but we're going to focus on public relations under my deanship. So 15 years from now, I'd love to see the school named, I'd love to see our endowment at least tripled, and I'd love to see our public persona more widely understood and known. Those are pretty lofty goals and are probably good enough for now!

What do you think is going to be your greatest challenge as the Dean of SPIA?

The greatest challenge is to get all our financial resources. I know what needs to be done simply because I came from a school that had a lot of resources, and I know what the benefits of those are. More money is better than less, and the University of Texas Law school benefited greatly from its enormous foundation. It was developed through the vision of a dean in the 1950s who realized that no law school can be great, especially at that time in a remote place like Austin, without a very, very large endowment, and that's what he did. He built an excess of \$200 million, which made a difference in the kinds of faculty we could hire, the kind of support we could give our students, and the list goes on. So, it's going to be building our financial resources.

Now that you've come back to UGA, have you noticed any change in the culture here? The students? The faculty? Life in Athens in general?

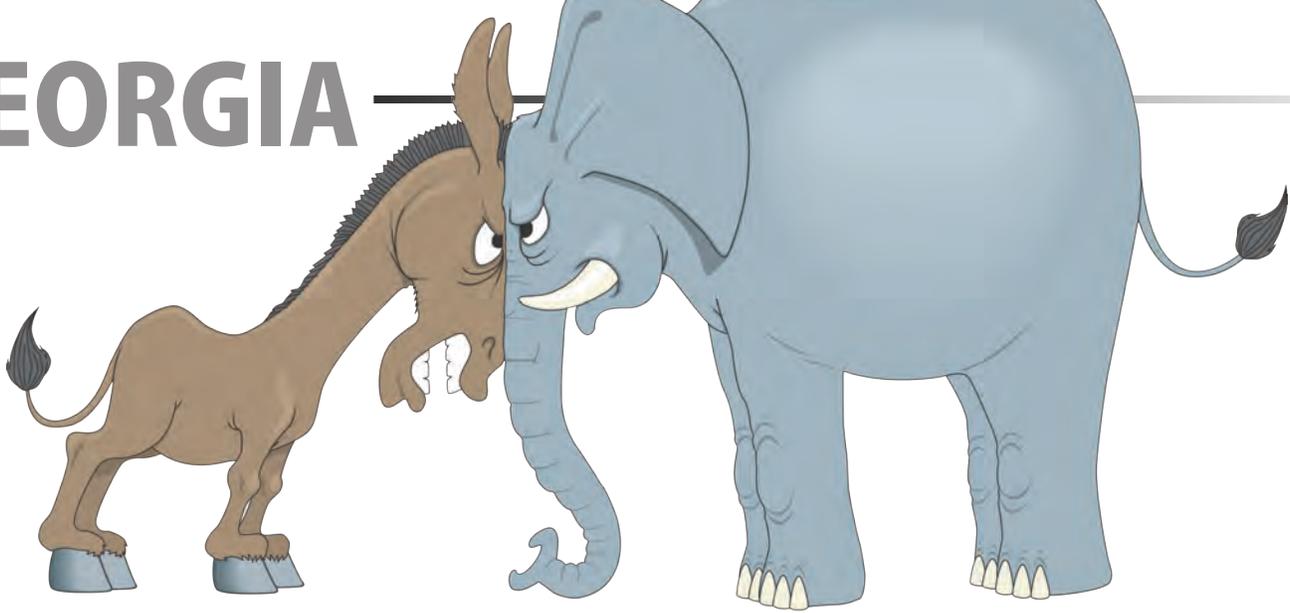
The restaurant scene has improved. Although it was pretty good when I left, it's gotten quite a bit better. There's a lot of choice in terms of good restaurants. I'm uniquely fond right now of the National, but there are other good ones in town. I do miss the vegetarian restaurant that was here called the Bluebird. I used to go there with Chuck Bullock all the time. So the restaurant scene has improved, and the students are sharp as ever and are getting sharper every day. One of the great assets of this school is our student body. Very impressive, ambitious, and tuned in to what what's going on the world. They're exciting to be around. Students make this all worthwhile.



RED STATE?
BLUE STATE?

**THE SOUTHERN
DEMOCRATIC RESURGANCE**

GEORGIA



Max Wallace
Staff Writer

Georgia is a Republican state. After more than a century of Democratic control, Sonny Perdue won the Governor's Mansion in 2002 and within two years, Republicans had seized control in both houses of the state legislature. More importantly, the Bible Belt represents a crucial stronghold for the Republican Party on the national level. The last time Georgia voted for a Democratic presidential candidate was in 1992 for Bill Clinton, and the state's 16 electoral votes represent the second-largest source of Mitt Romney's 206-vote total. Of the state's Washington delegation, only five Congressmen out of 13 are Democrats, and Republicans hold both Senate seats. But the Grand Old Party's grip on Georgia may soon slip. Shifts in voter demographics have made Georgia an appealing target for the Democratic Party, and Republicans will soon have to fight to ensure that their political base doesn't crumble beneath them.

Since the turn of the millennium, Georgia has witnessed a population boom to the tune of more than 1.5 million people. However, 80 percent of this growth is attributable to non-white residents. While the white population increased by 6 percent over the past decade, the African-American population has increased by 26 percent and the Hispanic population by a staggering 96 percent. Most of this population growth has been centered in the metro-Atlanta area, where President Obama actually won a slight majority of the vote in 2012. This demographic shift is expected to continue, with projections for 2020 estimating that white voters may only comprise 61 percent of the electorate. The impact of these shifts is already apparent; although Georgia has not gone blue for a presidential nominee since Clinton's first run, the margin by which Republican presidential candidates have won the state has dropped considerably. In

2004, John Kerry won the endorsement of 41 percent of Georgia voters, while in 2012, Barack Obama won 45 percent of the statewide vote. These same demographic shifts signaled the swing state status of Virginia and North Carolina in the 2012 elections. The Democratic Party directed significant amounts of advertising funding into these battlegrounds and managed to capture the Virginia vote, and very nearly did the same in North Carolina. Alarming for Republicans, the President came within 5 percent of winning Georgia without spending any campaign funds, making Georgia a prime target for future Democrats hoping to win the White House.

This shift in voting pattern has emboldened other Democrats to consider seeking

“THIS SHIFT IN VOTING PATTERN HAS EMBOLDENED OTHER DEMOCRATS TO CONSIDER SEEKING STATEWIDE OFFICES THAT A FEW YEARS AGO WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED UNATTAINABLE.”

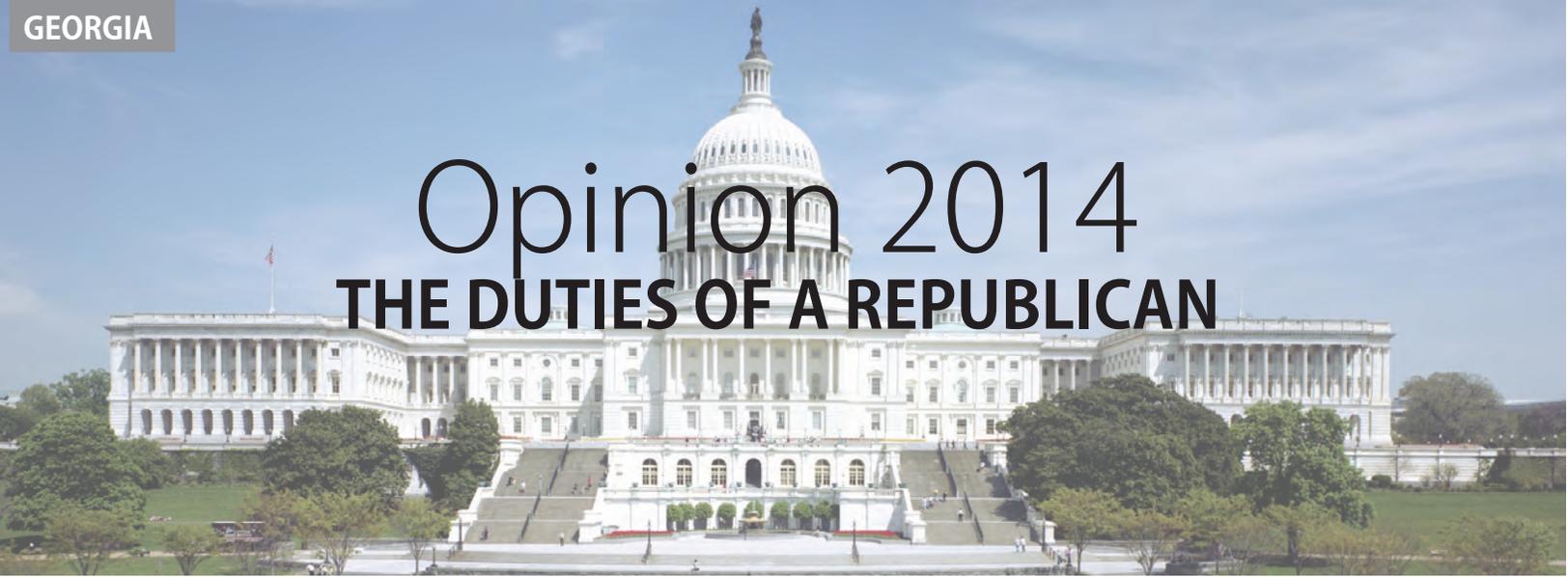
statewide offices that a few years ago would have been considered unattainable. Recent polling has placed Jason Carter, the grandson of the former president Jimmy Carter, on an equal playing field with Governor Nathan Deal. An even more high profile case is the Georgia Senate race to replace the retiring Saxby Chambliss: Michelle Nunn, whose father represented Georgia in the Senate for 24 years, announced her intention to run for the soon-to-be-vacated seat. Reports indicate that in the first three

months of her campaign, Nunn raised a staggering \$1.7 million, a figure that will likely exceed that of her Republican counterparts. Nunn is still considered a severe underdog in the race, but the amount of money being directed into her campaign is an indication of the vulnerability of Georgia as a Republican stronghold. Even if Nunn doesn't manage an upset and take a seat in the Senate, she will likely have a strong showing against her eventual challenger, who will probably emerge somewhat battered from an extremely crowded Republican primary. Thus, if the Senate election is even close to ending in a Democratic victory, future candidates and donors will be much more likely to devote their resources to defeating Republican incumbents.

There is little Republicans can do in the short term to address the danger that Democrats might win in a presidential or senatorial contest. Congressional seats will likely remain Republican for a more extended period because Congressional districts are drawn by the state legislature, a solidly Republican institution that will be much more difficult for Democrats to usurp. Although ethically questionable, partisan gerrymandering is not illegal, and Republicans can employ the same “creative” district drawing used by their Democratic predecessors to maintain control of the state legislature and its Congressional seats. However, political magic can only last so long, and in a democracy, eventually the majority will be heard. The Republican Party must ultimately address the fact that its voter base is evaporating and being replaced by an electorate that it has alienated. The time is quickly approaching when the Grand Old Party must shape itself into something new or fade away along with the voters it seeks to cater to. If Republican policy isn't reformed to be more inclusive and appealing to a more diverse audience, conservatives will find themselves robbed of support in Washington and in their own Southern strongholds.

