INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Organized in Prague on March 7–9, 2019

Anglo-American University, Czech Republic

Norwich University, Vermont, USA

STUDENT PROCEEDINGS OF THE
1st INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Attached are the proceedings of the 1ˢᵗ Interdisciplinary Conference on Human Rights, at Anglo-American University, in Prague, on March 7–9, 2019, co-organized with Norwich University, Vermont, USA.

The proceedings include all contributions authored by conference student participants (all levels – BA, MA and PhD students) presented during the conference. They have been reviewed and accepted by the conference editorial team and international external reviewers.

The program is as follows:

Thursday, March 7ᵗʰ, 2019:
- Conference opening ceremony
- Morning sessions: Presentation of conference keynote speakers, special speakers, and students
- Afternoon session: Post Bellum Documentary Screening and Discussion, Round Table on Roots of Human Rights

Friday, March 8ᵗʰ, 2019:
- Moot Court
- Morning session I: Contemporary Human Rights Challenges in Eastern Europe
- Morning session I: The Protection of Minorities

- Morning session II: World War II in Czechoslovakia
- Morning session II: Linguistics and Definitions of Human Rights

- Afternoon session I: August 1968 and the 1970s: Human Rights Resurgence
- Afternoon session I: Human Rights and Middle Eastern History

- Afternoon session II: Genocide: Law and History
- Afternoon session II: Post-Atrocity Memory and Legacy
- Afternoon session II: Media, Technology, and Surveillance

- Afternoon session III: Women: Historical Victims and Activists

Saturday, March 9ᵗʰ, 2019:
- Mock Truth Commission

CREATORS OF THE PROCEEDINGS:
- Mihaela Stratulat
- Miroslava Dvořáková

Prague, August 31, 2019

FOREWORD: IDEA AND MISSION OF THIS CONFERENCE[1]

Petr Jan PAJAS
Cofounder of the Conference and AAU President Emeritus

In October 2017, during a visit to Norwich University, when discussing possible cooperation, we were inspired with the idea of Prof. Rowland Brucken to organize a joint International Conference on Human Rights as a first step in fulfilling the Memorandum of Understanding between AAU and NU signed on August 8th, 2017 in Prague.

At that time, it seemed realistic to think about an interdisciplinary conference allowing to bring to one place – preferably Prague – scholars (faculty and students) and experts of both universities. In order to provide sufficient time for organizing the conference, as well as to make use of coincidence with expected celebration of important changes in the world during the year 1989, it was later decided to meet in these days.

The main topic of the conference – Human Rights – is related to research already being in progress at NU under leadership of Prof. Brucken. It also coincided with my personal deep conviction that students of AAU – as well as students of any university – should have a chance to learn from crucial events of the past to better understand the present and be better prepared to serve their societies.

As Prof. Brucken in his more detailed proposal from October 2017[2] explained, we should consider human rights viewed in relation to their historical legacy, philosophical and socio-economic background, including their conditioning and differentiation caused by diversity in culture, religion, traditions and even as a factor in economic development within framework of related ideals of humanity and enlightenment.

Allow me to dwell a bit on the following issue: **Is there any need to defend human rights, which might be and mostly are considered as self-evident**?

For more than twenty-five centuries and in most of human civilization and cultures there is known the ancient Golden Rule: *What you do not wish for yourself, you ought not to do to anybody else[3]*. It is, perhaps, the fundament from which other ethical and moral principles have grown, as well as the attempt to formulate rules including respect to some basic values.

Remember, that in 1776 American colonies declared "*We hold these **truths** to be **self-evident,** that **all men are created equal,** that they are **endowed** by their Creator with certain **unalienable Rights,** that among these are **Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness**"*[4].

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[1] This foreword was created for the purpose of both proceedings from the Interdisciplinary Conference on Human Rights 2019 and was taken over word by word with permission of author Petr Jan Pajas and publisher Anglo-American University from proceedings: Bolcha, P., & Brucken R. M. (eds). (2019). *Interdisciplinary Conference on Human Rights. Organized in Prague on March 7–9, 2019, Anglo-American University, Czech Republic, Norwich University, Vermont, USA: Proceedings of the 1st international conference*. Prague: Anglo-American University. ISBN 978-80-906585-9-2.

[2] Rowland Brucken: *Proposal for a Joint Conference on Human Right: Anglo-American University and Norwich University,* e-mail communication, October 2017.

[3] See e.g. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_Rule

[4] US Congress, July 4, 1776: *The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*, full text available on http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/

However, it took centuries before death penalty was abolished in most of countries, it took centuries before these rights were accepted as valid for all people regardless ethnicity, origin, color of skin, etc.

So, **is the right for life self-evident**?

It took nearly a century until slaves became free (1863) in states of the Union – and the cost for it were thousands of lives lost in civil war with the Confederation.
Another century later, in 1968, assassination of Martin Luther King ignited the final battle for full liberty and right to pursue the rout for happiness for all. In the same year 1968, Czechoslovakia was occupied by Soviet bloc armies in an effort to prevent development towards more freedoms of individuals and society.

So, **is the right for liberty and the pursuit of happiness self-evident**?

In August this year we shall commemorate 230 years since French National Assembly issued the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens**[5]. Since then, we not only recognize the basic rights of every man, but also special rights of inhabitants of certain territory – state citizens. Most of the world accepted these basic civil rights that are usually incorporated into constitutions and civil codes. There is even the universally binding **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** accepted as a basic convention by United Nations in December 1948[6].

However, centuries had to elapse before rights of man are mostly interpreted as equal rights of men and women, people with black, white, yellow or red skin, blue or brown eyes, regardless their life philosophy, faith, religion, social stand, sexual orientation and territorial origin.

The French Declaration of 1789 added another major aspect to the term "rights": They are given and protected within limits set by the law. And the law may be issued only by representatives of the people. That means that **the rights have certain well-defined limits and relate to certain obligations**.

Cooperation of AAU and NU is also inspiring from the perspective of comparison of views and ideas standing behind past and contemporary issues of international relations as they are conceived in Central Europe, on one side, and in the US, on the other side.

Our conference provides an opportunity to look into the issue of **human rights from three different perspectives**:
- First is the European (or even Central European) view of a society that developed for centuries to reach its contemporary status of social state governed by the rule of law, where universal human rights are embedded into basic laws of liberal democracy. This is a view specifically strengthened by exposition to totalitarian and basically civil and human rights suppressing regimes during several decades of 20th century. However, we are now challenged by tendencies for authoritarian governance proposing popular solutions for difficult and complex issues of social and political problems.

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[5] Declaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen du 26 Aout 1789, available on
https://www.quelsdroitsfacealapolice.be/IMG/pdf/ddhc_1789-08-26_fr.pdf
[6] UNITED NATIONS: Universal Declaration of Human rights, available e.g. at
http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

- Second is the US view of a society where people are used to follow their individual dreams and chances for happiness in life within an open society of free individuals. Still, some people in America may feel burden of the past, since an important part of population has ancestors who were forced to live as slaves and servants to richer and happier or were deprived of original aboriginal rights and cultures.
- And third, there is also the view based upon experience of students and experts from other parts of the world, where the past and even the present were and are still deemed to balance between frozen conflicts and active wars stemming from hatred between those of different religion, faith, nationality or ethnicity.

Contemporary world is confronted with many conflicting situations, where human rights are in the center of disputes and challenged from many aspects. History offers many examples of how easily might the established and recognized human rights be pushed down, disregarded and violated. This happens when people do not stand behind them and surrender to anti-humanistic actions of those in power, or even, if opponents of human rights are allowed to gain and strengthen their power due to negligence, passivity or even greediness of majority of population.

Allow me to mention some of such events, which are closely connected with Czechs and their national history and might be considered as important even on European level:
- 1918: Independence of new state for Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenians – Czechoslovak Republic following decay of the Habsburg Empire. In 1919/1920, the new Republic legalized suffrage for women[7] as one of the first in Europe.
- 1938/1939: Loss of territories to Germany and later full loss of independence after occupation by Germany and creation of the "Protectorat Böhmen und Mähren". That was the end of democracy, followed by implementation of German Nazi Nuremberg Laws (from 1935) in the Protectorate. As a consequence, Czech Jews, Roma and mentally handicapped were deprived of all rights, expelled from society or even literally evaporated. Mementos of that time are names like: Terezin, Auswitsch, Lidice, Lety …
- 1945: Prague upraising at the end of the World War II in Europe. These were happy days marked, however, by atrocities committed in revenge, including expulsion of millions of Germans from this country during 1945–46. We are still feeling the pain from what did happen and might have not happen, if the Golden Rule would be respected.
- 1948: End of democracy in post-war Czechoslovakia. That resulted in the complete liquidation of any private business, tough censorship, limited rights for free movement, closed frontiers, persecution, political trials with death penalties, associations dissolution and confiscation of foundations' property, … We had to learn how to live in regulated society fully controlled by Communist Party and its subordinates.
- 1968: Prague Spring. It was a time of hope for return to democratic rules and economic freedoms. An idealistic dream brutally terminated by intervention of Soviet and other armies followed by "normalization" of internal politics, i.e. return to totality. For me, personally, and hundreds of thousands of others, it meant loss of profession or even worse fate.
- 1969: Two other Jan's entered history of Czechs for offering self-sacrifice in the throe for truth:
  - Jan Palach and Jan Zajíc. A few weeks and days ago we had a chance to commemorate the deeds of these two and others, who desperately wanted to evoke defiance against submissiveness to occupants.

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[7] Act No. 75/1919 on Suffrage Rules for the Communities in the Czechoslovak Republic (in Czech).

- 1978: Charta 77 in the aftermath of the 1975 Helsinki International Conference on Human Rights appears as a series of documents in which a group of dissidents since 1977 tried to persuade the rulers and population about the necessity to fulfill obligations signed by the government during the 1977 Helsinki Conference[8] and because of it was systematically persecute.
- 1989: "Velvet Revolution" – victory of spontaneously formed Civic Forum and ideas promoted by supporters of Charta 77.

According to me, **the main lesson** derived from these and other events is that there are situations when we have to stand behind certain values or explicitly oppose what we consider wrong if we are aware of possible negative impacts of opposite stand. Sometimes, it may even require putting our own carrier, our freedom, and our hopes for happiness at stake.

One more remark as regards **contemporary challenges**. We should not close our eyes before:
- Tendencies to accept strong and unilateral decisions without deeper analysis of possible consequences.
- Tendencies to limit the right of citizens for open criticism of political, social or economic decisions made by governments.
- Tendencies to over- or under-estimate fanatic adherence to certain religious or philosophical faith.
- Tendencies to live in a virtual rather real world, refusing proven natural laws and accepting esoteric visions based primarily on manipulation with words and facts.

During these days, we shall have a chance to hear insightful contributions to the universal issue of human and civil rights from experienced professors and teachers of both NU and AAU and other prominent speakers.

It will be a special pleasure to hear and read contributions from students, who are bringing our attention to important contemporary or less known past events or situations, where human and civil rights are or were in jeopardy.

Let me wish full success to this conference and express thanks to its organizers.

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[8] *Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki, 1975,* available at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Helsinki_Final_Act#1._(a)_Declaration_on_Principles_Guiding_Relations_between_Participating_States

In Particular, the Declaration in part VII. *Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief* contains the following proclamation:

o *The participating States recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States.*

o *They will constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavour jointly and separately, including in co-operation with the United Nations, to promote universal and effective respect for them.*

o *They confirm the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field.*

o *In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the participating States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also fulfil their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including inter alia the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound.*

CATHOLIC CHURCH'S VARIANT PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract:
For centuries, the Catholic Church has been the moral guide for humanity that its own clergy has historically failed to follow. One exception is during the Nazi occupation of Slovakia from 1939 to 1945. Msgr. Giuseppe Burzio, along with other clergymen, wrote numerous letters to the Vatican, informing their superiors of the deportation of Jews to concentration camps, and actively protested Slovakian President and Catholic priest, Joseph Tiso. It seems that clergy in Argentina during the Dirty war of 1976 to 1983 did the exact opposite. Cardinals throughout the country allied with the military regime in the execution and torture of those revolting, including several priests. As messengers of God's word, Catholic leaders should be the main advocates for human rights as a form of spreading "love for thy neighbor", but as these two genocides have shown, they appear to be an unreliable source of hope for their own parishioners.

Keywords: *archbishop, cardinal, Dirty War*

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of mass genocides, the Catholic Church as an institution has had a large international impact as people have continuously congregated within their religious communities seeking guidance and hope from their religious leaders. Regardless of what is written within religious doctrine, Catholic clergymen have relied on their own beliefs in regards to the mass assassination of their nation's outcast, whether it was Jews or left-wing activists. In Slovakia, members of the clergy, like Papal nuncio Giuseppe, actively worked against the Slovakian government to stop the deportation of Jews in fear of the repercussions it would have on the religious institution after the war. Argentinian Catholic leaders did not follow this example as they allowed for their political opinions as they actively worked with the military dictatorship in the removal of all left-wing activist and anyone else who disagreed with the dictatorship's ideals. As human right activists continue to fight against these deadly injustices, it is evident that they will not have the unconditional support of the Catholic Church as church leaders have shown a tendency of picking and choosing who is considered their "neighbor", and whether they will show them endless love or unmerciful hate.

2. PRIEST OR PRESIDENT?

On March 1939, Slovakia became an independent nation in which Catholic priest, Jozef Tiso, became the first Prime Minister and President of the country as leader of the right-wing Slovak's People Party. The political party had been created as a Roman Catholic nationalist party that was founded by Andrej Hlinka. Through this party, Tiso's political views became extremely pro-Slovak and anti-Semitic. At first, he was not able to act on his new political philosophies as it would make him appear a hypocrite among the voting population since anti-Semitism contradicts Christian social doctrine of loving one's neighbor.[1] Under the protection of Nazi

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[1] "No Saint: Joseph Tiso and the Holocaust in Slovakia," *Wilson Center*, last modified February 8, 2006, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/no-saint-jozef-tiso-and-the-holocaust-slovakia

Germany, Tiso was able to maintain the independence of Slovakia and act on his radically anti-Semitic and nationalist political views. Although Tiso's anti-Semitic views were frowned upon by several Catholic leaders during the Holocaust, his views were not uncommon as the Catholic Church had never fully accepted members of the Jewish community as brothers. Author David I. Kertzer mentions how a Jesuit journal established by Pope Pius IX in 1850 to spread the pope's views on international issues to the Catholic world called *La Civiltà Cattolica* published an article in 1922 titled "The world revolution and the Jews" in which it states how "the leaders of the Russian Revolution … were not 'indigenous Russians' but rather 'Jewish intruders'".[2] Under an institution that has historically seen Jews as outsiders and intruders despite of its doctrine, President Tiso, while still a Catholic priest, was forced into serving two separate entities, Germany and the Vatican. As a religious leader, President Tiso declared Slovakia a Catholic state and constantly boasted on the country's religious principles, but in 1941 he passed the Jewish Codes. Similar to the anti-Semitic codes passed by the Nazi party, the Slovakian Jewish Codes prohibited Jews from participating in various parts of society like owning real estate or luxury goods, attending public athletic or cultural events, joining a university or high school, and were required to wear a Star of David in public.[3] This new policy pleased Hitler as it appeared as though his ideas were being supported by the Catholic Church while church leaders throughout the nation, like the Bishop of Presov, Msgr. Jozef Čársky and the Papal Nuncio in Budapest Msgr. Angelo Rotta were completely embarrassed by it. Bishop Čársky reminded his parishioners and fellow church leaders, "If we remain passive while the daughters of the Jewish people are forcibly torn from their families, what shall we do when our own maidens will be taken away?"[4] Catholic leaders were not only refusing to collaborate with the president as he allowed the deportation of Jews, but they were actively working to gain support from Catholics throughout the nation to end it entirely.

It was evident President Tiso was no longer acting on behalf of the Catholic Church as a priest, but solely as a President of the new fascist government needing the protection of the German dictator. Through majority of the Holocaust, the Catholic Church remained silent to the atrocities that taking place in their backyard as it was not until 1944 that the apostolic delegate, Msgr. Burzio, received orders from the Pope to warn Tiso "the injustice wrought by his government is harmful to the prestige of his country and enemies will exploit it to discredit clergy and the Church the world over."[5] However, under the silence of his Vatican leadership, Tiso had become a *de facto* leader for Hitler. As a price to pay for independence, in February 1942, the Slovakian government began the deportation of Jews in which the government paid around 500 Reichmarks to Germany for each Jew deported. Not only was President Tiso paying for the Jews to be removed from Slovakia, he was then preaching about the greatness of their removal, as if they were not also children on God. For example, during a holiday mass in Holic, Tiso "declared that is was a Christian deed to expel the Jews, since it was to the benefit of the Slovak nation to free itself of its 'pest.'" [6] President Tiso misguided Slovakian Catholics into thinking that the deportation of the Jews was not immoral because they do not qualify under the category of "thy neighbor", allowing for them to be treated without empathy for the good of the

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[2] David I. Kertzer, "The Roman Catholic Church, the Holocaust, and the demonization of the Jews," last modified March 21,2016, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4800995/
[3] Michael J. Kopanic Jr., "The Legacy: The Tiso plaque controversy," last modified March 20, 2000, http://www.ce-review.org/00/11/kopanic11.html
[4] Carol Rittner et al. "The Holocaust and the Christian World," *Yad Vashem*, (2000) : pp. 104–107, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20697.pdf
[5] Carol Rittner et al. "The Holocaust and the Christian World," *Yad Vashem*, (2000) : pp. 104–107, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20697.pdf
[6] Carol Rittner et al. "The Holocaust and the Christian World," *Yad Vashem*, (2000) : pp. 104–107, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20697.pdf

nation. Under a nationalist regime terrorized by the Hlinka Guard and the invading German troops, he used the Slovak's love for nation and religion to spread his hatred for the Jews.

3. BRAVERY OF MANY

Although President Tiso was able to convince many of his parishioners of the justification of the deportation of the Jews, many Slovakian Catholic leaders did not follow in his hypocrite views. One of the biggest religious threats to the fascist government was Archbishop Guiseppe Burzio. In 1940, the Vatican assigned Archbishop Burzio as charge d'affaires, also known as a religious diplomat, to the new Catholic state, and it was not long before he was informed of the injustices being taken against the Jews. By October 1941, Archbishop Burzio was constantly informing the Vatican Secretary Luigi Maglione of the systematic assassination of the Jews being done in the concentration camps, such as Auschwitz and Belzec, that President Tiso was paying for them to be sent to. With little to no response from Vatican officials, the papal nuncio took it upon himself to confront President Tiso and his Prime Minister Tuka, who was ironically also an ordained Catholic priest. During his meeting with the two Slovakian leaders on April 7, 1943, he begged for them to bring an end to the deportation of Jews, or at least the ones who had converted to Christianity, as they were being sent to their deaths. He also warned them of the "verdict of history and consequences of the post-war world"[7] if they continued supporting the extermination of the Slovakian Jews in Poland and Ukraine. This warning by Burzio was very similar to the warning the Pope sent to Tiso mentioned in Chapter 2 as the Catholic Church worried about its reputation after the war ended as people would begin to question their involvement as the organization has historically been in active player in the social and political aspects of various countries throughout Europe. By trying to serve the Vatican and Germany, these two Catholic priests ended up jeopardizing the integrity of the Catholic Church as they gave the global perception that Catholics were in support of the Hitler's plan of the "Final Solution", regardless of what the representative of the Pope was saying.