Opinion 2014

THE DUTIES OF A REPUBLICAN



Chet Martin

Assistant Senior Editor

The Oconee County Republican Party meeting wasn't exactly full, but it did have everything one would expect: middle-aged white folks worrying about Obamacare, a natural sense of community, the best pineapple pie I've ever tasted. I sat and listened to the rumblings of discontent for 45 minutes before an embarrassing realization set in. This wasn't a meeting of the Republican Party. It was the Woodman of the World, a fraternal insurance organization that focuses on rural clients. Those same clients — white, middle-aged Southerners — make up a large part of the Republican Party, and are so natural to its constituency and so similar in outlook that I spent nearly an hour in their company and mistook them for faithful GOP activists.

It's reasonable to say Republicans are of one mind about their political enemies. More accurately, they speak with one voice. Pundits delight in saying that the Republican Party is hopelessly divided, and the desperately boring ones will go on to quote Lincoln's "A House Divided" speech (or, as Republicans know it, Mark 3:25). They'll gesticulate towards the government shutdown debacle and some errant poll about the approval numbers for John Boehner's tan and grunt "bad." But for anyone who has spent time around the Republican base, it is obvious that the party faithful are in consensus: the duty of a Republican is to oppose President Obama. Though the exact policy prescriptions are under dispute, Republican politicians should understand that their base demands they reside within a fairly narrow range of ideas. The much-hyped "debate" within the GOP is just an argument over tactics.

It's not surprising, then, that the senior senator from Georgia, Republican Saxby Chambliss, is retiring in 2014. Though Chambliss is no one's idea of a moderate,

he possesses the unfortunate character flaw of a sincere desire to solve problems. On multiple occasions, he joined the posse of bipartisan "gangs" in the Senate, most notably the "Gang of Six," a group of budget hawks who proposed to reduce the national debt by a combination of spending cuts and tax increases. Needless to say, this was wildly unpopular with the rank-and-file. While grassroots Republicans — the Woodmen of the World-type — loathe the national debt, they plan to eliminate it by cutting taxes, an arithmetic achievement unrivaled by any since Pythagoras.

So the elements of the drama fall in to place. A party with strict loyalty tests made up of the nation's largest demographic and a few others, and a Senate primary battle in the South's largest state. It goes without saying that the race is a game of "Who Wore it Best?" for the mantle of big-C Conservative.

Reps. Paul Broun, Phil Gingrey, and Jack Kingston are in contention, as are former Secretary of State Karen Handel and Kentucky businessman/Professional-Cous-

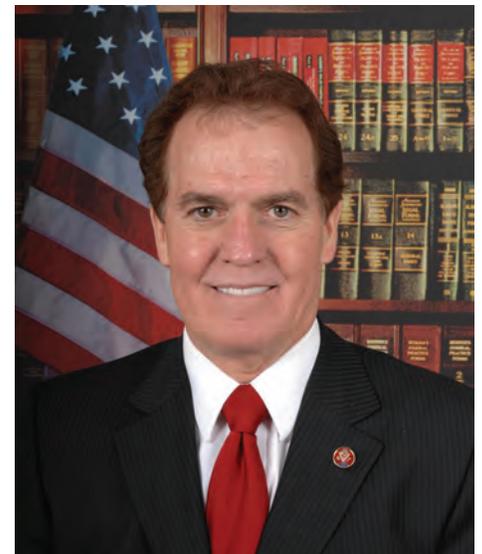
in-of-the-Governor David Perdue. All are opposed to the Affordable Care Act. All want lower taxes and less government spending. All are conservative for Georgia, family, and Constitutional values. All think Washington is broken and in need of common sense conservatism. All would give a limb and a half to revive and re-elect President Reagan.

So what on God's green young Earth is the focus of the race? Mirroring the party-at-large, every candidate believes essentially the same thing. The race is a testament to the sad state of the party, one in which candidates compete for showmanship and tactics while maintaining a stale consensus of ideas. Nationally, there's no more infuriating symbol of this than Sen. Ted Cruz speaking at the World War II Memorial against a government shutdown that he played a large role in causing. Statewide, all five major candidates said that they would "Stand with Ted" in his effort to defund Obamacare by shutting down the government, an effort that has forced journalists to retire the word "quixotic" from overuse.



Paul Broun

Congressman from the 10th District



Phil Gingrey

Congressman from the 11th District

“BUT FOR ANYONE WHO HAS SPENT TIME AROUND THE REPUBLICAN BASE, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE PARTY FAITHFUL ARE IN CONSENSUS: THE DUTY OF A REPUBLICAN IS TO OPPOSE PRESIDENT OBAMA.”

This election cannot be understood by listening to the candidates speak with one voice, and that should make voters wonder if they can trust these hive-mind “leaders” at all.

If their words mean nothing, maybe their résumés might mean something. All three congressman in the race voted against the Reid-McConnell deal that ended the government shutdown (as did all of Georgia’s House Republicans), and all three are reliably conservative, even within the House caucus. Paul Broun, representing the area around Athens, is a favorite headline for click-happy liberal media outlets looking for a conservative to say something outrageous; his “evolution is a lie from the pits of hell” and “Obamacare is going to destroy everything that we know as a nation” predictably find themselves among his greatest hits. Phil Gingrey, a medical doctor like Broun, hails from the area around Marietta and had the decency to say that Todd Aiken’s “legitimate rape” comment was “partially right.” Broun has spent six years in Congress, and Gingrey has spent ten.

So far, the other three candidates in the race have avoided the cringe-inducing gaffes of Gingrey and Broun. Karen Handel, former Georgia secretary of state and very nearly Georgia’s governor, draws support from metro Atlanta and the state’s Republican women. David Purdue was CEO of Dollar General and cousin of the state’s first Republican governor since Reconstruction, Sonny Perdue. Though he grew up in Georgia and has maintained residency in the state, his business career has kept him away for most of his adult life. He’s banking on the “send a businessman to Washington” theme that served Herman Cain so well in 2012. Finally, probable frontrunner Jack Kingston represents the area around Savannah. He’s been in Congress over two decades and sits on the Appropriations Committee, where he has made \$4 billion in cuts to the Farm Bill budget. He’s the only South Georgian in the race, and is therefore a huge booster for the agricultural community and the perpetually-delayed project to dredge the port of Savannah. All five are fighting to take on Michelle Nunn, the

founder of the charity Points of Light and daughter of legendary Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, in the general election.

If the party intends to move past the controversial politics of Ted Cruz, it seems necessary to send someone with legislative experience to Washington. While Gingrey and Broun are conservative favorites, neither have much in the way of real legislative accomplishments; Broun’s biggest opponent in his 2012 re-election campaign was a joke vote for Charles Darwin, which begs the question if he has the gravitas of a U.S. senator. Kingston has raised the most money of any senate candidate from a broad base of individual contributions, and it is easy to see why. His conservatism is as passionate as any Georgia Republican’s, but his dignity and prudence promises a politician people can count on to spare them from embarrassment. After 16 days of government shutdown, dignity is a noble trait to offer.



Karen Handel
Former Georgia Secretary of State



Jack Kingston
Congressman from the 1st District



David Purdue
Businessman and former CEO



years Later

<i>Late 2007</i>	<i>September 2008</i>	<i>March 2009</i>	<i>June 2009</i>	<i>July 2010</i>	<i>Today</i>
The beginnings of the Great Recession manifest themselves with the emergence of sub-prime loan losses.	Lehman Brothers finds out Barclays will not be buying the firm. They file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy September 15.	The S&P index reaches its trough at 676, down 57% from October 2007. It would take nearly four years for prices to fully recover.	The recession officially ends, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research. However, the economy struggles to quickly rebound.	The Dodd-Frank Act, regulating the financial industry, is signed into law. Only 40% of the bill has been implemented thus far, though.	Despite widespread recovery of stock indices, the economy remains stagnant. Worse, if the nation hasn't learned a lesson from this recession, another could be around the corner.

Chris Neill
Staff Writer

“The trading floor was packed, but people were not working,” said Mo Grimeh, former globalhead of emerging markets at Lehman Brothers. Some were crying. Some were drinking beer. Some were doing shots of tequila. Most of them were smoking. There was total chaos. I just saw a lot of people packing boxes, taking pictures of their families, clients’ business cards.”

Such was the scene at Lehman’s New York headquarters on Sept. 14, 2008, when employees learned that the British government had forbidden Barclays from buying the firm and they would likely lose their jobs.

The United States was in the midst of its worst financial panic since the Great Depression. The stock market was in free-fall and the economy tumbled deep into the throes of recession. The Lehman bankruptcy marked the bursting of a bubble that was years in the making. Credit was easy; real estate speculation was rampant. Most significantly, regulation and oversight were practically nonexistent.

This perfect storm led the economy and markets into a period of uncertainty and forced regulators to react on the fly. Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and American International Group all received some form of governmental assistance, yet Lehman was allowed to fail. The Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission concluded in its final report that “the government was ill prepared for the crisis, and its inconsistent response added to the uncertainty and panic in the financial markets.”

Americans at the time were also unsatisfied with the government’s response. The word “bailout” soon became profane. The Right decried enormous government intervention in the economy, warning of the moral hazard created by not allowing risk-takers to fail. Meanwhile the Left saw the bailouts as aiding Wall Street over “Main Street.” This sentiment led to the rise of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Protesters spoke out against greed, corruption, and most significantly, wealth inequality. They called attention to growing disparity between incomes of the top earners and the rest of the population. As the fifth anniversary of the crisis passes, this income gap has only widened. Berkeley economist Emmanuel Saez finds that the richest 1 percent have seen their incomes grow by 31 percent since 2009.

Despite the widening of the income gap since the crisis, the White House believes recovery from the crisis has been a success. “Five years later, America has fought our way back,” read a report from the executive

office. “We’ve cleared away the rubble from the financial crisis and begun to lay a new foundation for stronger, more durable economic growth.” For several reasons, their satisfaction is not unwarranted. The federal government has recovered most of the taxpayer money it invested in distressed banks through the Troubled Asset Relief Program with a \$28 billion return on investment. Some beneficial reform measures have been enacted, such as stress testing – the process by which regulators routinely test banks to see if they are adequately capitalized to withstand a shock in the markets. These tests have resulted in banks raising capital, especially high quality, loss-absorbing equity and reserves known as Tier 1 capital.

Markets have reacted positively since the crash. Housing prices are rising again, benefiting homeowners who faced significant losses in home equity during the crisis. Alongside the housing market, the stock market has rallied too. Since bottoming out in March 2009, the Dow Jones Industrial Average and the S&P500 have both risen more than 110 percent.

Despite these positive strides, the recovery hasn’t been perfect. Critics ranging from politicians like Sen. Elizabeth Warren to journalists such as Time Magazine’s Rana Foroohar, have expressed worries that the nation has not done enough to prevent such a crisis from occurring again. The federal government attempted to impose reform on the financial system with the behemoth 2010 Dodd-Frank Act. Three years later, however, less than 40 percent of the Act has been effectively implemented in part due to the enormous power wielded by the financial services lobby.

Foroohar points to five key issues that have not been adequately addressed by reform efforts. Financial institutions continue to exist at sizes that make them systemically important and “too-big-to-fail.” Banks continue to rely too heavily on borrowing and leverage to fund their day-to-day activities. Existing regulation has failed to properly cover the over-the-counter derivatives market, which spreads risk and volatility throughout the system. “Shadow banking” institutions, such as money market funds, largely remain immune from the regulators of traditional banks. Finally, corporate compensation structures still perversely encourage short-term risk-taking over long term stability. Until government regulation can be effectively implemented to tackle these issues, the United States economy is hardly in a better place to prevent or respond to another crisis. While some parts of the economy are slowly recovering, the biggest stride the nation could make is taking insight gained from the crisis and applying it to ensure that history does not repeat itself.

Five Issues Reforms Have Not Addressed

According to Time’s Rana Foroohar

1. Financial institutions still too LARGE

2. Banks rely too heavily on borrowing and leveraging

3. Deregulation of over-the-counter derivatives market

4. “Shadow Banking” institutions still unregulated

5. Corporate structure encourages short-term risk taking

To Raise...

Either/Or: Minimum Wage and Corporate Welfare

Andrew Jarnagin
Staff Writer

In President Obama's last State of the Union address, he proposed raising the minimum wage to \$9 an hour and indexing it to inflation. The political response was predictable: Democrats were supportive, Republicans disapproved, and both claimed the moral and economic high ground (the academic literature on the effect of minimum-wage increases on overall employment is inconclusive). However, most discussions on the minimum wage are missing a critical angle.

The real debate

about the minimum wage ought to be a debate about corporate welfare. The federal minimum wage sits at \$7.25 an hour, but it is widely acknowledged that full-time employment at that rate is still entirely insufficient for life in America. The idea that all minimum-wage earners are teenagers flipping burgers is patently false – 45 percent are over the age of 25. A recently released budgeting plan from McDonald's drew criticism as the company implicitly acknowledged the deficiency of its wages. The plan requires that its employees work a second full-time job in order to balance the budget. The plan devotes only \$20 a month to health-care, presumably enough to buy a bottle of pain medicine and make it to the hospital, where federal and state governments eventually pick up the check. Funds for child-care, groceries, and gas are notably absent.

So how does an adult working for minimum wage, possibly raising children, survive in America?

The answer is the welfare system. The working poor are supported through the federal and state governments with programs like Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

(TANF), Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), Section 8 subsidized housing, Medicaid, reduced price school lunches, and others. These taxpayer-funded programs fill the gap between what the minimum wage provides and what it takes to live in today's America. And when a business doesn't provide for its workers, the taxpayer steps in. For example, a 2004 study published by the University of California Berkeley found that use of public assistance programs by Walmart employees in California alone cost the state \$86 million annually. A more recent study, published in May, estimated that a single 300-employee Walmart Supercenter in Wisconsin comes with a \$904,542 welfare bill to taxpayers each year. The situation of the working poor is such that they are paid poverty-level wages (good for Walmart) while a significant portion of their living expenses are provided by the government (again, good for Walmart). This gap between minimum wage and living wage is, in effect, a subsidy to the companies that pay the lowest legal wages. In the words of Aubrieta Edick, a Walmart employee who receives public assistance, food stamps, Section 8 housing, and state-sponsored health care, "Walmart doesn't pay my salary. You pay my salary."

The traditional American ethic looks down on individuals who are dependent upon the government to help pay the bills. Americans disparage these people with names like "welfare queens" and "leeches." Why, then, is it not also wrong for corporations to benefit from welfare? If it were not for this system, firms would be obligated to pay enough to provide for their workers through the bare necessity of keeping their laborers alive or through public pressure to permit a basic standard of living. The federal minimum wage returns some of that responsibility to employers, but welfare programs still cover much of the tab, while companies pocket the profits.

Raising the federal minimum wage would improve the ability of the working poor to stand on their own feet, while simultaneously reducing the government's expenditures on social welfare programs. Workers would receive the income directly from company profits rather than funneling tax money through federal and state governments. Taking the government out of the loop could remove a massive corporate subsidy. In this light, President Obama's proposal to raise the federal minimum wage to \$9 an hour hardly seems preposterous.



...or Not to Raise?

Minimal Benefits from Raising the Minimum Wage

Alex Edquist

Marketing Director

A staggering 46.5 million people live below the poverty line in the world's richest country. Thanks to the recent recession and decades of growing income inequality, this statistic has risen to its highest level since the start of Census Bureau's record in 1959. Many cite a low minimum wage as an important reason for this poverty; however, raising the minimum wage would not be an effective way of helping the poor.

There is a surprisingly weak correlation between working for a minimum wage and living below the poverty line. Only 11.3 percent of people working for minimum wage live in poor households, while 34 percent – more than three times as many – live in households in the top half of income distribution. Of this demographic, 51 percent are 16 to 24 years old, and many of them still live with their parents or attend school. A minimum wage raise to \$9, as President Obama has proposed, would cost businesses \$11 billion, but only \$1.6 billion would go to poor households.

Furthermore, the businesses that would pay the bulk of the minimum wage increase are not exactly flush with cash. Business as a whole has done well since the end of the recession; stock prices and corporate cash reserves are at historic peaks. However, food service and retail, two industries that predominantly employ minimum wage workers, have not been as successful. For example, 60 percent of restaurants fail within three years. Meanwhile, the tepid economic recovery and the rise of Amazon have made life difficult for retailers – JCPenney and Sak's Fifth Avenue have been operating at a loss and Macy's and Best Buy, among others, have been losing sales as well.

Forbes's list of the most profitable industries is topped by the legal, finance, medical, and accounting industries, which generally do not hire minimum wage workers. While income inequality is a growing problem, raising the minimum wage would not be an effective means

of distributing some of this industry's incredible profits to the poor.

Not only would a minimum wage increase not greatly help the poor, but it would also negatively impact them through the following rise in prices. One study found that in businesses that hire a large percentage of minimum wage workers, a 10 percent minimum wage increase caused them to raise prices by 4 percent. If this relationship holds true, the proposed increase to \$9 an hour could raise prices by 10 percent in those businesses. The poor would be hardest-hit by this price increase because they spend the largest percent of their income on goods such as the food sold by businesses with high numbers of minimum wage workers.

Also troubling is the effect a raise would have on unemployment. About half of the studies conducted on this issue suggest that minimum wage increases also increase unemployment, especially among low-skill workers. The research is not conclusive, but there is enough evidence that raising the minimum wage could result in workers losing their jobs, a difficult consequence to justify in a time of stubbornly high unemployment.

Raising the minimum wage is a deceptively attractive means of countering poverty and income inequality; in reality it would cause more harm than good to the people it most seeks to benefit. Blaming businesses for perpetuating poverty is easy, but for every poor family that is hurt by a low minimum wage, nine will benefit from the cheap goods resulting from low labor costs. Raising the minimum wage will



not

address the broader social and economic causes, like poor education systems, that are the real roots of poverty.

THE NSA'S War on the Internet

What does the future of the Internet look like in the face of a massive, hidden surveillance apparatus that operates on its very backbone?

Gautam Narula
Webmaster

In June 2013, *The Guardian*, a British newspaper, began reporting on documents leaked by Edward Snowden, a contractor for the National Security Agency (NSA). The documents highlighted the scale and magnitude of the NSA's domestic and international surveillance efforts by revealing the existence of three new programs. The first, Planning Tool for Resource Integration, Synchronization, and Management (PRISM), mines stored communications data from the largest technology companies and services, including Apple, AOL, Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Skype, Yahoo!, and YouTube. The second, XKeyStore (XKS), allows the NSA to search and analyze foreigners' internet data. The third, Tempora, is an online and telecommunications surveillance program run by the British Government Communications Headquarters whose data is shared with the NSA. For the first time, outsiders have a glimpse of the extent of the NSA's surveillance and analytical powers.

The NSA has been using the phone and email data it has collected to create complex "graphs" detailing Americans' social connections, a practice forbidden until officials lifted restrictions on it in 2010. The agency's Sigint Enabling Project works with major internet companies to undermine privacy by inserting backdoors into encryption algorithms, exploiting flaws in encryption chips, and working with manufacturers to create security vulnerabilities within their hardware. The NSA has also coerced technology companies into giving up their encryption keys or providing direct access to communications data, and has stealthily used its influence to introduce weaknesses into encryption standards followed by software and hardware developers worldwide. Under a program codenamed Bullrun, the NSA has focused on cracking

widely used encryption practices and protocols, like Secure Socket Layer, virtual private networks, and the encryption used on 4G phones. "Who knew in 1984," a leaked NSA slideshow on iPhone vulnerabilities crows, "[Steve Jobs] would be big brother and the zombies would be paying customers?"

Government officials have been quick to defend the surveillance programs. President Obama argued that, "these programs are subject to congressional oversight and congressional reauthorization and congressional debate." In an interview Obama flatly stated, "there is no spying on America," and argued that the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, also known as the FISA Court, provided sufficient oversight of the NSA's surveillance activities. James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, told a Senate committee in March that the NSA does "not wittingly" collect data on millions of Americans. NSA Director Keith Alexander told the House Intelligence Committee that "these programs, along with other intelligence, have protected the U.S. and our allies from... potential terrorist events over 50 times since 9/11." In an interview, Alexander asserted that there was no alternative to the mass collection of Americans' communications metadata to prevent terrorist attacks. He also claimed the Snowden disclosures had caused "significant and irreversible damage" to national security.

The Electronic Frontiers Foundation (EFF), a digital rights advocacy group, has challenged Obama's claim that the FISA court has provided sufficient NSA oversight. In a blog post on its website, the EFF argued that the NSA circumvented the FISA court by acting as if "it had the authority to search the telephone records database in order to obtain the 'reasonable articulable suspicion' required to investigate those numbers. Essentially, they were conducting suspicion-less searches to obtain the suspicion the FISA court required

to conduct searches." In 2011, the FISA court rebuked the NSA for "the third instance in less than three years in which the government has disclosed a substantial misrepresentation regarding the scope of a major collection program." The EFF argued that the court "cannot serve as an effective check on the NSA, because it's wholly dependent on the representations that the NSA makes to it."