Fortunately for the Slovakian Jews, Archbishop Burzio was not the only Catholic leader working to prevent their death as several bishops and priests actively worked to stop Slovakian support which put pressure on the government to end the deportations. Regardless of the mixed views among the Catholic hierarchy, as many Catholic leaders remained silent like the Pope, German intelligence agents found that "priests frequently furnished Jews with baptismal certificates, and never gave support from the pulpit for deportations."[8] These Catholic leaders not only acted on behalf of the Jews by providing them refugee during their time of need, but also worked to bring an end to Tiso's affiliation with the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Presov, Monsignor Pavel Peter Gojdic, on May 1942 wrote a letter to the Vatican desperately imploring for them to convince Tiso to resign as priest and to hand his presidential position to a more secular politician.[9] Catholic leaders felt a sense of disappointment and humiliation as they watched many of their colleagues turned their backs on an entire race in need as they understood the impact it was going to have on the world's perspective of the Catholic Church's character after the war ended. Once the Holocaust ended, an estimated amount 70,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia and the Germans ended up killing more than half of them. Although the leaders within the Vatican received extensive warning similar to Bishop Gojdic's

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[7] Carol Rittner et al. "The Holocaust and the Christian World," *Yad Vashem*, (2000) : pp. 104–107, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20697.pdf
[8] Michael Phayer, "The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930 – 1965," *Global*, (2001) : pp. 86–93, https://books.google.com/books?id=aZTD96Upq9AC&pg=PA87#v=onepage&q&f=false
[9] Carol Rittner et al. "The Holocaust and the Christian World," *Yad Vashem*, (2000) : pp. 104–107, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20697.pdf

of separating all Catholic ties to Tiso, his status as Catholic priest was never removed. Like Archbishop Burzio had warned, scholars across the world have criticized the Catholic Church for having priest like Tiso who actively collaborated with the extermination of Jews throughout Europe. Fortunately for Slovakia, many of the Catholic Church leaders used their small sphere of religious influence within their own country to help bring an end to the deportation of Jews which worked between the beginning of 1943 until August 1944 as Jewish deportations came to a standstill. With German occupation in Slovakia in 1944, the remaining Jews within the country were deported to concentration camps throughout Europe until the end of the Second World War.

4. NO HOPE FOR ARGENTINIAN CATHOLICS

Human rights activists throughout Argentina are still uncovering more gruesome details of the massive amounts assassinations that took place between the years of 1976 and 1983 in Argentina, now regarded as the "Dirty War". It all began on March 24, 1976 when the Argentinian military organized a right-wing coup to overthrow President Isabel Martinez de Peron. With the successful overthrow of the government led by Lieutenant General Jorge Rafeal Videla, Admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera and Brigidear General Orlando Ramon Agosti, Lieutenant General Videla became the first president and dictator of the newly formed government that began the terrorization of the Argentinian people. During these seven years, the military dictators put the country under a process of National Reorganization where they "disappeared" 30,000 people by taking them of deadly flights. After spending time in detention camps where the captors would be subjected to tremendous amounts of mental and physical abuse, they would be taken on a "death flight" where they would be drugged, stripped and pushed of an airplane or helicopter into the Rio de la Plata or the Atlantic Ocean. The 30,000 disappeared individuals were left-wing activists and opponents to the right-wing regime. With the fear of communism spreading throughout Latin America, the countries of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and later on Peru and Ecuador came together in support of Operation Condor. Under this operation, constituents who opposed the right-wing regimes throughout these countries were also kidnapped, tortured, murdered and disappeared. With the entire continent supporting Operation Condor, Latin Americans had no form of refuge as the United States was also supporting this operation in order to maintain US imperialism and capitalism. With Catholicism being the main religion throughout Argentina, devout parishioners turned to their religious leaders for hope and guidance during this time of terrorization. Catholic leaders used their influence to spread their anti-communist ideals as they worked alongside the military junta to remove all those who opposed it.

At first, the accusations by parishioners or priests, like Estela de la Cuadra and Father Orlando Yorio, of the Catholic Church's involvement in the Dirty War were believed to be nothing but false accusations and rumors by those who wished to slander the religion. It was not until an interview with former military dictator, Jorge Videla, for the magazine *El Sur* in 2010 that the truth was finally exposed. During the interview, Videla stated he had a very close relationship with several members of the Catholic hierarchy including Cardinal Raul Primatesta and Papal nuncio Pio Laghi. They all knew of the actions being taken by the regime and actively supported them, as many of them had offered the policy of calling the people who were tortured and killed in the detention centers "disappeared" because it would make the Argentinian people less suspicious. Videla even went as far as to mention how "In the case of families that it was certain would not make political use of the information, they told them not to look any more for

their child because he was dead".[10] In Slovakia, the political leaders happened to be ordained Catholic priests but the rest of the clergy took no part in the deportation of the Jews, regardless if they knew what happened within the detention centers. Catholic clergymen, like Cardinal Primatesta, gave names to the military leaders of people they suspected opposed the regime, some of those names included priests and bishops. Other lower level clergymen were assigned as military chaplains to the lieutenants who served within the torture chambers and detention centers. With the help of the Argentinian Catholic clergy leaders, the military dictatorship was able to inconspicuously terrorize an entire nation while wiping out a large amount of the population for less than a decade.

5. SILENCE CAN BE VIOLENCE

On March 13, 2013, Father Jorge Mario Bergoglio from Argentina became the first pope from Latin American and all of his actions, whether past or present, have been criticized ever since. In the case of Pope Francis, it was the actions he did not take that have caused him the most harm. During the Dirty War, Pope Francis, then under the name of Father Bergoglio, was head of the Argentine Jesuits. Two of his priests, Orlando Yorio and Francisco Jalics, were captured, tortured and released by the military in 1976, and they accused him turning them over to their captors. While concrete evidence confirming the accusations has yet to be found, Pope Francis has provided minimal information of the actions endured during the years of 1976 to 1983. It is clear he knew of the "disappeared" and the separation of children as he admits during an interview with his personal biographer, Sergio Rubin, the endless secret extents he went through to help many of those captured by the military, including his two priests. Father Bergoglio took the cowardly approach by supporting the regime in public, while helping small amounts of victims behind the scenes. Estela de la Cuadra, daughter of the women who co-founded the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, recalls how "Bergoglio has a very cowardly attitude when it comes to something so terrible as the theft of babies. He says he didn't know anything about it until 1985".[11] Many of his supporters claim that had he spoken out against the regime, he would not have lived to be pope today. However, does the Catholic Church want to have a leader that will remain silent when confronted with acts of violence? During the Holocaust war, papal nuncio Giuseppe received minimal support from the Vatican as Pope Pius remained silent throughout most of the war. All of his efforts to gain help from the international religious leaders fell in deaf ears as it to was not until thousands of Jews had already been executed that the Pope released a statement condoning the "Final Solution". La Cuadra's accusations demonstrates how Pope Francis had the chance to speak out and act against atrocities within his own country, like Bishop Carsky, and did not.

6. CONCLUSION

The Catholic Church has been around for over two milleniums and has been involved with the politics of countless countries. Its sphere of influence has spread throughout the entire world with political leaders traveling from all corners of the world to meet with the Pope. Throughout

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[10] "Former Argentinian dictator says he told Catholic Church of disappeared," *The Irish Times*, last modified July 24, 2012, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/former-argentinian-dictator-says-he-told-catholic-church-of-disappeared-1.542154

[11] Betty Clermont, " Pope Francis and the Dirty War: Keeping the Record Straight," last modified March 17, 2015, https://opentabernacle.wordpress.com/2015/03/17/pope-francis-and-the-dirty-war-keeping-the-record-straight-part-ii/

history, Popes and other Catholic leaders have used their influence of devout Catholics across the globe to spread their own political and social agenda. When President and priest, Jozef Tiso, chose to turn his back on the entire Jewish race in exchange for his presidency in a newly independent Slovakia, Catholics leaders like Archbishop Burzio understood the damage it would have to the integrity of the Church to not stand up for an entire group of humanity at risk. Similarly, to President Tiso, the members of the Argentinian clergy disregarded the effect their actions would have on the entire institution and worked with the tormentors of their own parishioners. After both of these mass genocides, none of the religious leaders were held accountable for their actions as President Tiso was never removed from his position as priest and Father Bergoglio was promoted to highest position within the clergy. As leader of the Vatican, Pope Francis has also promoted other clergymen who supported their own governments during Operation Condor like the Chilean Cardinal Francisco Javier Errazuriz Ossa who was an open defender of Chilean dictator, Augusto Pinochet. It is to no surprise that while a large amount of the world population identifies as Catholic, hundreds of churches have had to close down as attendance has drastically diminished. Through their conditional support for humanitarian causes, people around the world have lost the faith in the clergy. The actions of Catholic leaders throughout these two genocides put the reputation of the entire religious institution at risk as human rights activists can no longer count on this organization to consistently spread the international importance of respect for human life and dignity.

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COMMUNIST USE OF THE POLICE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Abstract:
This paper is intended to examine how police forces in Czechoslovakia were manipulated and used by Communist forces as a means of control and coercion during the 1940s. By examining how the police forces were restructured following World War II, the different branches of the police force and how each was used by the Communist government, and how the police as a whole were used to instill fear in the public and control politics, it is evident that the police were mere tools of the Communist regime. This had an effect on the country for many decades to come, and serves as a lesson as to why the police should not be politicized, but should be left to function as protectors of the people and upholders of the law.

Keywords: *Communism, Czechoslovakia, Police*

1. INTRODUCTION: POLICE REFORMS POST WWII

In the aftermath of World War II, many European countries were trying to re-establish and restructure their broken police forces, which had been, for the most part, dissolved by the war. Generally speaking, the police are meant to protect the public and uphold the law. However, the police in Czechoslovakia took a dark turn between 1945 and 1953, in that the police were used more against the public rather that to protect and serve the public, a change that continued throughout Communist control of the country until the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. The police in Czechoslovakia were organized into several branches, or divisions: National Security, Secret Police, Frontier Guards, Prison Guards, Factory Militia, and the People's Militia. Each of these branches was created with a specific purpose in society (M.P., 1952, pg. 504). This paper aims to show how the Czech Communist Party, with influence from the United Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.) forces in Czechoslovakia, used the restructuring of the police and the different branches to maintain power, control different aspects of society, and to deter political dissidence.

After World War II, specifically beginning in 1945, the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, at the time led by Klement Gottwald, began to restructure the police forces. Upon liberation from Nazi German forces, the Czech communists collaborated with Russian KGB and the Red Army to establish security. The police forces in many European countries had been fractured and discredited during the war, as well as being allied with the Nazi Party. The police had been merged with the Nazi forces and had been used in the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. In Eastern Europe and in Czechoslovakia during this time of reforming the police, there was a struggle between the Communist Party and non-Communist parties for the control of the police force in Eastern Europe as a whole. In Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party was called Komunistická strana Československa, or KSČ, literally translated to The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The non-communists were led by then-president Eduard Beneš. Speaking about this phenomenon, Hungarian Premier Mátyás Rákosi, said this struggle occurred because the police were an asset to the control of the government; whoever controlled the police at this time, would be able to control politics. Although the police themselves did not have political power, they could be used as the muscle to carry out the wishes of whoever was in charge. However, this was under the Communist model of the police; this would not happen in a country such as the United States, where there is a non-partisan and professional police

force completely separated from politics. The Communist Party gained control of the police from the beginning and used them as a tool against those who opposed Communism (M.P., 1952, pg. 506).

Czechoslovakia, being under Communist control, received a reformed police force in the mid to late 1940s created by the U.S.S.R. government, after the 1948 Coup d'etat, in which the Communist Party formally gained control of the government. Author Philip Jenkins, comments "unlike the western allies, the Soviets had not even rhetorical qualms about strong police structures, as long as they were in reliable political hands" (Jenkins, 1988, pg. 142). The Soviet government wanted a literally strong police force in their satellite country, for the same reasons many countries prefer to have a strong military. The KSČ was the Soviet government branch in Czechoslovakia and answered to the U.S.S.R. If conditions became poor and force is necessary, such as the public revolting, they needed an organization that was willing and able to deal with whatever is put before them, such as put down revolts.

All police in Czechoslovakia received military training as well. In this way, the police in Czechoslovakia acted as a paramilitary force, in addition to a police force. The Soviet government also wanted a force that would listen to what was commanded of them by the KSČ. The Czechoslovak Police Minister, Karel Bacilek, most likely a non-communist based on his statements, called the police "'the loyal and dreaded protector' of the Communist regime" (M.P., 1952, pg. 506).The police were extremely loyal to the Communist Party and would do what was asked of them, including turn on their own people in many cases. The police force itself was a national organization, which was broken up into two main parts: The People's Militia, which was a paramilitary force, and the state security apparatus, called Státní bezpečnost in Czechoslovakia, which answered to the Interior Ministry (Jenkins, 1988, pg. 143). The significance of this was that the police answered to the government and took orders from the government. In contrast, the United States has thousands of different police organizations, ranging from local townships to districts, to state organizations. However, these police do not answer to the government; they are autonomous.

The police forces in the Soviet satellite states, including Czechoslovakia, were all military trained. This gave the government almost their own military force, but without all of the restrictions and regulations that go along with having a military force. In Czechoslovakia, there were six different organizations, or branches, each with a specific purpose: National Security, Secret Police, Frontier Guards, Prison Guards, Factory Militia, and the People's Militia. The police were powerful military formations, which created "the backbone of the Communist regimes" (M.P., 1952, pg. 512). Without the police, the Communist government would not have the power that they had. As mentioned before, the police acted as the muscle to give the KSČ what it wanted politically, which was essentially total control. The Communist government in Czechoslovakia exercised a great amount of power over the citizenry. The police were used to keep the Communist government from being ousted or overthrown. The police also ensured anyone who disagreed with or opposed the government was silenced. The Communist government used each of these branches in ways relating to their purposes in order to maintain and stay in control of the people. Each branch, having a specific job, was used in a way that would capitalize on that division's full potential as it benefited the government.

2. FRONTIER GUARDS

The Frontier Guards were used to guard the borders after they closed in 1948. This included all borders, as no one was allowed in or out of the country. These were the highest paid of all the branches, paid double that of any other branch of the police. At this time, the frontiers of Czechoslovakia looked more like war zones than borders of a civilized nation. According to

author M.P., the borders were "complete with trenches, mine-fields, dug-outs, rows of barbed wire, concrete pillar boxes, machine gun nests, camouflaged command posts, underground passages, searchlights…" (M.P., 1952, pg. 506). It seems impossible that someone would even think about making this crossing, but there were those desperate enough to do it. A member of the Tupy family, Evžen Tupy, who was the first of the family to flee the country, made this crossing in 1948 when police had the orders to shoot on sight anyone trying to cross. In addition to the high pay, Frontier Guards also received cash payments for anyone they captured or killed trying to cross the border to the West. The payment would vary depending on the political importance of the refugee captured or killed. Those who served in the Frontier Guard were army conscript soldiers who had distinguished themselves as zealous supporters of the regime (M.P., 1952, pg. 506). The Communist government relied on them to capture or kill their own countrymen, something which seemed to bother very few. This extreme use of force, it could be argued, was a significant deterrent to anyone thinking about escaping. Controlling the borders gave more power to the Communist government; not letting anyone into or out of the country allowed the government to function as it pleased, without the watchful eye of other countries scrutinizing actions that would be violations of rights. Not only could the government do what it wanted, hidden from the world's eye, the closed borders kept Western ideas out of the country as well.

3. NATIONAL SECURITY

The most important unit stationed in the interior of the country was the armed National Security. This branch was used more as a show of power rather than a normal police force. The National Security had units stationed in strategically important locations or districts. The locations were based on areas that might become problematic or hostile, such as large cities, in which case the National Security would be called in to put down any insurrection, such as riots or protests. This unit served as a kind of reserve army, to be used only in the case of major disturbances. Although they were not the highest paid, this unit was the best taken care of by the Communist government in other ways. As author M.P. writes, the National Security unit was "highly motorized; their arms and equipment [were] of the best quality, and they [were] constantly 'shown off' at military parades and party demonstrations, as a reminder of the power of the Communist regimes" (M.P., 1952, pg. 507). What better way to instill fear and quell any inclinations of rebellion among the people than to show off the assets that would crush any attempt to step out of line? Similar to the Frontier Guards, this unit was known for its fervent loyalty to the Communist regime and could be compared to Nazi S.S. troops in their mentality. As with the other branches, their training was military-based. Fear tactics helped the ruling party stay in power. The Communist regime used this unit of the police forces to instill fear and remind the public who was in charge. Fear is a powerful deterrent. If the public was too afraid to revolt or even stage protests, the government had little to worry about in that regard.

4. PRISON GUARDS

The Prison Guards were used to guard, maintain, and administer the political prisons and forced labor camps. There were several hundred labor camps in the satellite states of the Soviet Union; those in Czechoslovakia were located in old Nazi concentration camps, such as Terezín. Many of these camps house political prisoners, and in Czechoslovakia, this included roughly 300 Catholic priests who were detained in these labor camps. There were also specialized camps for women and the young. In addition to labor camps, there were regular prisons that housed

thousands of political prisoners. During the summer and warmer months, these prisoners worked on government building projects, such as the construction of government housing. Prisoners were a cheap labor source because there was no need to pay them, thereby saving the government money. Because of the harsh winters, any outdoor work had to cease between November and March. This was also the time when any prisoners whose sentences had come to an end were released; almost no prisoners were released during "working" months because their labor was needed. The labor camps and prisons once again filled up in March, when the working season began again. The busiest months for the police therefore came in January and February, in which quotas for arrests had to be met in order to keep the labor camps full and provide more workers (M.P., 1952, pg. 507–508). Under the supervision of the Prison Guards and the Communist regime, forced labor became a staple part of society in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe as a whole (M.P., 1952, pg. 512). The Communist government essentially used the Prison Guard unit of the police forces to enslave their own people. Being arrested for a political "crime" was one of the main fears of the public. Political crimes could be anything from simply stating disagreement of the KSČ to being involved in a riot. Many artists who spoke out against the government were also arrested. Even being seen as "dangerous", or someone who could potentially threaten the power of the government, by the Communist government could get a person sent to prison or into forced labor.

5. PEOPLE'S MILITIA

The People's Militia could best be described as the "ordinary police". The term "militia" generally applies to a non-professional component to an army, which can be used to supplement the military if need be. However, the People's Militia in Czechoslovakia does not necessarily fall under this literal definition. The People's Militia acted as part of the police force and most closely resembled "regular" police in that they did not have a specialized task, as the Frontier Guards or Secret Police had. Like regular police forces, the People's Militia dealt with a large number of unpredictable elements in their daily routines. From a police officer's perspective, unpredictable elements are events or situations that arise suddenly and that must be reacted to on the fly, with no advanced planning involved, but rather relying on training to react and deal with the situation. Any situation can be deemed unpredictable because the police work with people and people can be very unpredictable. For most police, this would include dealing with a range of situations, from domestics to car stops.

However, for the People's Militia, their greatest unpredictable elements were with deportees. These were families that had been evicted from their homes and towns, generally for political dissidence, and forced to live in country districts where they lived under police surveillance at all times (M.P., 1952, pg. 508). The KSČ called this "free exile". These deportees were reactionary communists, capitalists, landlords, and generally those who posed a danger to the safety of the public by the Communist government. An example comes again from the Tupy family, in which František Roudný had a decent plot of farmland, which was all taken away because he was deemed to be a capitalist. In this case, the term "capitalist" applied to Roudný because he worked his land and his farm, and he made a significant amount of money by being a private land and business owner. However, these made up only a small portion of deportees, who for the most part, came from every walk of life. They were doctors, lawyers, teachers, writers, artists and musicians, and the clergy, among others; anyone who could think independently was seen as a threat to the government at the time. Known as the intelligentsia, author Edward Taborsky called them "the eyes, the ears, and the brains of the 'bourgeois society'. They had a profound influence over both the political and cultural life…" (Taborsky, 1958, pg. 98). The KSČ believed that if they got rid of the people who were educated, especially

in Western ideas, and could think for themselves, forcing the rest of the public into submission would be made easier.