Obama's congressional oversight defense has been challenged by members of Congress themselves. Virginia Republican Representative Morgan Griffith and Democratic Representative Alan Grayson provided documents to The Guardian showing that their repeated requests for more information from the House Intelligence Committee had been denied. In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Democratic Senator Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut noted that "the revelations about the magnitude, the scope and scale of [surveillance]...were indeed revelations to me." After the disclosures revealed the NSA was receiving an ongoing feed of the communications data of millions of American Verizon customers, Clapper admitted that his previous statement, given under oath to members of Congress, was false.

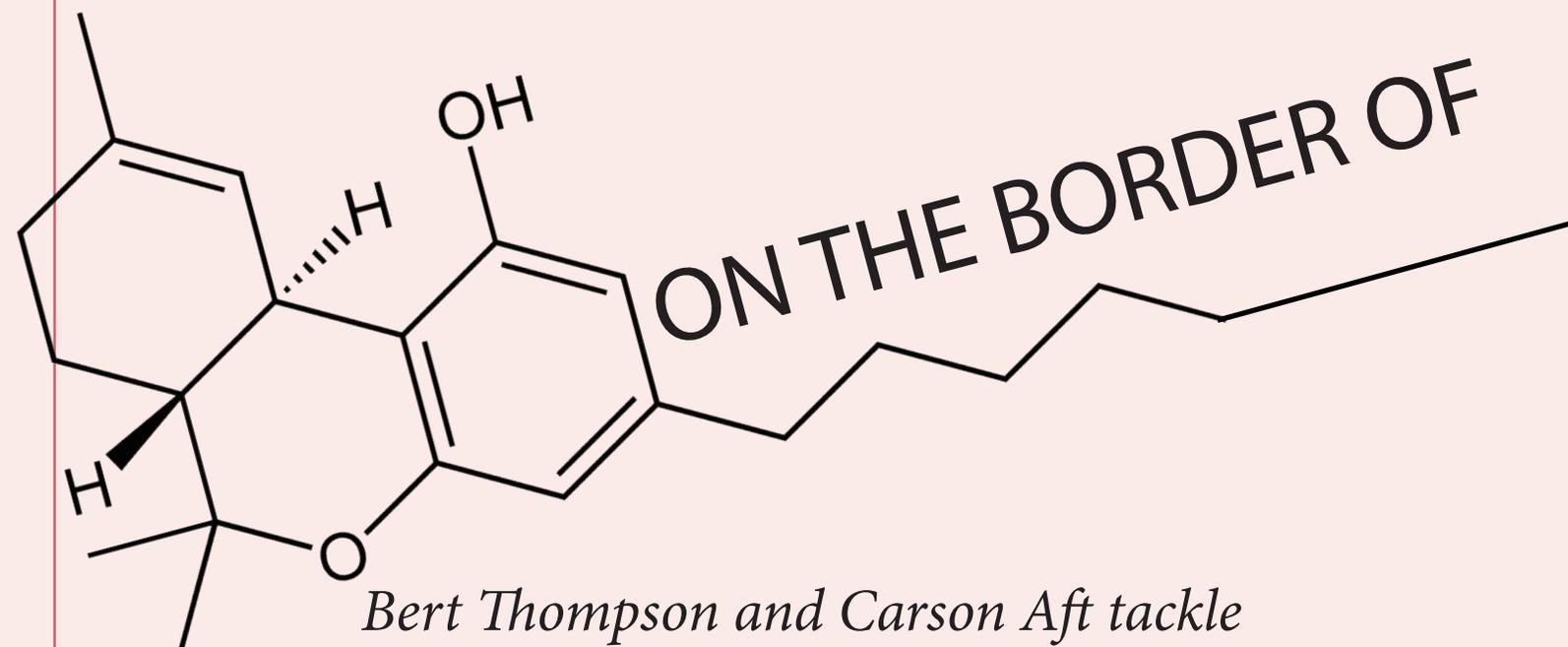
The disclosures have had a chilling effect on American technology companies. Marissa Mayer, CEO of Yahoo!, nervously stated in an interview that she could not disclose how the company interacts with the NSA because "releasing classified information is treason, which generally ends with you incarcerated." Facebook, Google, Microsoft, and Yahoo! have all filed suit with the FISA court in order to release more information to the public. RSA Security, an American networking and computer security company, told customers to stop using a long recommended encryption algorithm after leaked documents showed the NSA secretly introduced vulnerabilities into it. In September, Google began encrypting all of the keyword searches on its search engine while DuckDuckGo, a search engine that claims to not record any user information, saw its search volume increase 50 percent in the eight days following the first NSA disclosures. Lavabit, a privacy-oriented email service used by Edward Snowden, shut down rather than comply with a court order to hand over its encryption key to the federal government. "Without Congressional action or a strong judicial precedent," wrote Ladar Levinson, Lavabit's owner, "I would strongly recommend against anyone trusting their private

data to accompany with physical ties to the United States."

What does the future of the Internet look like in the face of a massive, hidden surveillance apparatus that operates on its very backbone? According to Google executive chairman Eric Schmidt, the real danger is that "other countries will begin to put very serious encryption...to essentially split the Internet [and make it] country specific. That would...really break the way the Internet works." A September poll from the Pew Research Center found that 86 percent of Americans had taken steps to remain anonymous online. A July poll from Pew showed that for the first time since 9/11, more Americans were concerned that the government "had gone too far in restricting civil liberties" (47 percent) than with the government "not going far enough to protect the country" (35 percent). The NSA has circumvented or cracked much of the encryption and privacy measures that makes the modern internet possible, like those used for e-commerce, banking, online communication, and user authentication. In its efforts to make our nation safer, the NSA has made the Internet a more dangerous place.

Rather than providing any answers, the Snowden documents only raise more questions. How can we have an open and honest debate about balancing safety and privacy when Google isn't even allowed to tell us how many NSA data requests it receives each year? How do we know our information is safe online when the most widely used protection mechanisms are vulnerable? How can we function as a democratic society when government officials have repeatedly deceived the public about the nature and scope of these programs? "That's the worst thing about the NSA's actions," wrote cryptologist Bruce Schneier. "We have no idea whom we can trust."

"Rather than providing any answers, the Snowden documents only raise more questions."



ON THE BORDER OF

Bert Thompson and Carson Aft tackle the issues surrounding illegal drugs...

"The United States should boost border security and increase its ability to deal damage to the drug cartels and their affiliates."

Bert Thompson
Staff Writer

Instead of ending the prohibition on illegal drugs, the United States should focus on increasing its efforts to neutralize drug smuggling across the U.S.-Mexico border through aggressive security measures. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) of the Department of Justice, working with agencies such as U.S. Customs and Border

Protection (CBP) and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF), has the daunting task of preventing the trafficking of illegal drugs across the border, many of which are sent by massive drug cartels that have gained great power throughout Mexico. The New York Times reports that the reach of these cartels – most notably the Juarez Cartel, Los Zetas, and the Gulf Cartel – not only spreads along the U.S. border, but into the nation's heartland as well. The Mexican drug cartels are a major supplier of many different drugs to the U.S. market. In 2007 alone, the United States seized more than ten tons of cocaine and 1,500 tons of marijuana along its southwestern border. According to the U.S. Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control, 95 percent of cocaine that

entered the United States in 2010 came through Mexico.

Illegal drugs are not the only things brought into the United States from Mexico. The cartels themselves have spread into U.S. cities, bringing with them the spillover of violence. In 2009, U.S. law enforcement officials identified 230 cities in which cartels or their affiliates "maintain drug distribution networks or supply drugs to distributors," according to a Justice Department report – an increase from a reported 100 cities three years ago.

Clearly, the United States has a great interest in reducing or eliminating the threat of Mexican drug cartels. The problem arises, though, of how the United States government can stop them. It has made strikes against drug cartels in the past with the help of the Mexican government through efforts such as "Project Coronado," a 44-month investigation of the "La Familia Michoacana" cartel that resulted in 1,186 arrests. Increased cooperation between the Mexican and American governments can be a huge step to reducing drug smuggling, including the existing policy of extradition between the

United States and Mexico. But this is not enough. The United States should boost border security and increase its ability to

deal damage to the drug cartels and their affiliates. This can be accomplished by an increased southwestern border presence. A former employee of the Department of Homeland Security responsible for evaluating border and immigration programs said that to catch 90 percent of border-crossers, the CBP would have to increase its number of agents from 20,000 to 60,000. This is not meant to equate border-crossers with drug smugglers; these two groups are different. But, by the nature of their act, drug smugglers are also border-crossers. While some may see this increase as drastic, it is a necessary measure for the United States to secure its southwestern border from those who purposefully cross the border to smuggle drugs. Cartels have invented many different methods of smuggling, from ultra-light aircraft to much-discussed tunnel under the border, to even using an improvised cannon to launch packets of up to 13 kilograms of marijuana at a time across the California border. CBP needs more agents to combat these new and changing methods of smuggling illegal drugs. By taking a more aggressive approach to security, the United States can greatly reduce the influx of drugs from its southwestern border.

SAFETY AND SECURITY

...and put forth two different solutions to the problem

“Rather than spending billions to eliminate the opportunity for criminals to cross the border, the more appropriate response is to eliminate the reason they are crossing.”

Carson Aft
Staff Writer

For the safety of the American and Mexican people, the time has come to decriminalize illicit drugs in the United States. Standing on the border between the United States and Mexico can give a false impression. What appears to be a vast, empty desert contains a southbound highway for money. Between 10 and 30 billion dollars leave the United

States each year, destined for the pockets of gangs and cartels dealing in illicit drugs. Rather than spending billions to eliminate the opportunity for criminals to cross the border, the more appropriate response is to eliminate the reason they are crossing. Economic incentive, safety, and morality demand that the United States end the prohibition of illegal drugs.

The hemorrhaging of funds through the border feeds dangerous and terrible crime. Rather than the money being spent and taxed domestically, it goes into the hands of producers and distributors of the drugs found in the United States. The CATO Institute estimates that the legalization of drugs could yield more than \$41 billion in tax revenue. On any budgetary scale in the world, this number is substantial. Rather than money

simply leaving the country, a controlled and domestic marketplace for drugs would keep the money out of the grasp of drug lords.

The largest problems related to drugs are the dangers they pose to the user and communities. With the clandestine nature of the current drug trade, it is impossible to be completely informed. As a result, dangerous additives are often used in place of more expensive ingredients. Without the legal accountability of legitimate markets, extralegal retaliation is the only option, adding further danger to American streets.

Mexican cartels present another danger to residents on both sides of the border. Violence frequently follows illegal markets, especially those with high profits. The presence of drug cartels in America continues to grow, as do the potential profits from providing illicit substances. Allowing the continuation and spread of these substances' influence within U.S. borders poses a grave threat. Making no attempt to stem their drug profits only empowers and enables them.