The next group targeted for free exile were the "kulaks", or rich peasants. They strongly opposed Soviet collectivization policy, which had begun in Russia in the 1930s, and implemented into Czechoslovakia beginning in 1945. By 1948, ownership of private land had been outlawed in Czechoslovakia and the collectivization policy had completely taken effect. This policy was essentially the consolidation of individual peasant or farm households into collective farms. The kulaks strongly opposed this policy, and the government realized it would not be able to affect this policy if the kulaks remained free.

The last major group targeted for deportee status were Communists themselves who had anti-Soviet views (M.P., 1952, pg. 509). In a resolution sent to the second All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in December, 1954, KSČ leaders, among them Václav Kopecký, the Minister of Culture, launched a campaign against incorrect attitudes, including those within their own party. This included an outright dismissal of 50 university teachers of courses dealing with Marxism-Leninism who were found lacking ideological zeal (Taborsky, 1958, pg. 98). The police had to keep a close eye on every one of these people and their family, keeping detailed records and files with the person's relinquished property, their crime and subsequent punishment, and all of their movements. Not only did this police unit have to oversee the deportees, but they also had to oversee the deportations themselves, which usually took place at night. Not only did the People's Militia watch the deportees, but also every other citizen in their respective jurisdictions (M.P., 1952, pg. 510). In this way, the police were able to apprehend those who posed a threat to the Communist regime. This, in turn, also created more fear, going along with the idea of fear being a powerful deterrent. The general public was less likely to become rebellious if they knew their homes, their livelihoods, and their families were at stake and under surveillance.

6. FACTORY MILITIA

The Factory Militia was the sister branch to the People's Militia, but it focused solely in the factories. The Factory Militia, also called Factory Guards, guarded the factories and their workers, and were armed and trained just as the other divisions of police. Their task was to protect against attacks on the factories by protesters. The factory guards were brought in after the Coup d'état of 1948, in which the KSČ gained complete power (O.P., 1958, pg. 101). There were several student uprisings, in which the guards officially killed one student, but there was speculation of many more casualties (Lias, 1962, pg. 575). The actions of the Factory Militia can also be seen in the Plzen, Czechoslovakia uprising on June 1, 1954. The crisis began when protesters from a demonstration attempted to break down the main gate into the Škoda factory, supposedly trying to get the workers to join their protest. Some of the factory militia opened fire into the crowd and wounded a female protester, who was then trampled to death by the enraged protesters (G.L., 1953, pg. 442). Having armed guards inside the factories kept the workers themselves from rioting, and also helped to keep rioters from the outside from wreaking havoc, and possibly to keep workers on both of these sides from joining together. The fact that these guards were not afraid to fire into crowds of people also helped to curb further protests.

7. SECRET POLICE

The Secret Police were probably the most infamous of the six branches, the primary goal of which was intelligence gathering. The Czechoslovak modeled their Secret Police after the

Polish model. Jindřich Veselý, a Czechoslovakian Secret Police official, went on an observation tour of the Polish Secret Police in 1948. Veselý had helped to create the Secret Police system in Czechoslovakia between 1945–1948, but he wanted to see how Poland ran its networks in order to find out what needed change in his own. He spoke with a Polish Secret Police official (unnamed) (Pucci, 2017, pg. 317–319). He found that the Polish Secret Police were armed, highly trained, and allowed to arrest citizens and hold them for 48 hours with little evidence. The Czechoslovak system of Secret Police came from a mix of institutions, including German, Polish, and Soviet espionage tactics, training, purpose, and application. However, unlike their other Eastern European counterparts, the Czechoslovak Secret Police had no history of political assassinations (Pucci, 2017, pg. 331). The Czechoslovak model, however, did have what was called Retribution Trials, in which non-communists could be banned from "public life", meaning they could not actively participate in society, such as politics (Pucci, 2017, pg. 327). The Secret Police came primarily from military and law backgrounds. Author Molly Pucci stated that the Czechoslovak Secret Police played a major role in the Communist takeover "and consolidation of power since officials were not only passively enforcers of the law but also active transformers of the societies in which they lived". Secret Police agents were not only expected to gather information but also to actively change the social environment in which they were stationed. Agent Štěpán Pláček stated that the actions of the Secret Police "must not be limited to handing over intelligence. It must also be about disorienting the enemy and other things" (Pucci, 2017, pg. 333). The Secret Police in Czechoslovakia were notorious for their surveillance and employed almost 100,000 informants. Those informants were normal Czechoslovakian citizens who informed on other citizens. One never knew who was watching or listening. The Secret Police turned Czechoslovakia into one major network of espionage. Neighbors spied on neighbors, students spied on their teachers, and children on their parents. There is a famous story in which a young boy of about 13 years was approached by the police and told to inform on his parents. When he refused, he was beaten and almost killed. The Secret Police in Czechoslovakia were also infamous for their cruel interrogations. Senator and presidential candidate Jaroslava Moserová recalled in an interview how her father was kept in solitary confinement by the Secret Police for a year. She recalled how her father had enjoyed the interrogations, because they had been a break from the torture of solitary confinement, and how he suffered from the cold and hunger (Jaroslava Moserová, 2005, Interview). Czechoslovakia became a country divided against itself. People were suspicious of each other. In this climate of distrust bred by the Secret Police, the Communist government continued to gain the upper hand over its citizens. The people could not form rebellions when they were scared to communicate with one another for fear that the other might inform the police. By creating an atmosphere of fear and distrust, the Soviet government used the Secret Police to maintain their control over the public.

8. CONCLUSION

This use of the police by the KSČ lasted through several decades, until the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. Even after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the police remained the protectors of the communist regime. The tactics of each branch remained relatively the same, and the public retained the fear it had of the police. Beginning in 1968, the Soviet KGB also came in and used the Czechoslovak police in activities such as arresting high ranking officials (Žáček, 2016, pg. 627). A member of the Hudec family, Růžena Hudcová, had an experience with the Czechoslovak police that she will never forget. She told the story of how she was walking home late one night after a meeting with friends, including a member of the Charter 77 movement, whose purpose was to get the government to recognize basic human

rights. Those related to this movement were greatly persecuted by the government. Růžena Hudcová had taken some Chartist pamphlets and writings home with her, which she carried in her bag. She was stopped by the police, and as she said, her heart nearly stopped out of fear; she knew that if she was caught with the papers, she would be thrown in prison. Luckily, the police let her go without a bag search. This is just one example of the fear perpetrated by the police at this time. After the Velvet Revolution and the fall of the Soviet government in Czechoslovakia in 1989, the whole government received reforms, including the first free elections in several decades and the reinstatement of a capitalist economy (Janík, 2017, pg. 101–102). However, because of a lax screening process, there were over 1000 former Secret Police members working for the Interior Ministry, and several hundred others working in the police force, until the government began screening members in the early 1990s (Jaroslava Moserová, 2005, Interview). The old police force was disbanded, and a new police force was established in June 1991. The structure is similar to that of the United States, with different municipal jurisdictions and with similar goals, such as protecting and serving the public. It is headed by a Police President and answers to the Ministry of the Interior (Interpol, 2018). Thousands of political prisoners were also pardoned in the early 1990s. However, the way that the police controlled the public, as well as the fear instilled in the people, would remain with some to this day.

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HOW RAPHAEL LEMKIN'S CHILDHOOD AFFECTED HIS CREATION OF THE WORD "GENOCIDE"

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Abstract:
This paper analyzes how the region Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine which Raphael Lemkin grew up influenced him to create the word "genocide." As a child, he witnessed the poor treatment of Jews and pogroms in the early nineteen hundred in Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. The paper will tie the period of his childhood, 1900 to 1915, and his academic writings from 1933 and 1942 on the crime of "barbarity." The displacement of his family and their treatment during his childhood as well as the pogroms in the surrounding area led him to start a campaign against what became genocide.

Keywords: *Lemkin, genocide, barbarity, pogrom*

Raphael Lemkin was born on June 24ᵗʰ, 1900 in Czarist Russia. A Jewish international lawyer, he created the word "genocide" and became the inspiration behind the UN Genocide Convention's definition of genocide as an international crime. He helped to write some of the early drafts and lobbied UN delegates to approve the convention. Lemkin devoted his life to make genocide an international crime and created awareness of the danger it poses to humanity. This paper analyzes how events from Lemkin's childhood, such as the poor treatment of Jews in pogroms in eastern Europe between 1900 and 1915, affected him. The pogroms, May Laws, October Manifesto, 1905 Russian Revolution, anti-Semitic sentiments, displacement of his family, and death of his brother, which all happened in Lithuania and Eastern Europe during Raphael Lemkin's childhood, influenced his creation of the word "genocide." Lemkin was heartbroken by the death of his brother and the fear instilled by local authorizes. He could not see how a situation of this kind could be bearable for long.

Raphael Lemkin grew up in an area of Eastern Europe that often changed hands between Poland, Germany, Lithuania, and Russia. During his childhood, he was part of czarist Russia. Lemkin was born in June 1900 and raised in the town of Vawkavysk in modern-day Belarus. The village of Vawkavysk changed between Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and a few other nations. During the time of Lemkin's birth, Vawkavysk had a Jewish population of 5,528, which made up more than half of the general population of the town.[1] Growing up as a Jew in eastern Europe in the early 1900s came with many hardships, such as pogroms and violent anti-Semitism due to the May Laws of 1892, which were only meant to be temporary but ended up lasting until 1917. The laws of 1892 set restrictions for Jews on many aspects of their life. There were restrictions on their education, taxes on every animal that was slaughtered kosher as well as on the rents of the houses, shops, warehouses, and profits of factories. Taxes were placed on religious apparel worn by Jews such as the Kippah and candle for the Sabbath. There were restrictions on where they could live and restrictions on who could travel outside of the settlements. Jews could not own land or even go to public auctions of land or practice certain occupations. Jews were not allowed to work in agriculture and trading unless they had a merchant license. The May Laws stated that Jews could only live in the Pale of Settlement. The pale was an area that was separated from the surrounding country by defined boundaries

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[1] Steiner "The Jews, Until the end of the First World War," 299.

or distinguished by a different administrative and legal system.[2] This strict law stated that Jews could not live outside of larger cities, and they could only live in fifteen provinces: Bessarabia, Vilnius, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Grodno, Ekaterinoslav, Kovno, Minsk, Mogilev, Podolia, Poltava, Taurida, Kherson, Chernigov, and in part of Kiev.[3] They were not allowed to own a farm due to the fact the Russians saw them as intellectually and culturally superior to the Russians and therefore, dangerous to them. Furthermore, they were not allowed to move to the countryside, which made it impossible for them to buy or even lease a piece of land. Konstantin Pobyedonostzev, a Russian official, stated that "The Jews are displacing us, and this does not suit us."[4] The pale of settlement was the only part of czarist Russia where Jews where permanently allowed to live unless they had special circumstances.

The May laws were intended to serve the non-Jewish Russian citizens and economic interests of the state by preventing competition between Jewish and Russian merchants. Lemkin's family got around the law against owning farms by paying off local police officers at regular intervals. Lemkin states, "We learned very early in our childhood to dislike this policeman and to fear him as a symbol of our bondage."[5] These were not the only precautions that Lemkin's family took. In the fall of 1915, the First World War came to Lemkin's home. Lemkin's parents buried their valuables and family books and hid in the woods. The German army took cattle, horses, and crops, and the farmhouse was destroyed by artillery fire. In the woods, Lemkin lost his brother Samuel of pneumonia and malnourishment.[6] The German army occupied Vawkavyk from 1915 until 1918.

The pogroms of the early 20ᵗʰ century also played a factor in the rest of Lemkin's life. The pogroms started due to the 1905 Russian Revolution. The revolution of 1905 had the common people demonstrating their discontent with the Russian social and political system. The revolution consisted of many different forms of protest, such as strikes, student riots, and terrorist assassinations. In many areas of Russia, the revolutionaries were met by the anti-revolutionary group Black Hand.[7] The group helped to plan pogroms throughout Russia. "Pogrom" is a Russian word meaning to "wreak havoc," and it refers to the attacks by non-Jews on the Jewish population by the local people. The Russian government allowed anti-Jewish sentiments to channel political and economic resentment due to the increase in the population of Jews in artisan work and day labor. Due to the growth of the Jewish population, the Poles started to create rural cooperatives and other economic institutions to exclude Jews from economic life and divert pressure from the monarchy.[8] Other regional events that happened during his childhood were the pogroms in 1905 and 1906 in the Bialystok area of Poland, only fifty miles from his home, and the 1905 pogrom in Ukraine. Both pogroms were ordered by Russian authorities to take pressure off of the government from political revolutionaries who wanted a change in the government. From October 18 to 29, 1905, there were about 690 programs in 660 cities throughout Ukraine. The vast majority of the cites had a large Jewish population. The programs resulted in 3,100 Jews killed, 2,000 seriously injured, and more than 15,000 wounded.[9] At the time this was the largest surge of anti-Jewish violence in the Russian Empire. The worst of these pogroms happened in Odessa in October and killed four hundred Jews along with around 1,600 Jewish properties destroyed. Lemkin would have heard about the event from newspapers or community members, as it was widespread and happened in a major city of the time. These events were not something that just happened spontaneously; the local

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[2] Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopedia." Pale. Encyclopedia Britannica.
[3] Johnpoll. "Why They Left: Russian-Jewish Mass Migration and Repressive Laws, 1881–1917." 28.
[4] Dubnow. "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day". Vol. 3.
[5] Lemkin. "Buying the right to live." 13.
[6] Powers. "Crime without a name." 21.
[7] Dubnow. "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day". Vol. 3.
[8] Jewish virtual library, "pogroms".
[9] Khiterer, "The October 1905 pogroms and the Russian authorities". 788.

authorities and the government planned them. General Dmitry Fedorovich Trepov was a commandant of the police, while the Assistant Interior Minister and other high-level government officials enthusiastically encouraged the pogroms.[10] The prime minister, Sergei Witte, demanded that local authorities such as mayor as stop the violence, but they did nothing. Nicholas II also did not have any specific political position on the treatment of the Jews. These are just some of the known state officials that supported or new about the pogroms.

The pogroms were the result of several long and short term social, economic, and political factors. The most important was the economic competition between certain categories of Gentile and Jewish workers, such as the increase in the Jewish population of artisans, such as textiles workers, shopkeepers and day laborers. This caused Poles to create rural cooperatives and other economic institutions to exclude Jews from economic life.[11] The 1905 and 1906 pogroms in Bialystok were just some 50 miles from where Lemkin grew up. In 1905, six pogroms took place in Bialystok. One happened in April and the others on July 12, July 30, August 14, October 18,1905, June 1, and June 14, 1906.[12] During the pogroms in October, 22 Jews were killed. The reason for this pogrom was the October Manifesto, which tried to end the 1905 revolution, and stated that Russia would switch to a constitutional monarchy. The Black Hand's origination led to the planning of many pogroms. This manifesto also promised civil liberties such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly.[13] The pogroms took place in around 690 locations of the Pale of Settlements. As a result, 810 were murdered and 1,770 were wounded[14]. During the 1906 program, some seventy Jews were killed and ninety severely injured, as well as 120 stores and houses of commerce and more than 100 residences were destroyed. The June 1, 1906 pogrom started because of the murder of a local police chief who was kind to the Jews. The police spread a rumor that blamed the Jews for his death.[15] Not only did the death of the police chief spark violence but also the idea that Jews were the enemy of Czarist Russia. During this program, many were wounded, killed, and Jewish property that was destroyed. Eighty-two people were brought to the hospital; three of them were burnt.[16] The mob that did the killing was protected local police forces and the military. The hostility came from the police, which prompted these feelings by accusing them of taking part in freedom movements such as peaceful demonstrations, strikes, and student riots. Other pogroms were provoked by national fanaticism.[17] It was only a matter of time before Lemkin knew he would need to make a law to end the persecution of groups of people. Lemkin states that as the years went by, he kept thinking of these problems and thought so hard sometimes he felt physically the tension of the blood in his veins.[18]

After going to college, Lemkin became the deputy public prosecutor in Warsaw in 1929. The displacement of his family, death of his brother, and the threat of pogroms caused him to draft an international law that would ban the targeting and destruction of national, ethnic, and religious groups. In 1933, Lemkin went to an international lawyer's conference in Madrid. There he proposed a law banning two connected practices: the crimes of "barbarity" and "vandalism." Lemkin defined barbarity as "the premeditated destruction of the national, racial, religious and social collective." He defined vandalism as the "destruction of works of art and culture, being the expression of the particular genius of these collectivities."[19] Much to Lemkin's

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[10] Dubnow. "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day". Vol. 3.
[11] Dubnow. "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day". Vol. 3.
[12] "From Kishineff zo Bialystok: A Table of Pogroms from 1903 to 1906". 46.
[13] "Manifesto of October 17th, 1905." Alexander II, Emancipation Manifesto, 1861 – Documents in Russian History.
[14] Freund, "The Massacre of 1905 and the Great Pogrom of Bialystok". 116.
[15] Freund, "The Massacre of 1905 and the Great Pogrom of Bialystok". 118.
[16] "From Kishineff zo Bialystok: A Table of Pogroms from 1903 to 1906". 70.
[17] "From Kishineff zo Bialystok: A Table of Pogroms from 1903 to 1906". 84.
[18] Lemkin, "First love and early education". 19.
[19] Power, "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide". 21.

disappointment, his proposal was brushed aside for political reasons. Others thought that the crime of barbarity happened to "seldom to legislate."[20] Also, some lawyers at the time did not see how what had happened over a decade ago in the Ottoman Empire should concern the civilized lawyers of Europe.[21] Nevertheless, he did not give up hope. He needed a new way to approach the crime to make people listen.

After the 1933 conference, Lemkin came to realize that maybe he needed a better word, a word that would cause governments to act and create a stigma on anyone committing the crime. He played around with words such as "Mass murder," "Germanization," "Denationalization," and many others, but he could not find one that in combined everything he wanted to outlaw. Lemkin needed a word that not only meant the physical deposition of a group but also its cultural destruction. Lemkin wanted a word that would not be used in any other circumstance, unlike "barbarity" and "vandalism" that he used in 1933. Lemkin came to the hybrid word "genocide," the first part deriving from the Greek word "geno," meaning "race" or "tribe," and the Latin word "cide" or "caedere," meaning "killing."[22] Genocide encompassed both the physical destruction and the cultural destruction of a group. Lemkin's creation of the word "genocide" changed the world people live in today. Soon after the word was created, it was given even more power in 1950 by being put in Webster's Dictionary. Many people may think this word has been around for a long time and do not realize that it only came about during the Second World War. Lemkin went on to help create the United Nations Genocide Convention, which made genocide an international crime. He drafted the first General Assembly resolution condemning genocide. Lemkin also spoke to world ambassadors, urging them to sign the resolution.[23] After the resolution was passed, he helped prepare the first draft of the UN Genocide Convention and lobbied UN delegates to pass it. On December 9, 1948 the UN Convention on the Crime and Punishment of Genocide passed. After the convention was adopted, he went on to lobby nations to ratify the convention.