The ethical ramifications of drug prohibition go beyond the scope of drug use. Regardless of public opinion on drug use, it is hard to believe that its prevention is worth the amount of blood spilled. As of 2012, Mexican drug cartels had killed over 60,000 people. These gangs' proclivity for violence

and destruction is directly related to the U.S. money spent on the purchase and movement of drugs. Mexican drugs brought through the border place weapons in the hands of dangerous men. Washing the blood from the hands of American people is simply one of the benefits of responsible and legal drug acquisition in the United States.

The world would arguably be better off without the use of dangerous drugs. Unfortunately, these substances are culturally entrenched and indelible. Regardless of severity of punishment or strictness of security, the complete elimination of drug use is not feasible. It is from an economic, security, and moral obligation that the United States of America must end the prohibition of drugs. To alleviate the dangers presented on the southern border, the United States does not have to embrace drugs, but only to acknowledge and responsibly deal with them. The greatest drug threat for the United States does not lie in their use, but in their prohibition.

INTERNATIONAL



Putting On a Show, Russia Style

Yuliya Bila
Assistant Senior Editor

The vast majority of people living in Kazan, Russia had never heard of the Universiade before their city was selected to host the international student athletic competition during the summer of 2013. Yet over the course of a few years leading up to the event, they saw their city transformed by the promises of over 100,000 visitors, \$4.5 billion in investment, and the worldwide prominence associated with a bid to host the “global event of the year” – a title bestowed upon the competition by local newspapers.

Despite the proclaimed success of Universiade 2013 – the competition went down without a hitch and Russia won a sweeping 50 percent of the medals – the event was little more than a “very bright prologue” to the much more shrilly anticipated 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi. Prime Minister Mikhail Medvedev admitted this himself in his lengthy, self-congratulatory speech at the closing ceremony of the games.

Though the Universiade was essentially an elaborate practice exercise, the local and regional governments did not treat it as a joke. Besides the typical preparation efforts such as the construction of an athletic village and new sports facilities as well as the improvement of transportation networks, the authorities went the extra kilometer. Construction crews brought in from former Central Asian satellite republics laid new sidewalks, re-painted his-

toric buildings, fixed up shoddy underpasses, and beautified the city with flowers. This newly dressed-up Kazan was then flooded with 10,000 English-speaking volunteers in cheerful uniforms to ensure a comfortable experience for all of the athletes, crews, and visitors. Meanwhile, the public relations team worked around the clock to convince the country that for two weeks this summer, Kazan would rightfully become the center of the world.

The locals who were now hearing about the Universiade for the first time were not the target audience of any of these impressive efforts. In fact, local concerns were often the last to be considered. For example, to dazzle visitors with freshly painted roads, road crews were instructed to hold off on the annual re-painting of pavement markings, erased every harsh winter, until the weekend right before the Universiade. This delay ensured that throughout April, May and June, local motorists had to drive on multi-lane highways without knowing where one lane ended and another began.

During the Universiade itself, the government of Tatarstan forcibly “retired” personal vehicles that were deemed too old or unappealing to be on the roads, hauling them off to one of the many informal parking lots set up outside of the city. Government employees, many of whom drove these undesirable vehicles, were then given a mandatory two week “vacation” during which they were encouraged to either support Universiade efforts or leave the city altogether so as to not clog up public transit.

When attendance at athletic events was low, as it often was, the Universiade organizers rounded up crews of “volunteer fans” at universities, gave them free tickets, and required them to cheer for the cameras in exchange. These “fans” had to arrive at the

event a few hours early to pick up their special jerseys, hats, and flags and to be instructed on how to properly show enthusiasm. They received a bottle of water to remain hydrated, but were discouraged from leaving the stands, barring any emergencies.

Behind the façade of Universiade 2013 grew the begrudging discontent of the residents of Kazan. These hard working men and women would have easily preferred for the billions of dollars to be spent on genuinely improving the city, not simply making it shine for the visitors. They had reason to believe that given the short preparation timeline and preoccupation with appearances rather than substance, the city’s new construction projects were not built to last in the long run. The games would end, the tourists would leave, and the city would begin crumbling at its foundations; the “Sports Capital of Russia” would be left with a couple dozen new athletic facilities and the same outstanding issues in education, healthcare, corruption, etc.

Kazan’s ordeal during the summer of 2013 not only paves the way for the Sochi Olympics in February, but also parallels the experiences of Beijing in 2008 and South Africa in 2010. The burden of hosting a major international sporting event too easily overshadows all other local concerns, putting a multi-year halt on addressing internal issues that would actually benefit the residents. Instead of trying to prove something to the world with flashy cosmetic makeovers and new sporting facilities too large for domestic demand, perhaps these hosting entities would have been better off turning inward and reconsidering their priorities. Winning a bid is not enough to claim significance on the world stage. Rather than learning this lesson in Kazan, Russia is thundering down the same path in Sochi. There, the interests of the locals are again put on the back burner in favor of putting on a good show.



LGBT RUS

Robert Jones
Assistant Senior Editor

On June 26, gay rights made a leap forward in America. The Supreme Court ruled that same-sex couples were entitled to federal benefits and declined to rule on Proposition 8 in California, leaving the current opinion in place and effectively allowing gay marriage in the state. Though many celebrated this great victory, in Russia another issue had been unfolding. Just two weeks before the landmark decision in America, Putin signed his own significant piece of LGBT legislation into law. However, this law took a giant step backwards: The Moscow Times reports that the law “will ban the distribution of any information that could make homosexuality seem attractive, promote the ‘distorted perception’ that traditional and non-traditional sexual relations are equal, or force them to become interested in such relations.”

Though the law does not seem to promote active discrimination, the real implications are much more ominous. The law explicitly bans the distribution of any material that shows homosexuality as normal or acceptable. It also prevents gay pride rallies or any demonstrations for LGBT rights. This law applies to both Russian citizens and foreign visitors, and some visitors have already been detained for expressing pro-LGBT views. The law imposes fines, jail time, and even deportation for violators. All of this would be enough to startle any gay activist, but the

ramifications are significant too – the Kremlin now approves the open abuse of LGBT activists. Protestors against the law’s passage were broken up by Orthodox Christians and youth groups. They threw eggs at the protestors, shouted homophobic slurs, and watched as the abused were arrested instead of the abusers who attacked them.

Is this how non-western countries truly feel about gay rights? Not exactly; though polls have shown a clear acceptance for homosexuality in countries like Britain, France, and Germany, some eastern countries like Slovakia and Poland believe that society should not reject gays and lesbians. Opinions are split in Bulgaria, though other countries (one obviously being Russia) show intolerance towards the LGBT community.

“RUSSIA ISN’T JUST A SMALL NATION TUCKED IN THE BALKANS – IT’S A MAJOR PLAYER IN WORLDWIDE DIPLOMACY”

Russia is surrounded by countries in Asia and the Middle East have deeply ingrained religious systems which cast an unfavorable light on same sex relations. Although many in Russia are supportive of the Orthodox Church, only 33 percent of Russians consider religion an important part of everyday life according to a 2009 poll. Though such a lack of devoutness seems paradoxically linked with a strong allegiance to the Church, The Atlantic columnist Olga Khazan writes that Russians see religion fundamentally differently than Americans. Christianity is linked with Russian tradition and unity, not salvation and grace. Khazan further asserts that Putin is harnessing this strong allegiance

to the Church to rally conservative citizens in favor of the state. Elizabeth Wood, a history professor at MIT, aptly explains: “The Russian state is built on oppositions of us versus them, [and] it is easy for the authorities to say ‘we’ are x, not y. Homosexuality makes an easy ‘y.’”

Many in the international community are unhappy with the law. The human rights arm of the United Nations has openly criticized it, advocating for an honest and open discussion of sexuality and HIV/AIDS issues. It says that law will only increase prejudice and fear instead of maintaining the country’s integrity. This is especially relevant since the 2014 Olympics will be held in Sochi—Olympic athletes have already expressed their outrage and many groups plan to boycott the games entirely. But the backlash does not seem to faze Russian officials. This is because the decision is not a legislative fluke, but an extension of a cultural belief. International outrage can yield effective trade sanctions, but it’s difficult to discipline the sociological consciousness of a country through finger wagging and public statements.

Perhaps this problem seems like a faraway issue, yet another country whose views aren’t compatible with the West. But Russia isn’t just a small nation tucked in the Balkans – it’s a major player in worldwide diplomacy, as seen recently with its involvement in America’s disputes with Syria. Russia’s international power, coupled with its fierce intolerance of homosexuality, make it a crucial battleground in the fight for equality. This is the place where a man who revealed his sexual orientation was set on fire and beaten to death—such horror recalls the lynchings of 1890s America, but in Russia it took place just a few months ago. Though the United States and the West seem to offer support to the LGBT community, Russia’s intolerance still threatens this progress. This law is an issue that must be tackled, not ignored or swept under the rug for the sake of Sochi 2014.

Panama:

Takin' Care of Business and Working Overdrive

Marco Roca
Operations Director

On Aug. 12, 1903, the Colombian Congress rejected the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which allowed the United States to finalize construction on the Panama Canal. Unfortunately for Colombia, the United States was not to be deterred. Upon having its bid to construct the canal refuted, the United States government decided to fuel the Panamanian separatist movement. Soon after, the nation-state of Panama was established. Through no coincidence, the United States was granted the rights to build, administer, fortify, and defend an inter-oceanic canal with the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. The Panama Canal was completed in 1914, and until the Torrijos-Carter Treaty relinquished full jurisdiction of the canal to Panama in 2000, the Panama Canal set the tone for American political and economic dominance in the region. Although exploitation under the thumb of American imperialism has negatively affected Latin America, it has had its perks as well: countries like Panama that have decided to maintain close relations to the United States have been rewarded handsomely.