In conclusion, the atrocities and fear that Lemkin saw during the early years of his youth had a lasting effect on his life. Events from Lemkin's childhood, such as the poor treatment of Jews, pogroms, the displacement of his family, and the death of his brother between 1900 to 1915 affected him. What happened in Lithuania and eastern Europe during Raphael Lemkin's childhood influenced his creation of the word "genocide." Seeing the treatment of his family, neighbors, and the death of his brother, all because of their religion, changed him and made him determined to make sure that it never happened to anyone else. Lemkin spent his life trying to make sure that no one else would face what he and his family went through, and if they did, that the perpetrators would be held accountable. When looking at Lemkin's life and his work one can see that he was so affected by what happened to him and Jewish people, that he made it his life's mission and worked for fifty years to try to make sure no one would have to go through it. By looking at the events around his early life, others can better understand a little-known time in his life and how it made him so passionate about genocide and trying to make sure that it would not happen again. Lemkin started a movement for people to take a stand and stop this crime from happening and holding perpetrators accountable. The International Criminal Court and non-governmental organizations that work to prevent genocide and hold perpetrators accountable have followed in Lemkin's footsteps. The crimes that motivated Lemkin all those years ago still motivate people to try to avoid and stop genocide today.

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[20] Power, "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide". 22.
[21] Power, "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide". 22.
[22] Power, "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide". 42.
[23] Power, "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide". 54.

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HOW THE SZLACHTA PERMITTED KINGS TO RULE, NOT GOD

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Abstract:
The rights of the Szlachta, or the nobility of Poland and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are a fascinating example of a group who which once given rights, become an institution that shows how recognizing their given rights allows them to unite as a group and allow for equality amongst each other, and refuse to allow them to be restricted or taken away in any regard. The power of the institution that they became which allowed them to elect a King to rule over them under a social and legal contract not so dissimilar to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's idea of the social contract made them one of if not the most powerful group of individuals when it came to protection of rights and a check on authoritarianism in Renaissance and early modern Europe.

Keywords: *Jagiełłon Dynasty, Poland-Lithuania, Sejm, Szlachta*

The political culture and rights developed from the electoral process of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, made it a peculiarity both in Europe and in the world at large. The voting and election processes combined with the checks on the power of the King during and even before his reign allowed the avoidance of the instability that plagued other European countries after the deaths of their monarchs. The ability of the "people" to give their consent to their ruler, and his promise that he would not infringe upon their established rights, are ideas that survive into the modern era.

The concept of electing kings was not new in terms of Poland's history, and actually goes back all the way to the 9th century with the claimed election of the legendary founder of Poland's first royal family, King Piast the Wheelwright (Rosu 33). A verified election though had not actually occurred as a real event since the year 1386, with the marriage of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Władysław II Jagiełło to Queen Jadwiga of Poland and his subsequent election as King (Rosu 33). Since that election however, "elections" were in practice merely confirmation of the eldest male child of the reigning monarch (Rosu 33). The death of the last Jagiełłon without an heir, Sigismund II Augustus, in 1572 set off a search for a King to rule the leaderless Commonwealth (Rosu 33). Uncertainty over the future and what kind of King would be chosen led the "Szlachta" or the nobility of the realm to become vocal in their demands for even more representation in the central government of the Commonwealth (Orzelski 12). The Szlachta included landowners but also included anyone with a noble lineage, regardless if they had no money, land, castle, village, or peasants (Orzelski 12). With the Szlachta estimated to have encompassed at least 60,000 families, but only of which 100 were considered wealthy (Orzelski 12).

The Szlachta asserted themselves and campaigned for a return to an electoral process like what had taken place in Polish legend for Piast the Wheelwright and in 1386 with Władysław II (Rosu 33). They wanted "free elections," (Orzelski 12) which was the ability for all of the members of the Szlachta to vote on the next King of the Commonwealth, and that the King must sign a contract between themselves and the Szlachta confirming the restriction of their powers (Orzelski 12).

The idea of "free elections" (Orzelski 14) was pushed by the lower nobles of the Szlachta, or the ones that although they were part of the Szlachta, didn't necessarily have wealth. Before, for the Piasts and Jagiełłons; when elections were held, although except for the

first election of the dynasties they were more along the lines of confirmation. The King was elected by the Senate of the Commonwealth, which was made up of prominent members of the Polish-Lithuanian clergy, members of the Royal Council, and the Governors of states (Ross 51). This made the Senate the epitome of upper class or elite rule and as unrepresentative of the interests of the rest of the Szlachta.

The elections wanted by the Szlachta would be controlled by the Sejm, the legislative body of the Commonwealth and Poland today, and follow the Latin concept known as "viritim," or voting in person (Jedruch 43). Meaning all persons of noble status could cast a vote in the election for the King, as long as they were physically present at the voting place, then just a village outside of Warsaw called Wola (Jedruch 43). Exact records were never kept on the nobles who attended, but according to Jacek Jedruch, estimates vary anywhere from 10,000 up to 100,000. Average attendance has been estimated to be closer to 10,000 to 15,000 however (Jedruch 43). Anyone up for election for King was forbidden to attend, but these candidates were allowed to send representatives to "campaign" in a sense for their respective candidate and to know what way the election seemed to be swinging (Jedruch 43). The voting would on average last days and be filled with arguments and discord with Norman Davies in his book *God's Playground, a History of Poland: The Origins to 1795,* stating "in 1764, when only thirteen electors were killed, it was said that the Election was unusually quiet."

The ability of all members of the nobility to control and participate in these elections is rooted in Polish history, as the nobility had a longstanding degree of autonomy and control over the monarch, Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor of the Commonwealth from 1578 to 1605, said that "Rex regnat et non gubernat" or "The King reigns and does not govern" (President 3). Showing how the Szlachta as both an institution and collective group, both rich and poor, served to check and control the King's authority through the power of the Sejm. With the Sejm being made up of nobles who had been elected by their peers at their local assemblies, called "Sejmiks" (President 3).

The road to this degree of autonomy and influence first began in 1355, when King Casimir the Great granted the Polish nobility their first major privilege, called the Privilege of Buda (President 1). Casimir promised he would not levy punitive or crushing taxes, and that he would compensate the Szlachta for any losses occurred fighting for him outside Poland in order for them to recognize his nephew, King Louis of Hungary as his heir so as to join the two countries (President 1). Next in 1374 came the Privilege of Koszyce, in which now King Louis reiterated his uncle's promise to not levy any new taxes without the consent of the Szlachtaand in addition reducing the amount of tax already paid by the Szlachta by eighty four percent, in exchange for them recognizing his daughters as heirs to the crown of Poland (President 1). With his youngest daughter becoming Queen Jadwiga, who Władysław II would marry and join Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1386 (President 1).

The next privilege was not until 1423, when the Statute of Warta declared all of the members of the Szlachta, regardless of wealth or status, were equal before the law and allowed to sit in the Sejm and that the King could not confiscate their estates without the approval of the judiciary. The courts were also bound to obey the written letter of the law (President 2). The Privilege of Jedlnia and Kraków in 1430 and 1433 respectively, declared the Polish equivalent of "Habeas Corpus," in that the members of the Szlachta could only be prosecuted for a crime if a warrant was issued by a court (President 2). The reaffirming of compensation for military service outside Poland on behalf of the crown was reaffirmed with the additional stipulation that the King could not call for mobilization of the army or enact conscription without the consent of the Szlachta and a guarantee that all "high offices", such as membership in the Senate or any positions of authority in the realm, were to be restricted to the Szlachta only (President 2).

The Privilege of Piotrków in 1496 declared that members of the Szlachta were the only individuals allowed to buy, sell, and own land, have access to high offices in the church, and the introduction of serfdom in Poland through peasants only being allowed to leave their village once per year and only one family member could move into a city (President 2). In 1501, the Privilege of Mielnik was decreed by Alexander I Jagiełłon in which all legislative initiative was transferred from the King, to the Sejm (President 2).

In 1505, the "Nihil Novi" act was adopted by the Polish Sejm, considered the first constitution in Poland's history (President 2). The full title of the act was "Nihil novi nisi commune consensu" or "Nothing new without the common consent" and in vernacular Polish as "Nothing about us without us". This declared that the King could pass no law without the consent of the entire Sejm except for laws dealing with royal cities, crown lands, and the peasants on them, mines, and Jews (President 2).

Even though the power of the Szlachta had been firmly and unquestionably established through the multiple acts, the Sejm would force a newly elected King to sign a series of contracts and articles. The first was called the "Pacta conventa" or "articles of agreement," which was a legal document drawn up by the Sejm upon the result of the Election and its winner (Bardach 216). If the newly elected monarch refused to sign, his election was invalidated, and another would take place. The document changed with each election to reflect the promises made by different kings while they were candidates, such as King Władysław IV's commitment to create a navy for the Commonwealth was included in the document (Bardach 216). One part of the document did not change with each new election however; the affirming of the newly elected King to respect the laws of the Commonwealth and to abide by his promises made during his election (Bardach 216).

The second was called the Henrician Articles, named after Henry III Valois since he was the first made to sign them before his ascension in 1573, and coronation in 1574 (Bardach 220). These articles functioned as the new constitution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the creation of a new constitution in 1791 (Bardach 220). These 18 articles became part of the royal oath to officially become King and were the condition on which he was allowed to ascend to the throne through his swearing of commitment to them (Bardach 220).The Articles stated that Kings of the Commonwealth were chosen through election by the Szlachta, and his children had no right of claims or inheritance to the throne of the Commonwealth (Bardach 221). They stated that the King had to gain the approval of the Sejm before marrying, but other members of the King's family did not require the Sejm's permission (Jedruch 64). The King was also forbidden from levying any taxes or tariffs without the consent of the Sejm (Bardach 221). It was required of the King to call a general assembly of the Sejm at least once every two years for 6 weeks at a time (Bardach 221). While the Sejm was not in session, 16 Senators from the upper house of the Sejm were to serve as advisors to the King and were elected at the general assembly every two years, with 4 of them required to be with the King at all times so that no law "contrary to the laws of the Commonwealth" was made (Bardach 222). In addition, all royal decrees, stamped with the King's seal, had to be stamped by the Chancellor's seal (Bardach 222). The King could not call a mobilization of the army without the consent of the entire Sejm, and he could not send troops outside the borders of the nation without promise of pay for the soldiers and compensation to the Szlachta for the use of their men (Bardach 222). The King was also made responsible for the upkeep of the Royal Army, the Commonwealth's standing army of 2500 cavalrymen through money earned from the crown lands of the Commonwealth (Bardach 222). The 16th century equivalent of out of pocket costs. The King was also forbidden from declaring war and negotiating peace without the consent of the entire Sejm (Bardach 222).

The last two of the Henrician Articles are particularly important. The second to last article stated that the King must abide by the Warsaw Confederation's guarantee of religious freedom within the Commonwealth (Bardach 224). The Warsaw Confederation had been

adopted in 1573 by the Sejm and was the first European act granting religious freedoms to both the Szlachta and to the common man (Sugar 301). It was written and agreed upon shortly after the death of the last Jagiełłon King, Sigismund II Augustus, in an effort to keep the diverse Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth together and prevent possible instability (Sugar 301). There is also reason to believe that its adoption was the result of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France when anywhere from 5,000 to 30,000 Huguenots were killed by Catholic mobs. Since the King could only ever be a Catholic, and the new soon to be King of the Commonwealth was a French Catholic, the Szlachta within the Commonwealth were determined to never allow a King to be able to sanction such an act within the Commonwealth (Sugar 303). Tolerance had been a policy of the Kings of Poland since 1296, in which separate courts for Jews and Christians were established and reaffirmed since (Sugar 303). In the case of the Warsaw Confederation, representatives from all religions of the kingdom, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians, Jews, and Muslims, came together to declare mutual support for each other (Sugar 301). The magnitude of this is reinforced when knowing less than 50 years after the act was passed in 1573, that in the early to mid-17th century Europe would be ravaged and destroyed by the sectarian violence of the Thirty Years War, from which the Commonwealth would escape unscathed. The Confederation had such a significant and lasting result that it was included in UNESCO's "Memory of the World Programme" in 2003 (UNESCO).

The final point in the Henrician Articles stated that if the King were to ever act against the law or attempt to violate the rights of the Szlachta, the nobility were authorized by the Articles to refuse the King's orders and act against him (Bardach 226). This practice was called "Rokosz," which originally referred to the gathering of all noblemen for a Sejm and before that was Hungarian and referred to gatherings for their own royal elections specifically in a field named Rákos, (Bardach 226) about 10 kilometers from Budapest. (IBusz)The term gradually came to mean and refer to the armed, legal, rebellion of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility against the King (Bardach 226). A "Rokosz" was only called twice in the history of the Commonwealth. Once being when King Sigismund III was dethroned due to his attempts to weaken the Sejm and turn the elective monarchy of the Commonwealth into a hereditary one. And the second, brought on by the King trying to name a successor and bypass the election process was called the "Chicken War" due to the magnates complaining it "accomplished nothing but the destruction of the local chicken population" (Bardach 227). Disagreement among the nobles resulted in a compromise in which the King was forbidden to name his successor while still alive (Bardach 227).

It has to be noted that by the 1570s, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was described by both Polish and outside authors as "respublica mixta" or a "mixed republic" (Noailles 38). Though not thought of as the modern definition of a republic today, before the English Civil War, "mixed" governments, or those containing elements of monarchy and popular government centered on the common good was seen as what a republic represented (Hankins 456). Before becoming King of Poland-Lithuania, Henry Valois was told was told of the country by his advisors in France that, "this realm is a republique meslée of King, optimates, and popular government" (Noailles 38). Irish historian and physician Connor Bernard in his writings from the time he spent in Poland-Lithuania in the late 1600s, stated, "the Polish Gentry, of a kind of Monarchical Government, have in time made a perfect Republic, consisting of three Orders; the King, Senate, and Gentry; which they call the Nobility." This system was championed by political theorists and philosophers like James Harrington in his book, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, saying that a functioning, "mixed" government in which the Senate served to check both the King and the "people" was the ideal solution to act and ordeal of governance.

The influence of the Polish-Lithuanian thought and system is enshrined in the American Constitution, according to Quentin Skinner, founder of the "Cambridge School of History of Political Thought", saying the "monarch was merely replaced by the president." Evidence

survives detailing the discussions of the Polish-Lithuanian system during the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. Delegates such as James Madison admired the fact that the rule of the Kings of the Commonwealth was conditional, yet still had wide ranging executive powers and the ability to both propose legislation and control the agenda of the Sejm, and that the singular right to name individuals to office rested with the King (Rosu 10). A letter from Thomas Jefferson, while he was minister to France in 1787 to James Madison, discusses the Commonwealth by commenting on the fact that since the Constitution did not forbid the unlimited reelection of the "first magistrate," and that he would then "be an officer for life" (Jefferson). As such it could bring the office of the President closer to that of the King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Jefferson's comparison of a continually elected president as no more than elected monarch was meant to expresses negativity and doubt of the current lack of a rule limiting the times an individual could be elected to the office of what was to become the Presidency of the United States (Rosu 11). Alexander Hamilton and his compatriots agreed on how one could see the similarity, but they did not see why it was a point of complaint. Alexander Hamilton had argued for either the infinite reelection or the election of a candidate for life and had put forth the argument that any system could be considered republican as long it involved elections and the ability to impeach the executive (Rosu 11).

The system of electing the Kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was complex and those that were represented, the Szlachta, equated to around 10% of the country. This was large however in comparison to the other parts of Europe, where the nobility represented around 1% of the population. The idea and notion that the King could not do as he pleased and had to sign a physical contract saying his position of authority came not from God but from the legislature and "people" of the Commonwealth was a revolutionary and unique system in Europe and in the world until the foundation later on of constitutional monarchies and republics. The ability and determination of the Szlachta to assert the rights given to them all the way back to medieval times, and not to give in to the King because he was supposedly God's representative on Earth, sent a powerful message. That individuals and groups can and will stand against what they perceive is detrimental to their rights as members of a nation and its government.

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INFORMATION AND DEMOCRACY: THE SURGE IN THE ILLIBERAL INFORMATION CONTROL PRACTICES OF POLAND AND HUNGARY

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Abstract:
Liberal democratic practices in conjunction with the stagnant European project have not satisfied the interests of the Polish and Hungarian States. These States have encroached upon their constitutionally provided press, media, and speech freedom with the purpose of constructing and pushing a state agenda which seeks to reignite a powerfully exclusive sense of national identity. Consequently, they successfully alienate their citizens from the European Union Project. These nations have also taken to disrupt their internal systems of checks and balances with the purpose of legitimizing the erosion of their previously growing democracies. Through increasing State control over the information that flows within their democratic structures, these nations have encroached upon their citizens' rights to freely access accurate information and participate in their democratic processes.

Keywords: *Control, Hungary, Information, Media, Poland, Freedom, Illiberal*

1. INTRODUCTION

> *"Democracy must be built through open societies that share information. When there is information, there is enlightenment. When there is debate, there are solutions. When there is no sharing of power, no rule of law, no accountability, there is abuse, corruption, subjugation and indignation."*
>
> *- Atifete Jahjaga, Former President of Kosovo*

The information we have access to shapes the way we think and act. A government which excels in information control can control its citizens' attitudes and behaviors. The stage of history has presented this play many times in the past. Let us remember the lives of people in societies of repression, as were the countries in Central and Eastern Europe when Soviet Communism ruled. The freedom of speech of citizens in these countries ended where State criticism began. The only ways of exercising both freedom of thought and the right to life was in perilous secrecy or powerless exile.

Today we live in the digital age, where technology has effectively connected every corner of the globe with access to the worldwide web. Statistics show that, on average, people spend 135 minutes on social media every day, in which they are exposed to memes, opinions, anecdotes, and news (both true and false). In the documentary titled "The Human Face of Big Data", it was calculated that "the typical person in the Western world is now exposed to as much data in one day as someone in the 15th century would have seen in their entire life".

Governments and citizens have rapidly understood the potential power of technology and information; those who effectively manage and spread information and are listened to are, for all modern purposes, powerful. Technology has raised the stakes higher than ever, as well as the value of truthful information. A free and uncensored media which is legally and ethically compromised with truth will play a role in whether or not humanity will repeat the behaviors that have before led to hate, war, and decades of personal unfreedom.

In the last years in Central Europe (henceforth referred to as CE), the governments of Poland and Hungary have engaged in the deliberate and systematic control of the information that reaches the public regarding topics of national concern, such as immigration, and the degree to which the separate branches of government can independently manage the information they are responsible for. This analysis will focus on the ex-communist countries of Poland and Hungary because of their mutual support of each other's present illiberal advances. As the polish saying goes: "Polak, Węgier, dwa bratanki, i do szabli, i do szklanki! (Pole, Hungarian, two brothers, to the sword and to the glass!)".

Today more than ever before in the history of the human species, it is essential to become proficient in the search and discernment of truth the ocean of disinformation. To safeguard these relatively new democracies we have to understand how the increasingly illiberal regimes of Poland and Hungary are engaging in control of the flow of information and to what extent these actions are impairing their citizens' rights and duties to be engaged and educated citizens. At the risk of not answer this question, we endanger Poles' and Hungarians' right to free access of information, their nations' democratic structures, and the integrity of the European Union,

Both countries have used and continue to use a variety of mechanisms of information control which advance and deter State and Citizen agendas. In this paper, these actions will be measured up before Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which defends every human being's "right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Furthermore, this paper will explore the legality of the Poland and Hungary's information flow control within their respective legal frameworks, and in case they are found to be breaking their established laws, seek by which mechanisms the regimes can be held accountable.

2. POLAND'S ILLIBERAL STREAMLINE

The Republic of Poland's law is laid out in the articles that conform the country's post-Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1997. Articles 14 and 54 of the Polish Constitution concern freedom of the press and exchange of information; Article 213 safeguards the people's right of public freedom of speech by appointing the National Council of Radio and Television Broadcast (KRRiT) to the task of ensuring media remains uncensored. The members of this council are appointed by the Executive powers and candidates to the position may not belong to a political party nor a trade union.

Poland has been led by the right-wing Law and Justice (PiS) Party since 2015. Since the election of the party, Poland has seen a considerable decrease in its freedom of press as well as an increase in disinformation. An overt and notable incidence of information control was the exclusion of the constitutionally appointed KRRiT in the appointment of members to the country's public broadcasters' new management and supervisory boards. A new organism known as the National Media Council was created to uphold those functions. The event occurred in 2016 and was declared unconstitutional by the Polish Constitutional Court, nevertheless the decision was ignored by the National Media Council and the Executive Power. Dawid Jackiewicz, the Treasury Minister and chairman of the National Media Council, selected the management and the supervisory boards for Telewizja Polska (TVP), the only public television broadcaster in the country, and owner of 29 channels including an international broadcasting channel; and Polskie Radio, which owns over 17 radio channels. The Polish Press Agency, the largest state-owned news agency, also had its leadership named by other members

of the National Media Council. Following the establishment of the new appointing body, Polish media has been consistently accused of shamelessly promoting state propaganda.

The Polish government has repeatedly afflicted the objectivity of the free press. In early 2018, the entry to a conference in Warsaw's constitutional tribunal in which Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and PiS Party Leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski were present, was denied to journalists reporting for independent sources. Another journalist wrote that the government officials were afraid of answering questions for journalists who did not belong to state-owned media, which happened to be the only type of journalists allowed inside the conference. Forbidding neutral third-parties from reporting on government discussions as well as the dissolution of the boundaries between government powers is highly threatening for a country's democratic integrity. This situation, which is fundamentally an act of censorship, is surrounded by the forced removal of over 200 journalists in national media outlets. The government's tendency to remove journalists which do not align with PiS's narrative has encouraged journalists to engage in the dangerous practice of self-censorship, where journalists willingly refuse to inquire on matters that defy the interests of state representatives. The Polish government has effectively repurposed its media to present the State in an exclusively positive, albeit false, light. According to Freedom House, a US-based independent watchdog organization dedicated to the expansion of freedom and democracy around the world, Poland has a "Partly Free" Media, scoring a 34/100 (where 0 is the best score).

Citizen misinformation erodes the system of checks and balances that exists in the vertical checking system between its government and citizens. Apathy of public opinion, the rule of law, and an effective control of information allowed the Law and Justice party to boldly take control of the Constitutional Tribunal and the National Council of the Judiciary (tasked with appointing judges) in mid-2018. This is the main reason why the Polish government has been labelled as an illiberal regime by the international community. In response to this illegal move, the European Union has triggered Article 7 of the European Union Treaty on Poland, thus beginning the process to suspend the nation's EU voting rights. However, these legal efforts seem to be futile as the Polish government is refusing to backtrack on their actions. On the contrary, President Andrzej Duda has doubled down and further disinformed the public on state owned television: "They lie when they say that there are changes in Poland that lead to violations of the rule of law because we are improving democratic standards." (Deutsche Welle, 2018). Furthermore, Hungary has stated it will proceed to veto Article 7. Because the Article requires unanimous approval by the EU community, this action will ensure the continuation of the country's illiberal practices. The same will be done by Poland in favor of Hungary as that nation also is being threatened by the EU's Article 7. Considering that polish courts are owned by the executive power now, it seems virtually impossible that any degree of effective legal action will be taken against the state within Poland.

Furthermore, in a blatant attempt to rewrite history, PiS signed into law a statute that fines or jails people who link Nazi atrocities in Polish soil with the Polish government. This action is a gross overuse of power to erase one of the many dark chapters in polish history and replace it with an excuse that will support the Polish government's nationalist agenda. Acts of self-victimization elicit pity for Polish history, especially from those Poles who are undereducated in their own history (generally the lower-class population). And that is a lot to say, as Polish history, not restrained to the XX century, is a considerably large part of the Polish public education curriculum. In addition to that, walking in any major Polish city will reveal dozens of well-preserved monuments alluding to the nation's past and its identity's resilience in the face of the horrors of war and repeated attempts of decimation. Pity transforms into resentment, which turns into anger: a fertile ground for populism to take root in and to sell nationalistic dreams. This strategic play on the populace's psychology is one of the reasons why Polish support for government and media increased, from 2017 to 2018, by 5% and 3% to reach

25% and 34% respectively. Nevertheless, between 66 and 70% of Poles are afraid that media and fake news can be used as a weapon. (Edelman, 2018).

The Polish Panoptykon Foundation, named after Jeremy Bentham's theoretical perfect prison which ensures absolute surveillance over its prisoners, is dedicated to defending citizens' rights over their personal information. The Foundation reports that the Polish government introduced the Data Retention Directive in 2009, which allows the government to collect and store citizens' metadata for up to two years, the highest legal limit as per EU laws. Metadata is essentially data about data; for example, data on the general trends of a citizen's location, call and message patterns, website visiting, and any other activity that leaves digital traces. The Polish government has justified the collection of data with one single concrete pretext: "Because of its geographical location and military involvement in Afghanistan, Poland is likely to be used as a transfer point for trafficking heroin, especially by the soldiers themselves." According to a 2010 report by the European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction, heroin trafficking corresponds with only 7% of all drug transport in the country. In 2016 that figure rose to 13%. Heroin does not even figure in the top 5 seized drugs.

These facts raise doubts as to the necessity for Polish citizens' data to be collected and retained for the highest legal time period. It must also be mentioned that telecommunications data is stored for periods longer than 2 years, against European Law, for commercial and law enforcement purposes. All agencies dealing with investigation services have legal access to the collected data. In 2010, the government demonstrated its willingness to use fear tactics to discourage a journalistic investigation when it allowed secret services to subject well-known journalists working on a high-profile case to surveillance (Czuchnowski 2010). Such actions, in combination with a high degree of secrecy covering the mechanisms by which data is collected, stored, and provided are testament to the Polish Government's systematic violation of its citizens' rights to their information and the principles of data protection. The Panoptykon Foundation initiated legal action against the government and petitioned the span of data retention to be reduced to one year and high scrutinization of the entities requesting access to metadata. The Foundation's legal action successfully changed the government's attitude and actions to data collection and effectively diminished the possibility for malignant actions to be taken with the use of data. Nevertheless, the government continues to collect its citizens' information. In fact, in the recent Conference of the Parties 24 (COP24) in Katowice, data collection and surveillance were revamped.

As the analysis has demonstrated, the Polish government is progressively tightening its control over the flow of information in the country. It is effectively taking over its free media and replacing it with pro-government media used to push state agendas; it has engaged in storing the metadata of its citizens with a weak pretext; and has eroded its democratic institutions, which are relatively new and enjoyed consistent improvement since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Polish government is not explicitly violating the people's free access to information, as media still exists in the country. However, the information the people receive is a victim of state interference and its consequent bias. And in that sense, the Polish state could be held accountable for the violation of Article 19. Furthermore, the possibility for Poles to hold their government accountable for their illiberal practices is threatened by those illiberal advances themselves. The Polish government has put at stake the integrity of their State. Freedom is instinctual for Poles, and sooner or later they will realize the rhyming verses of their past and present. In the land of the Golden Freedom, its opaque flow of information waits to be polished once again.

3. THE ILLIBERAL CASE OF HUNGARY

Hungary has taken the most vocal illiberal information control stance in Europe. Since 2010, the Hungarian government has been led by Prime Minister Viktor Orban of the Fidesz party. The main mechanism of information control has been the systematic absorption of digital and print media by the state apparatus. In early December of 2018, the Hungarian government confirmed the exemption of the Central European Press and Media Foundation, the nation's largest news conglomerate and owner of over 400 media sources, from scrutiny by competing media outlets. The conglomerate had been formed earlier this year by PM Orban loyalists. Amongst the channels owned by the conglomerate is Hir TV, Hungary's 3ʳᵈ most popular TV network, which up until August 2018 aired news critical of Orban's government. Due to a shift in leadership in Hir TV, notable opposing journalists of Orban's policies were coerced into quitting their jobs and replaced by pro-Orban journalists. This is just one example of media outlets being stripped of their independent status. 31 Hungarian news outlets took a pro-government stance in 2017; in 2018 that number was cranked up to over 500. Freedom House considers Hungary as a country with a "Partly Free" media and scores a 44/100 in media freedom; ten points worse than Poland.

It is noteworthy that the methods by which the Hungarian state is absorbing the nation's media is not overt exertion of power over them. Instead, the government has subtly encroached upon the independence of media by making legal, albeit illiberal, shifts in leadership and economic coercion. In April 2018, *Magyar Nemzet,* Hungary's last independent daily newspaper was shut down, stating it was due to a lack of financial resources (Kelly, 2018). Despite its reporting objectivity, the newspaper was funded by the government, and because the newspaper refused to run state advertisements, their funds were cut. Hungary's undisclosed intent of media takeover is frightening. A Budapest based Al-Jazeera journalist confirmed that "the Hungarian state media authority has not denied any of the evidence that the government issues editorial directives to public and private media outlets". In another interview with Al-Jazeera, Prime Minister Orban affirmed that he is "convinced that an essential part of national sovereignty is having the majority of a media system in national hands". According to a 2016 report by Mérték Media Monitor, "41 percent of journalists and 52 percent of editors reported that they had concealed a political fact to avoid adverse consequences, and 47 percent of responding journalists said they had experienced political pressure."

Just as Poland, Hungary's media trust lingers with a small percentage of the population. The Reuters Institute observes that "Hungary also suffers from low trust in institutions in general (media trust lingers at 29%), while there tends to be a strong reliance on personal, informal networks which helps to explain the high usage of social media in Hungary, though it is worth noting, if slightly surprising, that only 27% trust the news accessed this way." Furthermore, it is the norm that "corruption cases uncovered by the press and media entail no moral, political or legal consequences, possibly because, according to a recent opinion survey by Median Public Opinion and Market Research Ltd., less than 10 percent of the population has an intense interest in politics". Citizens play a critical role in holding its government accountable, but that occurs only in States in which citizens exert their political will and the government has a functioning system of checks and balances. As we will see further on, this is not the case of Hungary. The lack of consequences for Hungary's illiberal advances are due not only to internal deficiencies, but also external powerlessness of enforcing any effective measures against Fidesz. The main action the EU can take against governments opposing EU standards of transparency and liberality is trigger Article 7. This process is ongoing in Hungary as well as in Poland; however, both countries have resolved to ally themselves in their illiberality and have vowed to veto each other's Article 7 vote.

Ironically enough, freedom of the press is enshrined in the Hungarian constitution. In Article IX, Section 4 of the Constitution it is stated that "the right to freedom of speech may not be exercised with the aim of violating the human dignity of others". Hungarian independent media has been whitewashed by a state-imposed narrative which demonizes certain state enemies, as we will see with the case of George Soros and immigrants of Arab and African precedence. In Orban's official website, he states the four pillars of his government are "competitiveness, a workfare society, demographic policy, and identity-based politics". The first two values refer to Hungary's economic development, which is beyond the scope of this essay. Demographic policy largely refers to the reluctance the government has shown towards accepting refugees. Hungary has refused to *openly* accept any immigrants applying for asylum; however, in violation of one of its own main promises, the Hungarian government quietly accepted 1216 asylum seekers in 2017 (Pivarnyik, 2018). Of those 1216, 83% came from war-torn regions in Africa and the Middle East. This was done in other to comply with the EU's migrant acceptance quota. In other years Hungary has failed to meet this quota. (Helsinki Immigration Report, 2018)

The contradiction runs deeper than just secret acceptance of refugees. Since 2015, Fidesz party has run a delegitimizing campaign against billionaire George Soros, a Hungarian-born Jew who emigrated to the United States. Soros has a variety of investments in Hungary, amongst which is the Open Society Foundation, an NGO concerned with the advancement of liberal civil society, and the Central European University. Because both organizations are in favor of the acceptance of migrants, the Hungarian government has taken to accuse George Soros for undermining national sovereignty and identity. Soros exerts his power in Hungary through his NGOs and the promotion of liberal values, which are in direct contradiction with the State's agenda. The pillar of identity-based politics is a watered-down euphemism for a Christian nationalist agenda with all the strings of xenophobia and racism attached. These values seek to highlight the importance of Hungary's Christian history, which serves as glue for the notion of a Hungarian identity, one of Orban's and Fidesz' main appeals. In a speech given by Orban in 2018, he said "Liberal democracy is liberal, while [Hungarian] Christian democracy is, by definition, not liberal: it is, if you like, illiberal". Orban and his government claim national heritage is threatened by the waves of incoming migrants leaving war-zones and abject poverty in the Middle East and Africa, which, based on the number of refugees that are actually in the country and apply for refugee status, is an absurd claim. Freedom House reports that in honor of George Soros and the fake claims of his desires to undermine Hungarian sovereignty, Fidesz introduced the "Stop Soros" legislation. The bill aims to impose a 25% tax on all NGOs "helping migrants legalize their status in Hungary by distributing information about the asylum process or providing them with financial assistance." The same law seeks imprisonment for individuals who aim to help. It is not often one sees a government actively pursuing its citizens and potential citizens are ignorant of the law.

The Hungarian government is also beginning to effectively control education. A New York Times article reports that "the latest eighth-grade history textbook, students are told that Mr. Orban thinks refugees are a threat to Hungary — and then encouraged to believe he is right. 'It can be problematic,' the book concludes, 'for different cultures to coexist.'" If the claim is true, then the Hungarian government is effectively re-educating the upcoming generations to live in the Hungary the party, and not necessarily the people, envision. Much less so in the Hungary, and Europe, that are being inevitably transformed by the pressures of conflict and war in parts of the Middle East and Africa. Furthermore, pushes from the Hungarian government have succeeded in relocating Soros's Central European University to a new campus in Vienna. Prior to that the Hungarian government made illegal any university curriculums dealing with Gender Studies and all migration related research. The number of students enrolled in Media and Communications has also considerably decreased, from over 2500 in the early 2000's to

only 852 in 2016; a 66% decrease (Medialandscape, 2018). These courses are mainly taught by academics who lack professional backgrounds in the field. This leaves the future of Hungarian media and journalism in an extremely perilous position. With a lack of well-formed and informed journalists, state run media outlets stand against no relevant opposition. Hence, the government is free to shape the image of Hungary it desires to show its citizens.

In a similar case to Poland, the Hungarian government has made advances to reform its judiciary branch and constitution. The Helsinki Human Rights Association reports that the government has taken to limit the Constitutional Court's powers to review the constitutionality of laws". In a series of illiberal moves, the party has managed to remove independent judges in the courts and limit the free interpretation of Hungarian laws (as per Bill T/332). In this case, Hungary's actions are not necessarily unconstitutional, as the Hungarian Fundamental Law does not explicitly provide a guarantee for the independence and organization of the judiciary.

Whilst writing this paper I reached out to a number of independent Hungarian news sources with the purpose of understanding the situation from within Hungary; I was met with no response. The future for the free flow of accurate information is Hungary is uncertain and will probably continue down its present path for the coming years, as long as this government stays in power. In liberal democracies, different branches of government would strongly keep each other on check using the rule of law. However, as the judicial power is unobjective in its judgements, holding the government accountable for its control of free access to information in and out of Hungary seems like a farfetched goal.

4. WHAT CAN THE EUROPEAN UNION DO?

It is ironic to think that Article 7, the European Union's "nuclear" sanction, is completely useless due to the mutual cooperation of Poland and Hungary. Much of what the EU can do in order to begin tackling the resurgence of illiberalism and information control is to begin by assigning a variety of commissions to gain a detailed understanding of how exactly these advances are affecting citizens' participation in their political processes as well as in the participation in European integration. The Visegrad Insight Magazine published an issue where the future of Central Europe was discussed. As a suggestion for the EU's actions to combat Poland and Hungary's illiberal advance, is "a clear and principled stance by EU institutions on the rule of law in individual member states". The suggestion seems obvious, because it is. The EU has failed to stand up strongly against the illiberal practices of Poland and Hungary. This negligence is extremely dangerous in the face of the rise of global nationalist and increasingly illiberal movements. If other countries find these models appealing, as is being seen in countries such as Brazil, Nicaragua, and Turkey, we may see the very practice of democracy in serious danger in the coming years. The Helsinki Institute for Human Rights recommends the "EU Agency for Fundamental Rights to engage in further research to document ways in which the judicial independence is increasingly subject to assault in a growing number of EU Member States.". These two previous suggestions would jointly improve the EU's capability of enforcing laws and sanctions against countries which violate the EU's democratic standards. For the same reason, authors at Visegrad Insight propose that Europe needs to invest more time and money in understanding the countries' "regional dynamics, politics, and societal sentiments of broader European decision makers". This solution aims to tackle the ongoing replacement of united European values with nationalistic attitudes and behaviors.

In dealing directly with the question of media, there should also be an increase in media investments accompanied by a new benchmark of quality which all state-owned media should abide by. This new framework must necessarily include legally enshrined neutral criteria which allows the continuation of both liberal and conservative media in order to have a balanced

understanding of political and socio-economic issues. In order for this new benchmark to be achieved, there should also be a greater focus on journalist training and harsh and enforceable consequences for those journalists whose reports are unverifiable or deliberately sensationalist. What must improve is the demand for quality journalism, and what most certainly must not happen at any level of political decision making is censorship of media in any of its shapes and forms.

What must accompany this increased investment in media is the cultivation of the duty of discernment of truth from sensationalism and disinformation by citizens. This cultivation must begin early on in education, which must undergo a number of reforms so as to better include the ethical use of technology. In parallel, there must be an improved cultivation of the sense of citizenship since early ages in order for people to be more engaged with their political realities and prevent malignant governments from taking advantage of citizens' negligence of their political duties.

5. CONCLUSION

"Censorship no longer works by hiding information from you; censorship works by flooding you with immense amounts of misinformation, of irrelevant information, of funny cat videos, until you're just unable to focus"

- Yuval Noah Harari, Homo Deus

This investigation was limited by a language barrier which prevented the access the respective countries' national news media to evaluate its content. This is the reason why there was not larger examination on the topic of fake news. Furthermore, the norm is that the most inflammatory fake news articles find their origin outside their respective countries: usually, as has been examined in the past, they come from Russia and their intense global disinformation campaign (for more information, research the actions and content of the different versions of Sputnik news). Furthermore, many more actions have been taken in the illiberal advances of both countries, but due to time constraints not all these actions were identified in the paper. Nevertheless, the most relevant actions have been included.

The benefits of disinformation and information control for the acquisition and maintenance for power have led governments to deliberately invest time, energy, and money to control the information citizens have access to. With attempts of rewriting History, the present is polarized and fragmented. Truth is subjected to irrelevance in favor of incendiary and attractive untruths, and trust in government institutions and media outlets have direly decreased. Consequently, citizens' rights to freedom of expression and informed democratic participation have been impaired.

What the yet unpunished, illiberal cases of Poland and Hungary show is that the European Union is still not strong enough to enforce laws and punishments that will effectively force a nation to retract on its illiberal advances. What this shows is that there is still yet a lot of work to be done in order to prioritize regional and global identity over more localized or national identities. It is also highly concerning the freedom with which Poland and Hungary can use digital technologies, which remain wildly unregulated and without ethical precedents of use. Such flaws in one of the world's pillar socioeconomic regions are unacceptable in our every globalizing world. More so, if the trend of illiberalism catches on to other countries, and the agenda against relatively petty threats such as immigration becomes a priority, we run the risk of losing sight of the greater threats of global warming, technological disruption, and even nuclear war.