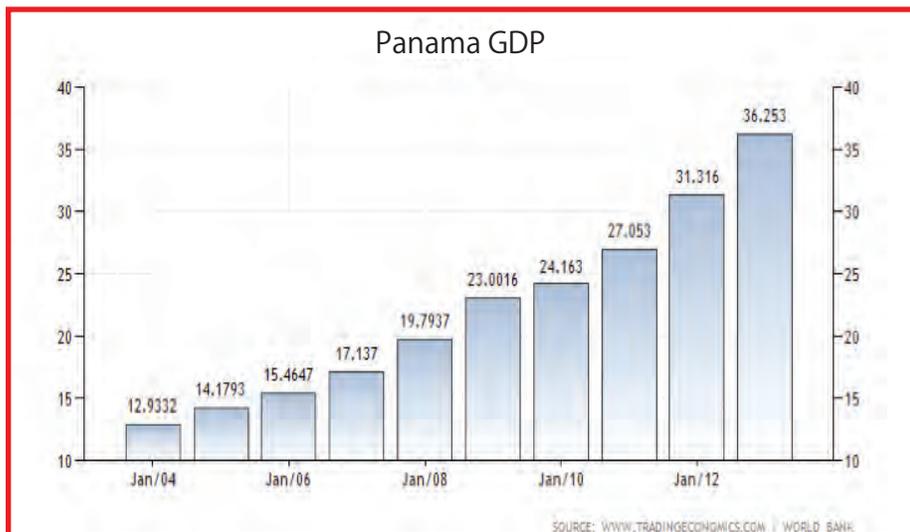
Panama's economic explosion in recent years has been nothing short of prodigious. In spite of its status as the second smallest country in Latin America, Panama is now widely regarded as the region's economic jewel, easily drawing comparisons to countries such as Switzerland in Europe. This year alone, Panama has a projected economic growth rate of 9 percent, compared to a projected Brazilian growth rate of 3 percent. The unemployment rate is also down well over two-thirds in the last five years and hovers around 4.5 percent. Over that same period of time, Panama's poverty rate decreased more than 10 percent. Keep in mind that this is all during a vast global recession. It may be too early to call, but Panama might just be the economic miracle of the early 21st century, possibly overtaking the narrative of the South Eastern Asian Tigers including Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan and the B.R.I.C. (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) emerging economies.

Panama's geographic location in the heart of Latin America and

its role in global trade make its relationship to the United States vital to the prosperity of both countries. Cooperation on a slew of issues such as the curbing of drug trafficking, and the promotion of economic, democratic, and social development has greatly benefitted both parties. Unlike other Latin American countries that discourage any involvement from the United States after a 20th century plagued by American induced coups and wars, Panama embraces and accepts the United States as the main driver behind its precipitous growth. Indeed, Panama stood little chance of accomplishing all that it has without substantial military, infrastructure, and monetary investment from the United States. Furthermore, the heftiest increase in Panamanian prosperity occurred after both countries signed a Free Trade Agreement on June 28, 2007. According to the United States Department of State, this treaty "eliminates tariffs and other barriers to U.S. exports, promotes economic growth, sets high standards for the treatment of investments, provides a framework for resolution of investment or trade disputes, and expands trade between the two countries." Since the ratification of the treaty, United States exports including oil, machinery, and other high tech goods have increased dramatically, and Panamanian exports to the United States, including seafood, gold, cane sugar, and fruit have been even more successful. Immigration, an area often looked to as an indicator of economic opportunity has also been robust in Panama, as Panama is quickly becoming the most popular destination for Latin American migrant workers, with a projected 9 percent growth rate this year.

Meanwhile, the policies of President Chavez and now under President Maduro, Venezuela seems to underscore precisely what an aspiring economic powerhouse should not do. According to *The Economist*, Venezuela has the worst performing economy in the Americas, despite having debatably the world's largest oil supplies. Inflation is approximately 45 percent a year and supermarkets all over the nation lack basic necessities. A simple comparison of Venezuela's plights to comparatively tiny and resource-impooverished Panama's plans to expand the Panama Canal to handle the kind of massive super-ships that carry a significant and growing share of sea cargo today leaves a clearer picture of which country chose its allegiances well. Also accompanying a five-fold increase of trade between the United States and Panama in the last decade are Panama's plans to develop the first subway system in Central America, a project sure to help millions commute quickly and cheaply, lifting thousands out of poverty and comfortably into the middle class, successfully and ironically accomplishing socialism's primary mandate.

Unfortunately, it is completely understandable why so many countries in Latin America are hesitant to associate with the United States. Centuries of abuse in the periphery from the United States and other Western European countries have left their mark and hindered development in the past. However, if Panama's story stays consistent throughout Latin America, the region may see a new age of transnational and symbiotic cooperation marked by synergy instead of exploitation.



Access to JUSTICE in Liberia:

How the NGO Community is Rethinking Justice Systems in Africa

Jacqueline Van de Velde
Staff Writer

For generations in rural Liberia, when someone brought a dispute to the tribal chiefs for mediation and arbitration, he or she might have been subjected to a process known as “sassywood,” a traditional practice of trial by ordeal. In one of its forms, an arbitrator would place a machete on a fire until the machete became red-hot. The machete would then be dragged against the legs of several suspects, and one who was burned would be declared guilty. In another form of sassywood, suspects would be made to drink a concoction made from a poisonous bark; those who survived were innocent, while those who died were guilty.

Sassywood was one of the many forms of justice practiced in Liberia within its customary law system. This customary system exists alongside the formal justice system, which is complete with judges, justices, and courts similar to those of U.S. common law.

Liberia was embroiled in a 14-year civil war from 1989 to 2003. During that time, corruption prevailed among government employees, and the traditional justice system was not exempt. The courts were used by powerful individuals as political tools, which caused Liberians to lose faith in their efficacy. Once Liberia ended its civil war and held democratic elections, the government recognized a pressing need to reform its legal sector in order to attract international investment, restore its citizens' faith in the justice system, and establish the rule of law. However, with the government attempting to create long-lasting reform across many government agencies, the budget for judicial reform has been low. Courts are unequally spread throughout the country, making them difficult for rural Liberians to access. Their dockets are full and they are understaffed, meaning that even for those Liberians who are able to access the courts, the time it takes to re-

solve a case and the cost of multiple trips to urban areas are prohibitive. Officials have little formal training and often lack access to basic resources such as pens, paper, and copies of the law required

to render effective judgments.

This has raised questions as to what kinds of justice are available to Liberians below the level of the magisterial courts – which, in practice, have been the customary systems in which traditional leaders serve as arbitrators of justice within their communities. While the judgments rendered by the chiefs do not align perfectly with the traditional justice system, the new

pletely under a state's executive branch, which is now instead being supplemented, in creative ways, by actors well beyond the state.

Outside Liberia, the best example of this type of program is the Sierra Leone-based Timap for Justice, which is a joint venture of the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Sierra Leone National Forum for Human Rights. Timap provides community-based paralegals to assist in mediating conflict due to the shortage of lawyers in the country, and particularly within rural areas; there are only an estimated 100 lawyers in Sierra Leone, and only 200 in Liberia. The paralegals, who are born and raised in the communities in which they practice, intimately know both the local

“FOR THOSE LIBERIANS WHO ARE ABLE TO ACCESS THE COURTS, THE TIME IT TAKES TO RESOLVE A CASE AND THE COST OF MULTIPLE TRIPS TO URBAN AREAS ARE PROHIBITIVE.”

political order, or even some human rights norms, the state has formed an uneasy partnership with these individuals because it is doubtful whether dismantling customary law in principle would lessen its use in practice. Endorsing it, on the other hand, yields it a sense of legitimacy and increases access to a form of justice in both urban and rural areas.

Interestingly, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have stepped up to address some of the challenges of the use of customary law programs. By providing training within rural communities to give citizens the tools to know and understand the law, training community-based paralegals to practice alternative dispute resolution at the community level, and providing traditional chiefs and tribal elders with resources to inform them of the traditional justice system, the international community and local non-governmental organizations are playing a novel role in the administration of justice – an issue typically handled com-

practices and customary law, as well as the traditional legal system. They work in partnership with open-minded chiefs to raise human rights awareness and assist individuals with everyday justice needs, such as cases of domestic violence, child abandonment, and state corruption.

This program has been replicated with great success within many other countries – including Liberia. Within Liberia, the Carter Center has also worked to train community-based paralegals in alternative dispute resolution. Working to inform citizens of their rights and to mediate the conflicts that occur on a daily basis, this organization is helping to empower citizens to fill a gap that the government of Liberia is unable to adequately address.

While practices such as sassywood still exist within Liberia, the state's sponsorship of the customary law and the partnership of international organizations with customary law arbitrators are serving to increase access to justice for all Liberians, solving a centuries-old problem.



Teaching an Old Regime NEW Tricks:

Is the NPT on its last half-life?

Sarah Smith and Megan White
Staff Writer and Editor-in-Chief

On Aug. 6, 1945, the traditional fabric of war and security that had held the international system together for centuries was incinerated. That morning, an American B-29 bomber, the *Enola Gay*, carried out the world's first atomic attack on Hiroshima, Japan. Three days later, a second atomic attack leveled Nagasaki. The results were devastating: over 100,000 people were killed instantly, and the final death toll from the two attacks reached at least 185,000. Thousands were left homeless, and the cities continue to suffer from the residual effects of radiation. Resonating far beyond the shores of Japan, the two bombs unleashed a new era of uncertainty, fear, and multilateral diplomacy. Albert Einstein, who was instrumental in the development of the bomb, prophesied, "I know not with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones."

The unprecedented power of this new weapon demanded an unprecedented response from the international community. In 1968, 62 countries signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). At the time, multilateral agreements regulating particular methods of warfare were nothing new: as early as 1675, the Strasbourg Agreement between France and the Holy

Roman Empire prohibited the use of poison bullets, and, more recently, the 1925 Geneva Protocol banned the use of chemical and biological weapons. What set the NPT apart was the scope of what it sought to control. Atomic energy has the potential to power the world, as well as the potential to destroy it. With 189 state-parties as of 2013, the NPT is the most widely accepted arms control agreement to date.

The cornerstone of the global non-proliferation regime, the NPT establishes a legally binding framework whose foundations rest on three principles: (1) states without nuclear weapons as of 1967 may not acquire them; (2) the five states known to have tested nuclear weapons prior to 1967 may not assist other states in acquiring them and must agree to pursue disarmament; and (3) states without nuclear weapons are guaranteed access to civilian nuclear technology and energy development. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) serves as the implementing body for the NPT, ensuring that all signatories comply with the treaty and adhere to a system of safeguards through its ability to impose sanctions. Until recently, the regime remained firmly rooted in the international arena, withstanding the tension of the Cold War and the tumult of the post-Soviet world. Atomic energy has not been used in warfare since 1945, and in the 45 years since the treaty's inception, only five states (three of which are not party to the NPT) have developed



nuclear weapons programs.

Although it has seen a degree of success, the NPT has perhaps lived too many half-lives. The international political and technological landscapes have changed significantly since the treaty entered into force in 1970, but the legal regime has not kept pace. In essence, the NPT lacks a forceful mechanism against the

very threat it was meant to prevent: the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Specifically, the treaty

provides no culpability for violation, and even contains an article permitting withdrawal. Coupled with the IAEA's limited budget and lack of adequate verification and enforcement mechanisms, the non-proliferation regime falls short of what is needed to detect, prevent, or punish weapons

development.

Despite the NPT's broad legal coverage, a series of failures since the early 1990s have highlighted its ineffectiveness in deterring would-be nuclear weapons states. This is perhaps most apparent in the decades-long struggle with North Korea and the more recent resurgence of Iran's nuclear ambitions. At one point in time, both nations "adhered" to NPT protocol by allowing for limited IAEA safeguards and inspections. In 2003, however, North Korea formally announced its withdrawal from the NPT, while Iran remains party to the treaty. Since its withdrawal in 2003, North Korea has conducted nuclear tests in 2006, 2009, and 2013. Iran continues to rapidly enrich uranium, ostensibly for civilian nuclear energy, though a recent NASA report claims that Iran should have a nuclear weapons capability by 2015.