Furthermore, the severity with which these nations are treated in consequence of the control of media and information, by which they create their national realities, will set the precedent for how we deal with the same problem in other nations. Force and violence will never be acceptable solutions for the scope of such problems, nevertheless a light approach to this issue will not rectify nations which have already proven indifferent to such a weak approach.

Information will continue to be created in exponentially higher quantities, thus bombarding citizens with information in which objectivity will be proportionally difficult to identify. Facts like these are strong reasons for the vital realization of the role media and the press are to play in the world of today and tomorrow in *helping* citizens discern truth from lies, more than simply telling them what is true and what isn't, according to media itself and other powerful parties. Educated and engaged citizens are the only kryptonite against tyranny.

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ISRAEL'S VIOLATION OF WEST BANK PALESTINIANS RIGHTS IN RELATION TO LAND

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Abstract:

The topic for my research paper revolves around human rights' violations pertaining to Israel's occupation and settlement of Palestinian territories in the West Bank. Since the beginning of Israel's military occupation and eventual settlements of the West Bank in 1967 and throughout the early 1980s, the Israeli government has continuously violated the Palestinian people's human rights. This includes violation of the destruction of the Palestinian people's personal property, and capturing of vital water sources needed for life and prosperity. This subject continues to be an ongoing issue of high contention in the international political field. However, by looking at the origin of how this violation of land actually affected individuals' human rights, I hope to bring focus to how the world has a responsibility to represent and defend the rights of those who are unable to represent themselves.

Keywords: *Israel, Occupation, Palestine, West Bank*

1. INTRODUCTION

In June of 1967, Israel fought and defended itself in a decisive and unexpected victory over the Arab states of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Although this victory was a great success to the long term standing of Israel, what resulted in the years from 1967 until the Oslo Accords in 1993 can be seen as a massive abuse of power from the state of Israeli towards the Palestinian population, especially in the West Bank of the country. As the Israeli government grew in size and influence within the West Bank between the Six Day War and the Oslo Accords, so did their abuses towards the Palestinian population. A country that some could argue whose existence rests on the results of a human rights catastrophe, can be seen repeating crimes of the same nature onto others. Blatantly disregarding various articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, demolishing personal property, and seizing essential natural resources was common throughout the early years of Israel's newfound victory. Since the beginning of Israel's military occupation and eventual settlements of the West Bank in 1967 until the early 1990s, the Israeli government has continuously violated the Palestinian people's human rights in relation to land within the West Bank. This includes violation of the Palestinian people's freedom of movement, destruction of the Palestinian people's personal property, and capturing of vital water sources needed for life and prosperity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a significant achievement in the history of human rights. This document, which was composed by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, helps set a common standard of rights and abilities for all peoples of all nations. The Declaration was affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 as General Assembly resolution 217 A[1]. The declaration's 30 articles all have a specific focus towards the protection of individuals. Some refer to individual rights, such as the right to life and the prohibition of slavery, others to constitutional liberties, and articles 12–17 establish the rights of the

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[1] The United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."
https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].

individual towards the community, including the freedom of movement[2]. Freedom of movement is defined by the UDHR as "a citizen of a state in which that citizen is present has the liberty to travel, reside in, and/or work in any part of the state where one pleases within the limits of respect for the liberty and rights of others"[3]. Unfortunately, Palestinians living in the West Bank of Israel, they are deprived of this freedom. Palestinians lack the ability to freely move about their land without being stopped by checkpoints, road barriers, and other nuisances all enforced by the Israeli government, which effectively violates the Palestinians 13th article right of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The history behind Israel's West Bank is one of frequent ownership and contention, but not one of restricted movement. As a result of the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, Jordan captured the West Bank, only to sacrifice control of the area to Israel during the 1967 Six Day War, evoking a large amount of change for the Palestinians in the years that followed. In these short six days, Israel brought more than one million Palestinians under its direct control in the West Bank and other victorious areas. As a result of the 1967 war Israel suddenly found itself the country with the largest Palestinian population. The Israeli ownership soon began to transform the former Jordanian area, and by 1977 some 11,000 Israelis had established living in the West Bank and other surrounding Palestinian areas, and Palestinian settlers would soon see their lives and ability to move freely infringed upon as Israel extended their control over the West Bank.

For Palestinians living in the West Bank, their freedom of movement was not always blocked by the Israeli government, but at the conclusion of the Oslo Accords, saw the Israeli government begin to encroach on their human rights within the West Bank. B'Tselem, a Jerusalem-based non-profit organization that aims to document and end human rights violations in the Israeli-occupied territories, describes the early occupation of the West Bank after the 1967 war as non-combative and peaceful. "Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip could travel almost entirely freely. Tens of thousands worked in Israel. Palestinians from the West Bank, Gaza and Israel maintained family ties; students from Gaza studied in West Bank universities; and extensive trade took place among Palestinians, no matter where they lived"[4]. This situation made it easy for Palestinians to work, travel, and maintain a basic foundation for everyday life, even under otherwise oppressive conditions. These freedoms, however, soon gave way to mounting restrictions on the area. This can be highlighted with the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, a set of agreements between the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). These accords divided the West Bank into three sections: Area A, the major cities, where Palestinians were to have full reign and control; Area B, where Israel would be in charge of matters like security while the Palestinians handled all civilian matters. Area A and B is where most of the Palestinian population lived, and were not adjoining but are rather comprised of 165 smaller islands of land.[5] The Oslo Accords also established Area C, which would be under full Israeli control. Area C is contiguous, surrounding the enclaves defined as Areas A and B, and accounts for nearly 60% of the West Bank. These accords also laid out a five-year timetable for resolving all areas of conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Instead of meeting these timetables for de-escalation of conflict, the Israeli government has continued to keep Palestinians living in Area C and B under tight restrictions, including impeding on their right to free movement.

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[2] The United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."
https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[3] The United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."
https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[4] B'Tselem "Restrictions on Movement." https://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[5] B'Tselem "Reality Check: Almost Fifty Years of Occupation".
https://www.btselem.org/download/201606_reality_check_eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].

The restriction of movement that applies to Palestinians living in Areas C and B is a stoppage of travel that had unfavorable consequences for citizens living within the West Bank, especially when coupled with mandatory military checkpoints and other roadblocks. Israel began controlling all crossing points between the West Bank and Israel, as well as all the roads leading to Areas A and B[6]. If that was not enough, Israel also controls the freedom of movement in and out of the West Bank to Israel. This essentially enforces a rule that Palestinian residents of the West Bank cannot travel internationally without Israeli's approval, and foreign nationals cannot enter the West Bank without such approval[7]. This is not only a direct violation of Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, specifically the freedom to move about ones country freely. By not having the ability to travel within their country freely, it placed Palestinians at great risk by hindering them unable to escape violence or turmoil that frequently erupts in the occupied land. Restriction of movement as a result of checkpoints, combined with the need for travel permits, delayed access to hospitals for both patients and health workers within the West Bank, primarily targeted towards Palestinian settlers[8]. Israel uses the argument that by splitting up areas, the Palestinian Authority was/ is primarily responsible for administering the lives of most Palestinians living in the West Bank, therefore it is not Israel's responsibility for these restrictions to movement. However, in reality, it is Israel that controlled the entire West Bank and the lives of all Palestinian West Bank residents through this restriction of movement.[9]

The restrictions on freedom of movement enforced by the Israeli government would not be such a major issue, however if Israeli settlers did not occupy space within the West Bank. As researcher Shaw J. Dallal explains in his book, *Israeli Human Rights Violations And Palestinian Violence:* "The most offensive of Israel's violations of human rights… is the taking of land by Israeli authorities for settlements, military use, and in connection with major road plans, and the reclassification of communal areas as state law."[10] This violation of land comes with a slew of offenses committed against Palestinians, including destroying natural resources, overtaking land, and reports of forced removal for inhabits of the West Bank.

Following the Six Day War in 1967, there was little damage to the physical landscape of Israel and the involved Arab nations, such as Jordan. This quickly fell apart however, when Israeli Occupation Forces began to destroy villages and communities within the West Bank in an effort to boast their victory. Such accounts of force by the Israeli Defense Force includes the physical destruction and demolition of Palestinian homes: "without the cabinet approval, though most probably with Moshe Dayan's [Israel's Defense Minister during the Six Day War] approval trying to repeat the experience of 1948, to drive the Palestinians into exile and demolish their homes."[11] This physical ruin of Palestinian land forced thousands of Palestinians to flee their villages and towns to seek shelter out of the range of Israeli artillery bombardment, causing a large humanitarian crisis.[12] But the attacks on Palestinian homes did not subside with time, in fact it became a well used tool for the Israeli government to use against the West Bank population.

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[6] B'Tselem "Reality Check: Almost Fifty Years of Occupation" https://www.btselem.org/download/201606_reality_check_eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[7] B'Tselem "Reality Check: Almost Fifty Years of Occupation" https://www.btselem.org/download/201606_reality_check_eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[8] Worth, "Health and human rights in the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza", 295.
[9] B'Tselem "The Occupation in Its 51st Year" https://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files/publications/51st_year_of_occupation_eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].
[10] Dallal. "Israeli Human Rights Violations And Palestinian Violence", 115.
[11] Morris. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict*, p. 327.
[12] Darcy, Shane. "Israeli's Punitive House Demolition Policy: Collective Punishment In Violation Of International Law" https://web.stanford.edu/group/sper/images/darcy [Accessed November 01, 2018].

The demolishing of Palestinian homes is not a rare human right violation that occurs in the unlawfully occupied West Bank. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states very clearly in Article 17 that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."[13] However this has not been enforced by any formal authority in the West Bank, as Israel throughout the 1970s and 1980s demolish houses as a way of discrimination and punishment for Palestinians for simply existing in the West Bank, regardless of "area" location. One such instance was the fallout from *Daghlas et al v. Military Commander of the Judea and Samaria Region 1985,* where the Israeli High Court approved an official order by the Military Commander of the West Bank to demolish three homes of Palestinians suspected of stabbing an Israeli settler within the West Bank, on the grounds that they needed to pay for the crimes they committed. The High Court permitted the houses to be leveled, despite the fact that none of the suspects had been convicted and one had not even been detained.[14] A chain of living areas being leveled can be seen throughout the West Bank's history between 1967 and 1993 for nonviolent crimes as well, such as *Sabeach v. IDF Commander in Judea and Samaria* where a Palestinian's family home was destroyed for simply being related to a suicide bomber.[14] The lack of judicial representation for Palestinians and unjust response by the Israeli government represents the kind of discrimination and violations of property that Palestinians have faced since the 1967 war.

The kind of discrimination and mistreatment faced by Palestinians in regards to home demolishing by the Israeli Court system was not a rare occurrence, and coupled with an ability to enter any home unwarranted, highlights Israel's discrimination against the entire Palestinian population of the West Bank. It has been estimated by Israel's own authorities that approximately 1,224 houses had been destroyed between the years of 1967 and 1981.[15] Israel does not believe this form of punishment is unfair however, and the Israeli Courts' defense towards the matter is that they only destroy houses when they believe a Palestinian terror subject is thought to be living there. However, as seen in various case examples since 1967, the Israeli government has established a policy whereby the houses of suspected, detained, or convicted Palestinians are demolished as a punitive measure for their actual or suspected crimes.[16] The purpose behind this is to deter others from engaging or becoming involved in terrorist activity, and maintaining control over the population through extreme measures. All of which is legal and enforced by the judicial court system. To further the discrimination faced by Palestinians in an occupied land, as described by Dallal once more: "under occupation rules, military authorities can and do enter into private homes, places of worship, schools and other institutions without a warrant or prior judicial approval."[17] By having the ability to willingly enter into any Palestinian home without the need of a permit or any kind of warrant, only needing a suspicion of terrorism, the Israeli government was further able to discriminate and degrade the Palestinian people. This all continued a breakdown of Human Rights against an entire population of people found in the West Bank, where Palestinians could now no longer even feel safe from their occupiers within their own homes.

The solid physical land in Palestine's West Bank is not the only violation its people has faced, as Israel's control over the more limited water supply issues has also plagued the people since 1967. In this area of the world, highlighted by an arid and semi-arid climate, water is considered essential for the economic, political, and legitimate survival of its countries and

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[13] The United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf [Accessed November 01, 2018].

[14] Darcy, Shane. "Israeli"s Punitive House Demolition Policy: Collective Punishment In Violation Of International Law" https://web.stanford.edu/group/sper/images/darcy [Accessed November 01, 2018].

[15] Carroll, "The Israeli Demolition of Palestinian Houses in the Occupied Territories: An Analysis of its Legality in International Law", 1199.

[16] Darcy, Shane. "Israeli"s Punitive House Demolition Policy: Collective Punishment In Violation Of International Law" https://web.stanford.edu/group/sper/images/darcy [Accessed November 01, 2018].

[17] Dallal. "Israeli Human Rights Violations And Palestinian Violence", 115.

peoples. Many areas in the Middle East, Israel included, suffer from a drastic water shortage as a result of a complex interaction of factors such as population growth, land-use, agricultural technologies and weather conditions. As the human rights advocacy group Amnesty International explains in its report, *Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water,* "since Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, it has denied its Palestinian inhabitants access to the water resources of Jordan River, preventing them from physically accessing the river banks and diverting the river flow upstream."[18] By depriving the Palestinian's access to the Jordan River, the largest river in the country and one that runs parallel through a majority of the eastern West Bank, the Israeli government essentially shut down a crucial resource to all humans. In addition, the country's overuse of the river has also had a disastrous impact on the Dead Sea, which has seen the fastest drop in its water level to an unprecedented low since the 1967 war[19]. By closing off the river, many Palestinians had to unexpectedly and quickly find a replacement to a crucial human resource, or risk death by dehydration in the harsh desert climate.

Cutting off the Jordan River to the West Bank was not the only point of amphibious land violation that the state of Israel emplaced onto the Palestinian people. The occupied Palestinian territory, especially the elevated areas of the West Bank, is endowed with an abundance of renewable water resources compared with most areas in the Middle East due to increased rainfall collection. Under normal conditions, the annual replenishment of water in the West Bank would be more than adequate for the present and future needs of a much larger Palestinian population, even with restrictions to the Jordan River. These "normal conditions" however, were suspended in the late 1960s, as actions set by the Israeli military occupation triggered water resources of the occupied Palestinian territory to be diverted and used at an alarming rate by Israel.[20] Military Orders 92, issued on 15 August 1967, granted complete authority over all water-related issues in the Occupied Palestinian territory to the Israeli army[21], and Military Order 291, of 19 December 1968 annulled all land and water-related arrangements which existed prior to Israel's occupation of the West Bank.[22] These two military orders essentially placed all existing water resources in the West Bank into Israeli control, counteracting the former system which had relied on local communities through local springs and generally shallow wells.[23] Deep wells were dug into the West Bank's aquifers, and new supply lines were laid from these, now supplying both the small existing Palestinian communities, and the many new and expanding Israeli settlements. This allowed for Israel to be increasingly discriminative in it's water allocation, "By one (Israeli) estimate, the average West Bank [Israeli] settler was in receipt of twelve times as much water as the average West Bank Palestinian. If water losses are taken into account… the West Bank averaged only 17 cubic meters of water a year. Only half of the West Bank's villages had any access to piped water at all".[24] These Israeli policies ensured that a majority of the water of the West Bank was redistributed underground to Israel, as opposed to the occupied Palestinian territory. As

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[18] Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

[19] Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

[20] The United Nations. "Water Resources Of The Occupied Palestinian Territory" https://www.un.org/unispal/document/water-resources-of-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-ceirpp-dpr-study-dpr-publication/ [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

[21] Israel Law Resource Center. "Concerning Powers for the Purpose of the Water Provisions" (15 August 1967) http://www.geocities.ws/savepalestinenow/israelmilitaryorders/fulltext/mo0092.htm [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

[22] Israel Law Resource Center. "Concerning the Settlement of Disputes over Titles in Land and the Regulation of Water" (19 December 1968) http://www.geocities.ws/savepalestinenow/israelmilitaryorders/fulltext/mo0291.htm [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

[23] Selby. "Dressing up Domination", 136.

[24] Selby. "Dressing up Domination", 136.

a consequence, a "man-made" water crisis has been brought about, which undermines the living conditions and endangers the health situation of the Palestinian people.[25]

Through these two orders, the Israeli army not only took control of local wells, but also much larger established water sites, and many cases took advantage of West Bank Palestinians economically as a result. One such example of this was when the Israeli army seized control of The West Bank Water Department, which operated around 13 wells, all located in the West Bank, and had been established by Jordan in 1966 to develop and maintain the West Bank water supply system.[26] The water from these wells is sold to Palestinian communities and to Israeli settlements, often times for a much higher cubic meter of water price than that of Israelis, and more still compared to Israeli West Bank settlers.[27] Under these new Israeli military orders imposed in the Occupied Territory Zone, Palestinians could no longer drill new wells, repair existing ones, or carry out other any water-related projects without first obtaining a permit from the Israeli government. This further created a method to discriminate against the Palestinian population as a whole, as such permits could be obtained after a lengthy and complicated bureaucratic process. Only 13 permits were granted in the 29 years from 1967 to the Oslo Accords in 1993.[28] The sudden acquisition and exploitation of the West Bank's water supplies and aquatic land as a result of the 1967 war no doubt contributed to the exceeding health concerns the Palestinians faced until the Oslo Accords, and highlight Israel's disregard of human rights in relation to the land of the West Bank and its inhabitants.

These actions related to the West Bank's water supply by Israel are an inexcusable human right violation, highlighted by multiple agencies and documents. The March 1977 Mar del Plata United Nations Water Conference stated that "All peoples, whatever their stage of development and social and economic conditions, have the right to have access to drinking water in quantities and of a quality equal to their basic needs".[29] When the Israeli government seized control over the Jordan River and all incorporating water processing stations in the West Bank, they made it a point to provide Palestinians less than a livable about of water for such a harsh region of the world.[30] It is clearly documented that Israel economically discriminated against the Palestinians against their own previously owned water supply causing many to not afford this basic resource, which goes directly against this resolution in regards to equality over economic conditions. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights could continue to highlight this violation, as water can undoubtedly be seen as a essential resource to life, liberty and security, and by stripping this resource and the land needed to harvest it away, Israel violated the Palestinian West Bank Population in yet another way. Joyce R. Starr, a specialist of Middle East water security issues, summed up this complex issue by simply stating "The one fact that is indisputable, however, is that the Palestinians have no decision-making power in their own water future". [31]

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[25] Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].
[26] The United Nations. "Water Resources Of The Occupied Palestinian Territory" https://www.un.org/unispal/document/water-resources-of-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-ceirpp-dpr-study-dpr-publication/ [accessed 24 Nov 2018].
[27] Selby. "Dressing up Domination," 134.
[28] Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].
[29] The United Nations. "The Human Right. to Sanitation Milestones" http://www.un.orgwaterforlifedecadepdfhuman_right_to_water_and_sanitaton_milestones.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].
[30] The United Nations. "Water Resources Of The Occupied Palestinian Territory" https://www.un.org/unispal/document/water-resources-of-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-ceirpp-dpr-study-dpr-publication/ [accessed 24 Nov 2018].
[31] Starr. "Water Wars", 26.

The incidents that occurred in Israel from 1963 until the Oslo Accords in 1993 have destroyed families, lives, and communities. What is even more tragic is the removal and erasing of Palestinian members rights in the small area of the West Bank. What the Israeli government and settlers are doing to the Palestinian population, from the removal of the Palestinian freedom of movement to the blatant land and water discrimination faced by an entire generation of inhabitants, it is evident that the treatment of Palestinians by the Israeli government is nothing short than a continued pattern of humans rights violations. Without any formal governmental body able to stand up for Palestinians in occupied territories such as the West Bank, Palestinians simply faded into the darkness that began to overtake them. Palestinians have become thirsty from lack of water, surrounded by a demolished home, and unable to escape the nightmare that has become their community: the West Bank of Israel.

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MANDATORY PALESTINE: COMPETING NATIONALISMS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

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Abstract:
This paper is intended to examine the effect of Zionist and Arab identities on political violence and terrorism in Palestine during the later years of the British Mandate. Benedict Anderson defines the dependent variable of national identity as a shared feeling of community and existence. As both Zionist and Arab nationalists strive to assert their identity and establish a national homeland, this paper attempts to draw parallels between the felt identity and the use of political violence and terrorism as tactics to further this cause. The independent variable affected by identity includes extremist tactics such as mass murders, attacks on religious sites, formation of extremist organizations, and targeted assassinations. In turn, British authorities met violence with harsher occupation conditions infringing on property, privacy, and religious, rights and suppressing human rights outlined in the League of Nations Mandate of Palestine, thus perpetuating the period of violence throughout the 1930s.

Keywords: *Palestine, Zionism, League of Nations, national identity*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Middle East provides a unique lens to view constructs of national identity and association, as well as their relationship to regional conflict and ever-changing, dynamic politics. Foreign involvement between and after the world wars altered the historical and political culture of the entire region, with British involvement sparking one of the region's longest active conflicts. British policy, the initial goals of the Zionist movement, and historical context behind Arab Palestine all fostered the evolution and polarization of two motivated national identities vying for a homeland in the same territory. Ever-changing British policy and their failure to foster Arab and Zionist identities led to ensuing terrorism from both Jewish and Arab extremists, specifically the Irgun and Black Hand, respectively. Immigration, land grabs, terror, and restrictive British policies violated the social and political rights of these groups outlined by the League of Nations Mandate of Palestine for Great Britain. Institutionalized national identities served as justification for this perpetuation of political violence and national suppression, resulting in a violation of human rights, outlined by the League of Nations Mandate, in British-occupied Mandatory Palestine throughout the 1920s until Israeli independence in 1948.

2. DEFINING NATIONAL IDENTITY

To understand the gravity of identity politics in Mandate Palestine, national identity must be defined. Historian and political scientist Benedict Anderson provides a unique take on the concept of nationalism as an imagined community. He argues the concept of "the nation" stems strictly from arbitrary historical and cultural contexts, more like religion or kinship. He references the "'political power of nationalism versus its philosophical poverty" (Anderson, 2006, 49). In essence, "the nation" is imagined with no true bond and producing no renowned ideologies or thinkers like fascism, communism, capitalism, and other "-isms." The majority of members have no connection to each other besides the shared national image they perceive for

themselves. However, Anderson carefully avoids calling these identities false or fabricated, emphasizing the reality of an identity to those who perceive it (Anderson, 2006, 49). Anderson's definition seems to fit the nationalist movements that evolved post-World War I until the end of the British Mandate for Palestine in 1948.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Having utilized Anderson's thoughts as the operational definition of identity, other research into the connection of identity and violence should be considered prior to delving into the complex history of Mandate Palestine. This paper considers the theories of three sets of authors that connected violence to identity in their writings. First, Professors Husamettin Inac and Feyzullah Unal of Dumlupinar University (Turkey) agree with the general concept of Anderson's definition but place greater importance on the importance and consequences of these identities. Inac and Unal divide identity into two parts: gained and granted. Gained identities are those which the identified choose. Meanwhile, granted identities are characteristics that are inherent and legitimized (Inac and Unal, 2013, 224–225). Examples of granted identities include "family, ethnicity, society, community, nation, or civilization" (Inac and Unal, 2013, 225).

While the authors avoid the use of the word "violence," they cite revolution as a valid and justified nation-building process (Inac and Unal, 2013, 226). To protect a fostering nation or nationalist sentiments, groups often form some defensive unit as protection from "menacing factors. Using a classic example, Inac and Unal argue the French Revolution spawned a new legitimacy for nationalist pride, and by extension, identity, which threatened the European monarchies (Inac and Unal, 2013, 226). In essence, the act of revolution legitimizes concepts of "self-determination and the right of resistance" on a broader stage as people are willing to take up arms for a cause (Inac and Unal, 2013, 227).

Next, James Fearon and David Laitin, writing for *International Organization* draw a distinction between the ideas of national versus ethnic identity, claiming identity violence tends to revolve more around ethnic identity. Citing Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Fearon argues the concept of the nation, and subsequently, feelings of nationalism, ascend from economic and social changes which made an interdependent community appealing (Fearon and Laitin, 2000, 851). As such, national identity is commonly associated with territory and boundaries like a state. When a nation is able to evolve from a simple movement to a full-fledged state, it successfully polices, guards, and defends these borders and territorial boundaries (Fearon and Laitin, 2000, 856). However, the boundaries that separate ethnic or national lines are more abstract and less concrete.

Fearon and Laitin argue that the boundaries between ethnicities are less concrete than those separating states. Therefore, they are easier to infringe upon and more difficult for an identity to defend than a physical boundary (Fearon and Laitin, 2000, 856). Whereas a national identity is held together by culture, language, territory, and religion, which create a bond of similarity within a group, ethnicity focuses on features, like race, that make an individual different. Therefore, the society, after constructing ethnic identities based on what separates people, often attempt to assimilate them and make them more similar to the group as a whole (Fearon and Laitin, 2000, 856). Conversely, "other" groups attempt to celebrate their differences. The authors connect this to violence using the example of Basque separatists in Spain (Fearon and Laitin, 2000, 856). As society and "the other" further distinguish themselves from each other, separatist movements organize and can often result in violence from either side as they attempt to defend their perceived identities.

Finally, Tamir Sorek writes specifically about Palestine, citing the examples of culture, holidays, and martyrs to the Jewish and Palestinian identities during British rule in an article for *The Journal of Palestinian Studies*. Sorek places emphasis on the formation of holidays and widespread views on martyrdom throughout Mandate Palestine and their influence on both Jewish and Palestinian national movements. November 2 represents easily the most prominent example of this for the Jewish populations of Palestine. Following the Balfour Declaration in 1917, November 2 became memorialized as a national holiday by the Jews (Sorek, 2013, 9). Similarly, Arab Palestinians, having a devastating blow struck to their cause, declared 2 November as a day of mourning. Shops closed, workers went on strike, and annual calls for boycotts of Jewish goods flooded newspapers (Sorek, 2013, 9). In fact, since Israeli independence was declared on May 8, 1948, Palestinians still memorialize and mourn *Nakba* (or catastrophe) annually.

One such important holiday was the Palestinian push to celebrate 1 May as "Martyrs' Day" to celebrate those killed promoting Palestinian Arab nationalism (Sorek, 2013, 6). One Palestinian newspaper, *Filastin*, wrote in 1919, "Martyrs are an inevitable component of the revival of nations… for they provoke nations to action and renew their determination… it restores our enthusiasm and pushes us forward. That day is May 1 – Martyrs Day" (Sorek, 2013, 6). Martyrdom finds a deeply rooted tradition in Islam as well as Arab culture. The willingness of an individual to give their lives fighting for a cause added to the legitimacy of that cause. In the case of Arab Palestinians, the symbology of their sacrifice was further institutionalized through an official holiday. Therefore, by implementing martyrdom with national holidays intrinsic to identity and culture, the use of violence became a legitimately justified tactic in furthering Palestinian independence from the British.

The research gathered throughout this paper predominantly applies the thoughts of Inac, Unal, and Sorek. Much of Palestine's regional history support falls under the concept of 'granted identity' as defined by Inac and Unal. British policy, legal documents, and politicians' promises created an institutional framework from which to construct both Jewish and Arab identities for Palestine. Territorial and religious claims provided historical evidence for both sides to manipulate this framework to fit their narrative. Sorek's belief in the cultural significance of holidays also helped institutionalize identity for both sides. By integrating important political dates like the Balfour Declaration or Martyrs Day into the cultural and social structure, Jews and Arabs fostered a shared feeling of identity within their respective groups. Through this social and communal integration, more people opted to participate in these groups fostering the gained community which Inac and Unal discuss. These authors both also express the importance of violence to a nation-building or identity-forming process.

Inac and Unal specifically cite revolution as a pivotal aspect of legitimizing a cause. By asserting a right to self-determination and willingly taking up arms in its defense, the nationalist group gains its legitimacy through its ability to challenge its perceived opponent. Those killed in the name of their cause become national heroes: the martyrs Sorek wrote about. These martyrs provided people with a reason to mourn and a vehicle through which to direct anger. Al-Qassam was just one of many infamous leaders of extremist insurgencies that plagued Palestine throughout the Mandate. Al-Qassam, and others like him, achieved a martyr status and encouraged others to take up the fight in the Arab Revolution (1936–1939).

On the contrary, Fearon and Laitin's narrow focus of ethnicity does not appear to fit of the Mandate Palestine narrative. The image of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a solely "Jewish-Arab" or "Jewish-Muslim" conflict grossly simplifies the matter. The divide did not run solely down ethnic, nor even religious lines. While Arab claims to nationality were largely based around Arab ethnicity, the Palestinian identity was unique from a solely Arab context. Palestinian nationality and national claims were asserted by Arabs, Jews, Christians, and European immigrants alike. By extension, not all Jews were Zionist, nor were all supporters of

the Zionist cause Jewish. While this paper presents the argument of an institutionalized and granted identity, it frames the argument through the lens of political policy, legal institutionalization, and historical and territorial context: not through the framework of a racially or ethnically motivated ideology. While many of the claims presented in this paper focus on legitimization and institutionalization, some level of responsibility must rest solely on the individual choices of the conflict's participants. Because people *chose* to associate with a specific cause or identity during the Mandate, logic follows that the Palestinian question during the British Mandate must be examined through nationalist, not ethnic, intentions. Additionally, this means Inac and Unal's concept of gained identity is also applicable to both willing Arab and Jewish participants throughout the British Mandate. However, this paper focuses more heavily on the institutionalized framework of granted identity which encouraged willing association.

4. WORLD WAR I AND INSTITUTIONALIZING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Prior to the British Mandate, Jews and Arabs lived in relative peace. The region was multicultural, rich in religion and culture, and racially mixed. The Social understanding of the time would fail to categorize the diversity into simple Jewish and Arab frames. Secular and religious Jews differed vastly themselves, let alone from the Muslim, secular, Christian, and Palestinian identities claimed by Arabs, or even the Palestinians that identified with neither the Jewish nor Arab societies (Samman, 2009, 225). The framework of a solely "Arab-Jewish conflict" arose from the stoking of Jewish and Arab nationalist movements by the British and Allied powers during and after World War I.

The British inherited Palestine's intense multiculturalism through a League of Nations mandate after World War I. Following the rise of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the nation's subsequent withdrawal from the war, British leaders feared the German Empire would redirect its army west towards France and Great Britain (Segev, 1999, 42). The next natural step was to find new allies to open a new secondary front. The British Prime Minister at the time, David Lloyd George, looked towards conquering the Ottoman Empire and enlisting the help of the Jews or Arabs to make up for the loss of the Eastern front resulting from Russia's withdrawal.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Jews and Arabs both received the same promises from British representatives of support in fostering a national home in exchange for assistance against the Central Powers in the Ottoman Empire. The British military aided both Arab and Jewish residents of Ottoman territory in rebellion against their occupiers, most notably those Arabs who served under Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia). Arab and Jewish nationalist movements took British assistance as recognition and legitimization of their respective sovereignty.

In a series of ten letters back and forth between the Sharif of Mecca, Hussein bin Ali, and the British High Commissioner to Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, Ali explicitly explained the desires of the Arab communities of the former Ottoman Empire, asserting Arab independence and sovereignty over a vast swath of land stretching from the Indian Ocean up along the Mediterranean coast to Mersina (present-day southern Turkey). Ali also demanded that England acknowledge and assist in abolishing foreign involvement in Arab countries to consolidate this newly claimed sovereignty (Sharif Hussein bin Ali to Sir Henry McMahon, 14 July 1915). In a later reply, McMahon clearly writes, "Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sharif of Mecca" with the exception of regions west of Aleppo into Mersina (Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Hussein bin Ali, 24 October 1915).

While there was later debate as to whether McMahon intended to promise the lands of Palestine to Ali, the Sharif of Mecca claimed land up the Mediterranean Coast as sovereign Arab territory, to which McMahon agrees. The land which McMahon conveys cannot be recognized by Great Britain as solely sovereign Arab territory, which lies 600 kilometers north of the northernmost point in Israel. This exclusion to the land granted to Arabs could not reasonably be assumed by Hussein bin Ali to include the regions of Palestine. Before the correspondence begins to discuss the physical combat against the Ottomans and Germans in Arabia, McMahon reassures Hussein bin Ali once more that "Great Britain has no intention of concluding any peace in terms of which the freedom of the Arab peoples… does not form an essential condition" (Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Hussein bin Ali, 14 December 1915). In plain text, an official of the British government authorized to negotiate with the populace of Ottoman occupied territory promised Arab independence and sovereign territory which can be interpreted as including the aforementioned region of Palestine.

Needless to say, the British Balfour Declaration, two years later, came as an abrupt surprise and betrayal for London's Arab allies. The rumblings of a disjointed domestic Zionist movement in Great Britain fueled racial fears of an intricate global Jewish alliance. The British government feared the Jews had a vested interest in ending the war to further a growing global Zionist movement. As a result, they would "sell themselves to the highest bidder [the British or German governments]" (Segev, 1999, 38). Prime Minister David Lloyd George believed it better to recruit the Jews and defeat the Germans than lose to the German Army in the immediate future. To steer Jewish support away from Germany, the British government formed a handful of Jewish legions, comprised of Ottoman Jews, in the Ottoman Empire with promises of support for the Zionist cause, appeasing both domestic and global Zionist movements (Segev, 1999, 43).

Following the collapse of Turkish military forces and Britain's occupation over Palestine, Jewish cooperation was rewarded with the Balfour Declaration. British Foreign Secretary Sir Arthur James Balfour penned the famous letter to former parliament member Sir Walter Rothschild on November 2, 1917. Following his tenure in parliament, Rothschild became a champion of the Zionist cause acting on behalf of the Zionist Federation in correspondence with the British government. Aside from the typical pleasantries and formalities of letters of the time, the famous declaration consisted of a lone paragraph. Balfour's discussion with the British government led to pledges for the protection of non-Jewish communities in Palestine and the political rights of Jews in other countries. However, Balfour also reaffirmed the British government's commitment to "the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people" and promised to "use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object" (Sir Arthur James Balfour to Sir Walter Rothschild, November 2, 1917). Zionists interpreted this simple letter into a commitment to a national homeland and subsequent recognition of Jewish national identity, legitimizing the efforts of the cause.

With an Allied victory in the war, the newly formed League of Nations drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations with Article 22 specifically dealing with land ceded in the Treaty of Versailles. Specifically, the preamble of the Palestine Mandate establishes Great Britain as "the Mandatory" charged with administering Palestine and "putting into effect the declaration made on November 2nd, 1917" (Palestine Mandate, 1922). Article 1 of the Mandate establishes the objective of "placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" (Palestine Mandate, 1922). The official Mandate also establishes various obligations of "the Mandatory" and enumerates rights for the residents of Palestine under British control.

The validation of two opposing national identities in the same territory led to numerous incidents of social unrest, disobedience, and organized violence. In addition to declared boycotts and disobedience from Jewish and Arab residents, various armed resistance groups organized on either side to combat British authorities and the opposing group. The Black Hand

formed under Sheikh Izzedin al-Qassam. Qassam's 200 followers were responsible for numerous attacks on innocent Jews and British police officers throughout Palestine before his death at the hands of British police in 1935. While he failed to encourage the Arab political leadership to promote rebellion, al-Qassam's funeral was attended by thousands, and his status as the leader of the first organized, armed resistance to the Jews encouraged followers (Black, 2017, 72–74).

The events of April 15, 1936 set into motion years of social unrest and violence. Intending to steal money for weapons, followers of Qassam killed two Jews and injured a third in a vehicle stop. The ensuing Jewish retaliation sparked further Arab violence leading to popular revolt (Black, 2017, 74). Faced with continued refusals from the British government to recognize Arab sovereignty, Amin Husseini of the Arab Higher Committee called for "a general strike, civil disobedience, and no-payment of taxes," in what became known as the Great Rebellion (Black, 2017, 74–75). Organizers al-Qassam and Amin Husseini appealed to the masses through shared feelings of Arab identity and the intrinsic concepts of birthright and legitimization of Arab nationalist connections to Palestine via the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence.

Numerous auxiliary Jewish militant groups also operated throughout Palestine during the British Mandate. Under threat of Arab violence, Vladimir Jabotinsky helped organize the Haganah (Hebrew for "defense") as a national force to protect Jewish settlements and territorial claims. After a few successfully foiled Arab attacks, the organization gained prestige among the Jews of Palestine, but it still failed to gain support and arms from British authorities (Fields, 1985, 3). This began a series of fracturing and sub-fracturing over whether the movement should cooperate with the British, how proactive the movement should be in targeting Arab militants, and socialist/labor disputes with leaders of the World Zionist Movement (Fields, 1985, 3–4). Eventually, these internal disputes formed two distinct forces: The Haganah, recognized by British occupation forces as the rightful national defense force of Jewish Palestine and the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization), a more radical force than the Haganah.

Jabotinsky, aligning himself with the Irgun, implemented three tenants within his ideology: All Jews had the right to enter Palestine; active retaliation was the only way to deter Arabs; and an armed Jewish force was the only way to ensure the existence of a Jewish state (Fields, 1985, 6). While the Irgun frequently targeted Arabs, their aim was predominantly independence from British rule. This focus directed many of their tactics of destruction and chaos (Fields, 1985, 9). The violence committed by groups like the Black Hand and Irgun, and the subsequent British retaliation, resulted in clear violation of the obligations of the British occupation and basic human rights guaranteed to the residents of Palestine.

5. TERRITORIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO IDENTITY

By the start of World War I, the Jewish population rested shy of 100,000, roughly 15 percent of the region's total population (Karsh, 2010, 9). From then on, Palestine experienced an explosion of Jewish immigration from Europe during three main waves (1919–1923, 1924–1929, and 1929–1939). From 1922 to 1944, the Jewish population grew from 83,000 (10 percent) to 530,000 (30 percent), bringing the total population up from 750,000 to 1.7 million (Likhovski, 2010, 21). In response to Arab violence, British authorities established limits on Jewish immigration after 1929, and responsibility for much of the final wave of Jewish migrants' rests with Irgun's support of numerous illegal immigration operations (Fields, 1985, 8). Naturally, the flood of Jewish immigration came with the disapproval of the Arab residents of Palestine. The drastic change in demographics sparked a form of gentrification over the predominantly Arab communities.