Significantly, of the nine countries that possess nuclear warheads, four (44 percent) are not currently party to the NPT. These include India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Israel, the existence of whose nuclear program remains a well-known secret. One of these countries, Pakistan, was the source of a black market proliferation network that shared nuclear information and technology with North Korea, Libya, and Iran. The NPT's inability to rein in proliferation outside the confines of its list of signatories speaks volumes to its fragility.

In addition to the NPT's shortcomings in the realm of non-proliferation, its ambiguous call for disarmament remains to be answered. Over 22,000 warheads remain stockpiled among the five nuclear weapons states recognized in the treaty. Though President Obama's 2009 Prague speech and UN Resolution 1887, which call for accelerated efforts towards total nuclear disarmament, offer a glimmer of hope for the second pillar of NPT, their significance is symbolic rather than practical. Beneath the rosy veneer of reduction agreements, nuclear states are seeking refurbishment, rather than destruction, of their arsenals. While the NPT takes a 21st century reality check, new policy ventures have plugged

the holes in the non-proliferation dam. One such venture is UN Resolution 1540, a legally binding instrument requiring all UN member states to enact and enforce measures to prevent non-state actors from acquiring unconventional weaponry and means of delivery. The inconsistent implementation of the resolution, however, has taught the international community that a universal non-proliferation treaty might be an unrealistic hope. Instead, the major powers have begun to address emerging nuclear states and contentious regions on an individual basis.

One instance of this approach is the 2008 U.S.-India 123 Agreement. The deal lifts a three-decade U.S. moratorium on nuclear trade with India, provides U.S. assistance to India's civilian nuclear energy program, and permits India's admission to the Nuclear Suppliers Group. In return, India has allowed for increased IAEA inspections with the stringent Additional Protocol and has agreed against diverting certain resources toward their militarized nuclear reactors. Though India's nuclear program has fallen under a higher degree of control, the agreement essentially undercuts the NPT by allowing the program to exist and even thrive outside the global regime.

The jury is still out on what the U.S.-India 123 agreement means for the NPT, but it nonetheless represents a new trend in dealing with today's proliferation challenges. As demonstrated in the Six Party Talks with North Korea and P5+1 meeting with Iran, as well as Libya's abandonment of its nuclear weapons program in 2003, and Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine's move to relinquish their weapons following the collapse of the Soviet Union, nuclear diplomacy may require action on a country-to-country basis, rather than the peddling of a one-size-fits-all policy. That's not to say that there is no place for a global non-proliferation regime. These examples showcase the maturity, and even the future, of non-proliferation policy. Although the reign of the NPT is perhaps coming to an end, the treaty remains one of the most influential pieces of international policy to emerge from the 20th century. Its precedent of peaceful international cooperation to solve a problem with global ramifications has held as a buffer against Einstein's vision of a future where wars are fought with sticks and stones.

“THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES HAVE CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THE TREATY ENTERED INTO FORCE IN 1970, BUT THE LEGAL REGIME HAS NOT KEPT PACE.”

UNDER SOUTHERN SKIES

The Changing Face of the Music Industry

Tucker Green and Ronnie Kurtz
Staff Writer and Assistant Senior Editor

It is a cool, brisk autumn day, the type of day when the chilly touch of light winds warms the spirit. The sun is framed behind wisps of clouds, the leaves have begun to change colors, and, sitting on the railroad tracks, a man soaks it all in. This is the world in which he lives. Under southern skies, this is where Will Entrekin finds his muse.

Entrekin, a fourth year music business major from Cumming, Georgia, always knew he could sing. He found his talent singing in the choir at church and had his first experience with solo performance in high school. While everyone left these events with the knowledge that Will was outstandingly talented, he wasn't convinced that music was his future.

"I always thought that music was too difficult of an industry to break into," Entrekin said. But, like R.E.M., Lady Antebellum, Corey Smith, and countless aspiring artists before him, Entrekin found inspiration in the city of Athens--though not necessarily through the same avenues. "The Music Business Program here at UGA is what really convinced me that I could make it," Entrekin confided. "I like to compare it to baseball. If you can only throw one pitch very well, while you may find success, your chances are not as good as the guy who can throw four or five very well. There's so much that goes into producing a record - songwriting, booking, editing, publishing - and the Music Business Program has helped me diversify my talents across these areas. And because of that, I am able to tackle most of the challenges that come with making it as an artist."

Since walking onto UGA's campus, Entrekin has jumped headfirst into his career. His first big break came in April 2012, when he won an online contest hosted by Gig.com to open for Grammy-nominated artist Dave Barnes. His latest project is his first EP, a five song record affectionately known as "Under Southern Skies." The album is available on iTunes and Spotify, meaning that anyone in the world can listen to his songs. While this type of exposure is beneficial, it does add a wrinkle to the music business - one that Entrekin and many artists may not have originally expected.

Royalties are distributed in the music industry in two ways. The traditional and more intuitive type is referred to as a "mechani-

cal royalty,” for which an artist receives a fixed percentage of the revenue for all physical record sales. Performance royalties, on the other hand, are paid out by three major “performing rights organizations,” or PROs. Songwriters and publishing companies affiliate themselves with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), or the Society of European Stage Authors and Composers (SESAC). These PROs then pay out performance royalties to these songwriters and publishers (not the artists) based on “public performances.” Several activities qualify as public performances – radio play, online streaming, performances at a venue, and the use of a song in a commercial, to name just a few.

Will Entrekin, who hopes to join a long line of Athens music exports, has benefited from being his own publisher and songwriter. But while Athens has long been a music town, it has never seen a music industry like this. Spotify and other Internet streaming services such as Pandora, Rdio, and Youtube represent the newest wave in the digital age of music. Collectively, these services have shot adrenaline into a music industry long in decline. In 2012, the number of subscribers to Internet streaming services jumped 44 percent to 20 million subscribers. These numbers were enough to increase the music industry’s revenues by 0.3 percent up to \$16.5 billion, the first time annual revenues have increased since 1999. While these numbers fall far below those of the industry’s peak in the 1990s, they have been enough to whet insiders’ appetites.

But accompanying the rise in revenues has been a vocal and divisive debate over who benefits from the Internet streaming movement. Fundamental to the debate is a discussion over how artists should be compensated for the music they produce. On the one hand, artists such as Thom Yorke, frontman of Radiohead, and David Lowery, lecturer in the University of Georgia’s music business program, decry the relatively small royalties paid by services such as Pandora and Spotify. Pandora pays a combined 0.12 cents to record labels and performers when it plays a song, and Spotify, whose rates are not publicly disclosed, is believed to pay close

to 0.5 cents per stream. In a September feature in *The New York Times*, Lowery lambasted what the digitalization of music has done to artists: “What we do as musicians was slowly being de-



The digital age of music has helped jumpstart new artists like Entrekin

valued and demonetized, especially for niche artists who are never going to make it up on the road.”

Yet on the other hand, voices in the industry contend that streaming is far from the demon that some have made it out to be. For example, data from Music Industry Blog shows that downloads are close to 5.5 times more valuable to artists than streams. While this is certainly a disparity, it is far from the astronomical 100-200x gaps sometimes thrown out by critics. Further, many argue that since media is split into so many different channels today, Internet streaming revenues need to be conceptualized as just one part of a patchwork of sales.

Parts of the debate have even made it all the way to Capitol Hill. In September, Rep. Melvin Watt, D-N.C., introduced the Free Market Royalty Act in an effort to overhaul the way in which record companies and performing artists collect royalties when their music is played on the radio by establishing performance rights. More ambitiously, Watt’s bill would eliminate the compulsory licensing process that allows services like Pandora and Sirius XM to sidestep labels by paying a rate set by federal statute. Alternatively, radio and online outlets alike would be required to negotiate for rights through a market administered by the nonprofit SoundExchange. While the bill would not impact on-demand services like Spotify and Rdio, it represents an important next step in the ongoing conversation about how and when artists are compensated for their work.

Reports of the music industry’s death may have been greatly exaggerated. Rather, the industry has drastically changed. New artists today enter the maelstrom of a vast, changing digital landscape where revenues are measured as tightly as a high-frequency stock trade and royalties are debated on the floor on which the government decides whether or not to declare war. It may not be a forgiving environment, but it’s an enticing one nonetheless. And for Will Entrekin, it’s right where he wants to be.

“REPORTS OF THE MUSIC INDUSTRY’S DEATH MAY HAVE BEEN GREATLY EXAGGERATED. RATHER, THE INDUSTRY HAS DRASTICALLY CHANGED.”

The Empty Promise of



Cody Knapp
Managing Editor

As lawmakers avoided the latest fiscal cliff and reopened the government, television talking heads lamented legislative gridlock anew. Ostensibly giving voice to the nation’s frustration with a do-nothing Congress and a political system that rewards demagogues like Ted Cruz more than policy wonks, America’s media elite returned to an inviting, if elusive, point of discussion by calling for bipartisanship.

Bipartisanship – it’s a term replete with the positive connotations of Kumbayah and all the intellectual rigor of Rick Perry discussing the Departments of Commerce, Education, and... uhhh... “oops.” Still, as deceptive as I find the idea and all digital founts of bipartisan verbiage, no ideological pretender is more distasteful and of surpassing naïveté than bipartisanship’s

burgeoning cousin, the saccharine “nonpartisanship.”

In just one word, “nonpartisanship” conveys a maddening post-modern sensitivity and moral superiority that threatens to replace our civic traditions of passionate debate and principled opposition with the political analog of “colorblindness.”

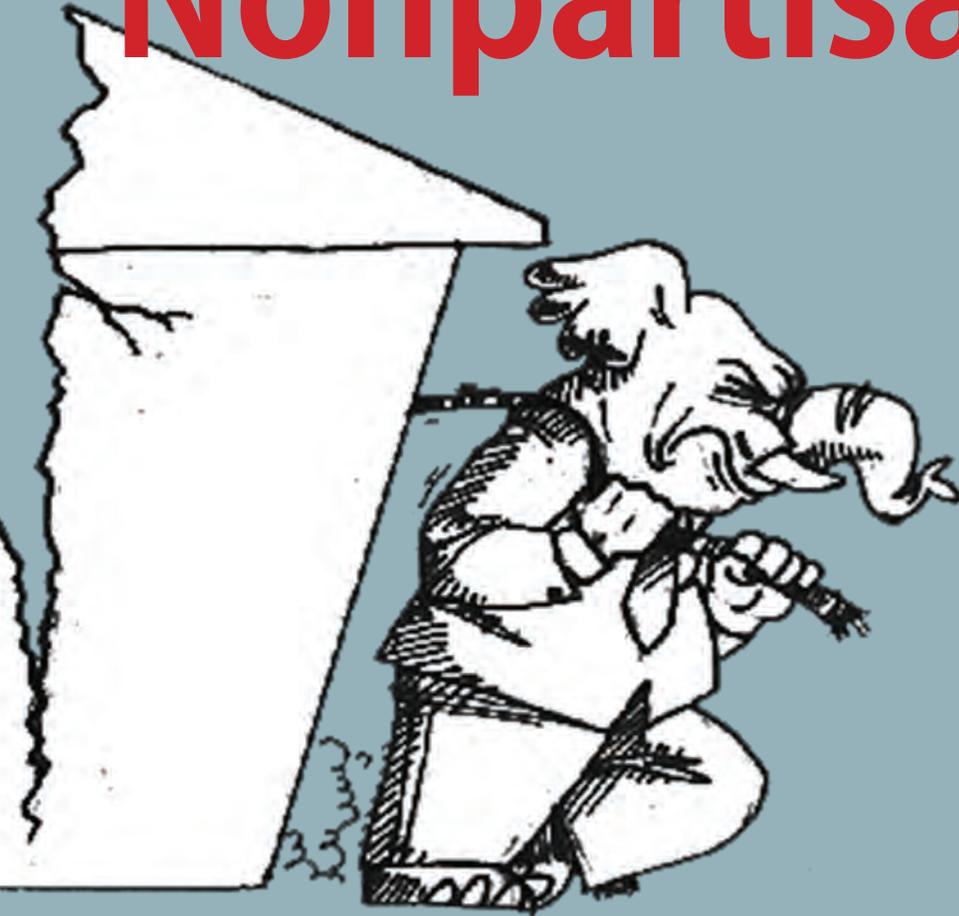
Nonpartisan advocates would have us buck the 21st century’s polarized zeitgeist and deny our differences in the pursuit of some vague societal reconciliation. At every turn, groups like No Labels erroneously portray legitimate policy debates as mere quibbles over semantics. To channel Harold Rosenberg’s work in *Commentary Magazine*, the nonpartisans would have us all form a new “herd of independent minds.”

The paradise this fresh mob seeks, however, is none too desirable. In the place of disagreement and division, No Labels and its ilk propose to stage pho-

to-ops of Republicans and Democrats embracing on the Capitol steps. They prize verbal affirmation of their reform agenda, preferring digital pictures to policy proposals.

“NONPARTISAN ADVOCATES WOULD HAVE US BUCK THE 21ST CENTURY’S POLARIZED ZEITGEIST AND DENY OUR DIFFERENCES IN THE PURSUIT OF SOME VAGUE SOCIETAL RECONCILIATION.”

Nonpartisanship



It's a campaign platform that's sure to elicit wide smiles and that thrilling feeling of intestinal warmth. What a trivial sacrifice, then, if we must leave unresolved the great debates of our time. How important could discussions of privacy versus security, equality of opportunity versus equality of outcome, and protectionism versus globalization be?

In truth, politics is a game for elites; it's a game for the Kochs and the Soros, the Clintons and the Bushes to play. As the pawns in their game, it's our challenge, both Democrat and Republican, to make the players play in such a way that we receive some tangible benefit – trickle-down political chess, if you will.

What is it, after all, to any of UGA's thousands of students if President Obama takes Senator Isakson out to lunch every week? Do their empty promises to transcend partisanship inside the Beltway have any concrete

impact? If their result is higher federal student loan rates, delayed implementation of healthcare reforms, and the ostracism of "extreme" voices, like that of newly-minted Senator Warren of Massachusetts. Well, then that's 0-1 against the pawns.

This brings me to my message this semester, targeted at the politically conscious students setting out for their classes: don't fall for the empty promise.

When you inevitably find yourself in the Myers 3 South lounge or the Russell Hall lobby embroiled in a late-night argument over some sensitive topic, don't succumb to the impulse to undercut your own case or to claim some amorphous independent or nonpartisan ground. Liberal or conservative, socialist or libertarian, you will only hone your beliefs by holding them to a friendly yet intense flame – diffusing the heat serves no serious purpose.

Allow your friendships to blossom

irrespective of ideology and affiliation, knowing that just as Justice Ginsburg's personal affection for Justice Scalia has failed to temper their intellectual feuds, your own cross-aisle attachments will not lead everyone to some perfect middle ground where partisan differences cease and political labels fall away.

And that's a good thing. After all, how boring would the world be if the nonpartisan's gospel of witless mass opinion and fuzzy feelings became universal?

Back in 2009, Ezra Klein called for the abolition of bipartisanship from our political vocabulary, arguing that the illusion had become too powerful and was leading to a gruesome distortion of American politics. As students at the University of Georgia, let's do nonpartisanship one better – let's excise this blather from our collective vocabulary while it's still emergent.



NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK

Korey Boehm and Stephanie Talmadge
Staff Writers

It is no secret that America’s media ownership is concentrated in a small number of hands, limiting the views presented on cable news. The news offerings on major networks leave many viewers, particularly millennials, unsatisfied. As a result, any young people refuse to consume TV news, according to an October study by Poynter. Al Jazeera America, the newest offshoot of the Qatar-based company, conceptualizes news in a fundamentally different way than other major networks. Commonly known as AJAM, the network bought the struggling Current TV earlier this year and established 12 bureaus across the country. However, since the network’s premiere on Aug. 20, it seems that it has inherited some of Current TV’s woes. As Anna Marie Cox of *The Guardian* writes, AJAM may be “the news channel America deserves,” but the question remains: will anyone listen?

The three most popular news networks, Fox News, CNN and MSNBC, are not exactly lauded for their nonpartisan treatment of topics. In a 2004 poll by Media Matters for America, 26 percent of Americans believe CNN has a clear liberal bias, and 35 percent identify Fox as overtly conservative. More troubling than biases permeating news coverage, though, is the flash-in-the-dark reporting style cable news has adopted. The “Fox News Alert” flashes across the screen,

(cleverly) superimposed over the American flag, the music comes on, and Greta or Bill describes some event for a few seconds before cutting to expert partisan commentary. The meat of the story is largely neglected and instead replaced with guests who offer their personal opinion rather than additional information. Then they move on to the next topic before the viewer can grasp what he or she is watching. In order to keep up with Fox, MSNBC and CNN have had to adopt similar styles of reporting.

Not only does major network coverage disappoint in its bias and depth, but the type of stories reported falls short in breadth as well. According to Doris Graber, professor and expert in media and its relation to American politics, many stories cater to consumer interest, scandal, disaster, and celebrity happenings. These types of stories, deemed “infotainment,” present news blurbs in highly sensationalized, abrupt ways. While this kind of coverage may not satisfy viewers with an interest in current events, Fox, consistently associated with infotainment-style reporting, has proven that many Americans do enjoy this kind of news broadcast. While the three major networks each have newscasters subscribe to this kind of reporting, Fox’s Bill O’Reilly is “arguably the best known” infotainment personality, writes journalist Andrew O’Connor. According to Pew Research Center, Fox has maintained ratings double those of their closest competitor (varying between CNN and MSNBC) during the last



AMERICA TONIGHT

four years.

However, AJAM firmly rejects the idea of infotainment. The channel intends to produce regional coverage in areas across the country that are often neglected by major networks. Thanks to its well-established international resources through Al Jazeera English, the channel has the ability to do the “boots-on-the-ground” style reporting more effectively than its competitors.

What most distinguishes AJAM from other American cable news outlets is its pace. Without resorting to the dull ways of C-SPAN or the minute-to-minute topic changes that dominate channels such as Fox and MSNBC, AJAM provides a feature that is entirely new to American viewers: newsgathering. Upon first glance, the channel may largely seem like prosaic cable news. However, if viewers dare to stay for an extended length of time, they will notice that the topic has remained unchanged long enough to provide the viewer with all sides of an argument or issue. In place of big-name talking heads with no particular expertise on the subject matter, AJAM has thus far opted to air relatively anonymous experts in their respective fields, and thus are able to provide actual analysis rather than pure commentary. On its opening night, the channel debuted its flagship program, “America Tonight,” by leading with coverage of the Egyptian protests and government crackdown along with the cholera epidemic in Haiti. Both stories were brought to the viewer via reporters on the ground, with analysis of the Egyptian cri-

sis provided by Harvard international relations professor Stephen Walt. While these topics might not seem overly innovative for cable news, what is revolutionary is what was not included in the headlines, as Ana Marie Cox first pointed out. There was no mention of the month-old Trayvon Martin verdict, nor “any discussion about gun control, the Tea Party, or Ted Cruz and his birth certificate.” Consider the topics other major news networks led with that night: defunding Obamacare by Fox News, Dick Van Dyke’s automobile accident by CNN, and the North Carolina voting law by MSNBC.

As Cox points out, the producers of AJAM seem to recognize that “some topics, while worthwhile, had not further evolved since they were last discussed.” According to the channel’s chief executive, Ehab Al Shihabi, the goal of his outlet’s coverage is “fact-based, unbiased, and in-depth news,” with “less opinion, less yelling, and fewer celebritiesightings.” If the first month of broadcasts is any indication, it seems AJAM has mostly followed through on its lofty promises.

Because many Americans love the infotainment style of other networks, AJAM will have to create its own audience. To do so, the network targets the younger demographic, which other news outlets have been slow to do. “They are global thinkers interested in international news,” said Ehab Al Shihabi in an interview with USA Today. Many millennials demand more than Lindsay Lohan scandals and hyper-sensa-

tionalized news.

Unfortunately, American viewers have not echoed this sentiment. According to Nielsen data, after the station’s first week, AJAM’s most popular primetime show received only 27,000 viewers nationwide, less than half of a typical attendance for an NFL game. By comparison, Fox News’ “The O’Reilly Factor” attracted 2.97 million. The station reached a new low in the first week of October when some of AJAM’s daytime news programs hit zero, while its primetime coverage did not perform much better.

Many journalists believe a big reason for Americans’ lack of response towards AJAM is a perceived distrust of Arab nations following Sept. 11, a notion fueled by many competitors. AT&T dropped the network from its cable program, and it is not carried by Cablevision in the New York region. Nationally syndicated radio host Glenn Beck even went so far as to refer to AJAM as “the voice of the enemy.”

In saying this, Beck is absolutely right: AJAM is the enemy of the unfortunate status quo in American cable news. It hopes to inspire a “huh, I didn’t know that” response from its viewers as opposed to their typical “the other side is dead wrong” response. AJAM prioritizes the rationality of a position rather than where it falls on the ideological spectrum. In doing so, the network is taking a leap of faith, hoping that the demand for straightforward newsgathering actually still exists in the United States. Only time will tell if that leap will be rewarded.



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