With each passing wave of Jewish immigration, the shared space of Arabs and Jews became more densely populated. Arab elite rejected Jewish immigration with Muhammad Amin Husseini, head of the Supreme Muslim Council, writing in 1921 to the British High Commissioner, "The Jews left Palestine 2,000 years ago. Let them go to other parts of the world where there are wide, vacant places" (Karsh, 2010, 16–18). However, some Arab property owners sought to turn a profit and sold vast swaths of land to incoming Jewish immigrants, displacing poorer Arabs across Palestine (Black, 2017, 55). Arab communities initially tolerated these practices throughout the Mandate in hopes of cooperation with the British forces. However, resistance formed as the density translated into encroachment on shared religious sites.

After the conversion of numerous mosques into synagogues in the early 1910–20s, the Western Wall, the holiest Jewish site, fell under contention in 1922 with an attempt to improve Jewish access to the Wall (Black, 2017, 56). The move was resisted by the Supreme Muslim Council, as the al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock, the third holiest site of Islam, also reside at the Wall. Jewish worshippers recognized the Wall as remnants of the Second Jewish Temple and believe the third Temple will be built on the site by God (thus endangering the Islamic religious sites already present). Consequently, Muslim authorities frequently petitioned the British occupation to restrict Jewish access to the wall, as was the case in 1928 when Jews brought a screen to separate male and female worshipers (Black, 2017, 57).

With Arab national ambitions already losing ground through the Balfour Declaration and loss of property, a threat to their religious sites was the final line. Arab extremists launched several attacks across the country on August 23, 1929 against Jewish targets. Most notable was an attack on the city of Hebron, site of the Ibrahimi Mosque which was another shared site known by the Jews as the Cave of the Patriarchs. The attack killed sixty-four people, predominantly Jews, including twelve women and three young children (Black, 2017, 59). Threats to religious sites and a failure of British authorities to quell the violence represented a clear violation of religious rights established in the League of Nations Mandate.

The League of Nations Mandate describes the responsibility to the population of Palestine for the establishment and protection of religious rights numerous times throughout its twenty-eight articles. The Mandate references religious rights, specifically, a total of seven times, across six articles and the preamble. The preamble and Articles 2, 9, and 16 all specifically promise religious rights and prohibit discrimination on the grounds of religion. Likewise, Article 13 states an obligation to ensure free access to all religious sites and buildings in Palestine, and Article 15 reads, "No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief" (Palestine Mandate, 1922). British occupation and local auxiliary forces failed in protecting all of these articles. Religious sites proved central to concepts of identity for both Zionist and Arab nationalists and served as focal points for numerous attacks. British failure to quell violence at these sites and the persistence of both Jews and Muslims to restrict the other's religious access represent clear violations of the League's Mandate to Great Britain.

6. BRITISH RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Extremist actions and rebellions by both Arabs and Jews throughout the 1930's onward left British occupation and Jewish auxiliary forces looking for ways to regain control of the situation and territory in Palestine. The *Kings Regulations* bound British soldiers to both civil and military law and technically forbade the mistreatment of civilians (Hughes, 2010, 8). However, the Hague and Geneva Conventions passed earlier in the 20ᵗʰ Century did not technically apply to citizens of Palestine as the revolts were recognized as an insurgency rather than a war, barring POW and protected statuses for both combatants and civilians (Hughes, 2010, 9). The regulations binding British soldiers to 'appropriate' conduct also promoted the shooting of

rioters and collective punishment as appropriate responses to actual terrorism. Therefore, British occupation forces were authorized to use collective punishment against occupied populations in response to acts of terror. As international occupation laws of The Hague and Geneva conventions excluded insurgent forces, British authorities succeeded in subjecting local occupied populations of Palestine to de facto harsh and abusive punishment accepted by British military regulations.

One example of violent British policy included an attempt to improve British military access to previously Arab-held territory in the Old City of Jaffa to better combat Arab extremist forces in the area. British soldiers dropped leaflets on the morning of June 16, 1936, warning Palestinians to vacate their homes by 2100 that night. The next day began a month-long process of demolishing between 220 and 240 buildings, a process that displaced nearly 6,000 Palestinian Arabs. This directly violated the occupation obligations as established in Article 11 of the League of Nations Mandate of Palestine. Article 11 charged the Mandatory power, Great Britain, with safeguarding "the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country." The article included an obligation to promote the settlement and cultivation of land in Palestine (Palestine Mandate, 1922). Clearly, the destruction of property and homes of 6,000 residents embodied a violation of Great Britain's Article 11 obligations and the rights of the local populace to settle and develop the region of Palestine.

As was often the case, censorship prevented Palestinian media sources, like *Al-Difa* (the Defense) from publishing any formal protest of the incident in Jaffa (Hughes, 2010, 10). Officials who spoke out were also silenced. Sir Michael McDonnell, Chief Justice of Palestine, condemned the actions of June 16, trying to claim that vague definitions of "punishment, reprisal, and search" left too much interpretation and leniency for British military officials. For his resistance, McDonnell was replaced, by order of the Colonial Office, by Sir Harold MacMichael, who possessed a more lenient attitude towards military autonomy during the occupation (Hughes, 2010, 9–10).

British military forces also practiced cordoning off cities seized from rebel forces and denied residents the ability to leave without a permit (Hughes, 2010, 12). These actions were all justified under British regulations for the handling of territorial insurgencies, essentially monopolizing the use of force to prevent nationalities subjugated by British rule from promoting their identity and political power by use of force. However, these practices directly violated the British Mandate over the region. Article 3 of the Palestine Mandate explicitly guarantees local autonomy (Palestine Mandate, 1922). As the League of Nations wrote Article 3 in characteristically vague wording, an inherent right to local self-rule and basic freedoms of travel and association could be interpreted by this. However, Palestinians' inability to travel to other cities denied them any form of autonomy and ability to organize.

Because of individual prejudices, regulations failed to properly guide every encounter between British soldiers and local populations in occupied territories. In Palestine, British prejudices predominantly targeted Arab populations. Looters and trophy-hunters of the military ravaged houses that were searched and stole valuables and prized possessions, destroyed property, and sought their own retribution on the local populace for Arab attacks against British forces, despite regulations and orders from superiors (Hughes, 2010, 15). One unnamed British officer recalled the practice of placing Arab villagers on the hoods of vehicles, or in the first vehicle of a column, to prevent attack by Arab snipers or mines (Hughes, 2010, 15). Similarly, the Arab populace also faced terror and robbery from Arab rebels for failure to support the rebellion against the British (Hughes, 2010, 13). Overall, British authorities failed to curb the political violence and terrorism from both Jewish and Arab forces. This breakdown of law and order, combined with the practices of the British occupation forces, resulted in an absolute failure to uphold the human rights outlined in the League of Nations' Palestine Mandate.

7.   CONCLUSION

Violence continued in Palestine even through Israeli independence in 1948. The ability of resistance fighters to disappear into the civil population made national extremism difficult for the British to counter. Strong Jewish and Arab national sentiments, identities, and independence movements under British rule created a chaotic and repressive atmosphere for Jewish and Arab residents of Palestine and British authorities. The violence and harsh British suppression policies resulted in the blatant violation of the human rights, outlined by the League of Nations Mandate for residents of Palestine. Further study of the relation of identity to violence, oppression, and human rights could provide groundwork for a better understanding of other identity/nationalism-based conflicts, as in Kurdistan, the Syrian Civil War, and insurgencies like the Islamic State. Further understanding of causes could aid in negotiations and help further resolutions of these conflicts.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBLE FOR PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE IN THE WORLD

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Abstract:
The League of Nations was an international organization that was founded in 1920. The first aim of this unique organization was to prevent local and global conflicts all over the world by Collective security and control of the internal policy of a particular country. All disputes were expected to be resolved in a peaceful way. There was also another, implicit goal – to protect human and minorities' rights throughout the world. At the very beginning of the twentieth century, this aim was just implicit, but it became a central focus by 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was finally adopted. Of course, this was only the beginning of turning the belief that human rights should be protected into legal reality. However, during the early 1930s, the League of Nations exposed itself as precarious organization unable to stop the Nazi's aggression and to perform its fundamental role – to prevent the global conflict that is known in history as the Second World War. Needless to mention, that this terrible conflict also entailed a terrible violation of Human Rights. However, countries of the Central European region suffered from this disastrous warfare most of all. How have the Human Rights violation influenced the inclination of the war? What particular minorities and nations in Central European region were infringed the most? Did the League of Nations' failure to protect minority rights contribute significantly to the human rights violations against minorities in Central Europe in the 20th century?

Keywords: *Articles, Covenant, League, Minorities, War*

1. INTRODUCTION

World War II was one of the most horrendous conflicts in human history. It can be compared neither to World War I nor to any other conflict in the world throughout history. Thousands of gorgeous cities and architectural monuments, the lives of millions of innocent people and children, starvation, fear, death – that is the price that mankind had to pay for the weakness of those in power.

Needless to point out that the consequences for the Central European region were one of the most significant. More than 18 million people were killed or sent to concentration camps. Among them, women, Jews, homosexuals, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, and even children[1]. The European economy was destroyed, big cities and capitals laid in ruins. However, what is a recoverable economy compared to millions of innocents' lives that were taken by Nazis? The modern history has never seen such ruthless violation of basic Human Rights: the right to life, freedom from torture, freedom from slavery, freedom of speech, sexual orientation and gender identity and others. Perhaps, concentration camps could be the symbol of Human Rights' violations during World War II. About 19 million people were killed during the Holocaust; among them six million Jews and seven million Soviet civilians[2]. It can be seen from the statistics, that Jews and Soviet civilians were oppressed the most (Centre européen Robert Schuman, 2011). After their rights were initially breached, people throughout Europe started creating rebel movements because they realized that governments and organizations like the

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[1] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[2] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

League of Nations were not able to help and protect them (History on the NET, n.d.). Among most conspicuous were the Polish Resistance, the Soviet partisans, the Yugoslav Partisans, the Italian *Resistenza*, the Dutch Resistance and politically persecuted opposition in Germany. All these organizations were considered to be illegal during the Nazi occupation and had to operate confidentially. However, they contributed enough to weaken the invaders while armies clashed in the battles. Therefore, the violation of Human Rights during World War II induced minorities to resist against invaders. Probably, some people will argue that resistance groups' contribution were not so great; however, they did not only fight with aggressors but also inspired soldiers to keep fighting even when they felt hopeless and lost (Tait, 2016). In my opinion, all these fighters – soldiers, rebels – influenced the inclination of the war even more than the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was an international organization which was founded on the 10th of January in 1920 by four countries that later became its permanent members: Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Later this number changed and two more countries became constant members: Germany (in 1926) and USSR (in 1934). The first aim of this unique organization was to prevent local and global conflicts all over the world by Collective security and control of the internal policy of a particular country: either its member or a country that did not belong to the League of Nations (Khan Academy, n.d.). All disputes were expected to be resolved in a peaceful way. There was also another, implicit goal – to protect human and minorities' rights throughout the world (Viljoen, 2009). At the very beginning of the twentieth century, this aim was just implicit, but it would later become a central focus of the international community by 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was finally adopted by the many of the same countries that originally made up the League of Nations. However, during the early 1930s, the League of Nations exposed itself as a precarious organization unable to stop the Nazi's aggression and to perform its fundamental role – to prevent the global conflict that is known in history as the Second World War.

The governments of Central European countries were buried in the holes that they themselves have dug because, even though their notions were valuable and respected in the League, they did not manage to influence the Leadership significantly. How did it happen that nobody noticed where the missteps were leading and nobody was concerned enough about the threat that weighed on other countries, if not to say on the whole world? The world powers belonged to the old world and therefore held beliefs that all disputes, even the most threatening, can be resolved by diplomatic approach and negotiations. They expected all Members and other countries to follow the Articles of the Covenant and regulations unquestioningly because if the Members would make an attempt to violate any Article they will be excluded immediately. However, some Articles were the weak spots for the Covenant and the League of Nations in general.

Therefore, this paper will engage in a vivisection of the Articles of the League of Nations' Covenant, which will undoubtedly help to create the whole picture of how it led to the start of major conflict in the Twentieth Century and how certain Articles of the Covenant made things even worse and in fact gave the Axis Powers some advantages above Allied powers and all countries that suffered during the war. It is also important to consider in detail the history of its creation and development, the structure of the League, its contribution to the international community, achievements and how exactly League of Nations led the post-war world to the new war and made it even worse.

2. HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A. Creation and Early Mandate of the League of Nations

The provenance of the League of Nations' creation takes its rise from the idea of an organization that was first positioned as a "League of Victors". Another interesting fact is that the USA was supposed to be one of the permanent founding members. In fact, the 28th president of the US, Woodrow Wilson, in his "14 points" (1918) stated:

> A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike (Woodrow Wilson's "14 points", point XIV).

Nevertheless, the US Congress voted against validation of the Treaty of Versailles because it didn't fully represent the interests of the country (Shevale, 2015). Therefore, the USA lost its opportunity to become a permanent member of, as it was considered to be, one of the most important and influential organizations of that period.

Initially, the Pact of the League of Nations was included in the Treaty of Versailles as a part of this agreement. During the period of existence of this organization, the total number of its members reached the amount of 63 countries. In fact, all countries in the world, at one time or another, were the members of the League except Saudi Arabia and the United States (Rumjancev, n.d.). The core structure of the League of Nations was quite simple. The main institutions were the Assembly, the Council, the Permanent Secretariat. There were also two indispensable wings – the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization. In addition, there were other bodies responsible for solving international problems and issues: the Slavery Commission, the Commission for Refugees, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, the Mandates Commission, the International Labor Organization and the Disarmament Commission (Bodleian Libraries, 2015). Three of them then were transformed into bodies of the United Nations Organization.[3]

B. Role of the League of Nations in Protecting Minorities

The main role of the League of Nations was to resolve all disputes and conflicts in a peaceful way through arbitration and negotiations (Boundless, n.d.). However, it had the additional role of resolving important global issues like drug trafficking and the slavery trade (mostly trade in women), minority oppression, human rights violation, global healthcare, labor conditions, and arms trade (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2019). One of the most influential achievements of the League of Nations was the invention and implementation of the Nansen passport for refugees in common parlance. This unique document allowed a stateless or pursued person to cross borders of different countries officially (World Digital Library, 2017). However, one of the most important roles of this organization was to prevent conflicts which implicitly included violation of minority rights (United Nations Office at Geneva, n.d.). This issue was the most difficult one as words "national minorities" were hidden by such amorphous phrases like "ethnic minorities", "religious minorities" and "language minorities" (Oren, et al., 1988); additionally, due to significant changes on the world map, many multinational countries appeared. There were many different oppressed minorities, like Ukrainians, Magyars, and

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[3] Health Organization (as the World Health Organization), the Permanent Court of International Justice (as the International Court of Justice) and the International Labor Organization.

Armenians – they had a chance to seek asylum in their own countries where their nation represented the majority.

Against this background, Jews faced the most difficult situation as they did not have their own state. During the Paris Conference, Jews from all countries of Eastern and Western Europe clamored for the individual, civic and political rights (Oren, Zand, Ettinger, 1988). Even though the League of Nations refused to include this demand into the Treaty of Versailles, it mentioned ethnic minorities in the paragraph about "cultural rights". Moreover, this paragraph was just included in the text of the Treaty of Versailles and thus, the League had a right to require compliance with this paragraph only by countries that had signed the Treaty. Nevertheless, the League contribution to the protection of Jews rights was significant in the beginning. For instance, the Council of the League of Nations reached a compromise with the Austrian government and helped half of the Polish Jews to find asylum and stay in the country even though it had a damaging influence on the Austrian economy. The League also tried to alleviate the situation for Jews who escaped from Poland, Ukraine, and Baltic countries (Oren et al, 1988).

C. Decline of the Influence of the League of Nations and its ability to Protect Minorities

However, by 1923 the contribution and influence of the League started to decline; it was influenced by the escalation of nationalism in newly created countries and the development of the relations of Germany and the USSR (Oren et al, 1988). Since that period, the leadership of the League became more pragmatic and started to serve for the sake of its own welfare (Snell, 2015). The League started to pay more attention to the fulfillment of the permanent Members' interests and put problems of other countries in the background or even ignored them. The process of filing the complaint about any kind of oppression or discrimination was over complicated and the failure to fulfill all requirements led to the immediate refusal to accept the complaint. The assemblies that processed cases of minority rights oppression became closed because Members of the League could not afford the procedure to be transparent anymore and minority representatives were not allowed to participate in it. The League of Nations did not refuse its obligation to protect the human rights of minorities but in fact, was helpless to do that. In several years the number of people seeking help in the face of powerful countries decreased significantly and eventually almost disappeared until the year 1933 came with all its cruelty and anti-Semitic laws, the predominance of criminality and physical destruction of nations.[4] All these terrible crimes were committed in front of the League of Nations – an organization that was obliged to protect human rights and protect peace in the world and on which many countries relied.

3. UNPACKING THE INHERENT PROBLEMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS THAT MADE IT INEFFECTIVE IN PREVENTING THE ATROCITIES OF WORLD WAR II

Notwithstanding, it is unfair to blame any organization of incompetency without proof. It is worth to find out how and what happened. In order to undertake this analysis, many important points from the very beginning should be reviewed. There were 26 Articles in the Covenant of the League of Nations.[5] However, only four of them will be reviewed in detail. The first (1ˢᵗ), eighth (8ᵗʰ), eleventh (11ᵗʰ) and sixteenth (16ᵗʰ) Articles are considered to be crucial in this paper. The first Article referred to the advance warning about leaving the League and fulfilling

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[4] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[5] Covenant of the League of Nations

all obligations before withdrawal which Germany did not do and breached the first Article without any consequences. The eighth Article required Members of the League to exchange full and frank information about their military power and the number of weapons which each country possessed – this Article exposed the weaknesses of other countries in front of both their allies and enemies. It also required disarmament which made each Member an easy target without the needed number of weapons. This Article in particular can be seen as a significant precursor to World War II and its atrocities. The eleventh Article states that an act of aggression against one of the Members of the League implies the aggression against all Members; thus, steps or measures must be taken to protect the victim of the attack. However, even permanent founding Members did nothing to protect Austria and Czechoslovakia from *Anschluss* and to prevent intervention to Poland.[6] Finally, the sixteenth Article states that all Members are obliged to unanimously declare sanctions or to sever diplomatic ties with the country that would commit the act of aggression against any other member – and again there was no any reaction to the German march across Europe.[7] Additionally, each Member that would breach any Article of the Covenant was liable to be excluded from the League, but it meant nothing for Germany as it had already left the League by the time it breached the remaining Articles. However, all above mentioned Articles must be revised in more detail in order to effectively demonstrate their impact on the state of world affairs that allowed World War II to take root. Article 8 will be discussed last as the significance of its impact is best understood after exploring the first three.

A. Article 1: An Inherent Flaw in the Enforceability of the Covenant

The first Article states:

> …Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

On the 20th of October, 1933, Germany (Weimar Republic) announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations without any notice of intention in advance and therefore breached the first Article. A rejected petition for giving Germany a military parity became the pretext for abandoning the League of Nations. Great Britain, France, Italy, and the USA presented the new version of treaty regarding disarmament for Germany and it was rejected.[8] Germany was insulted by this agreement and claimed that if Members of the League do not treat it as an equal, the German government was not going to participate in International Conferences anymore.[9] It is important to mention, that after leaving the League German government held a referendum on quitting the League of Nations where more than 95% of all citizens voted for withdrawal. According to the Article №16, "…Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council…" Yet, but this point the League of Nations was incompetent to exclude the Weimar Republic because even though it violated the first article of the Covenant, it had already left the organization itself. The first article demonstrates the first blunder of the League of Nations in not envisaging such insolent infringement of its Covenant. What is more striking is that in the first article, the League had set itself up for failure because neither the Council nor the members of General assembly could have taken any measures to penalize the German government for

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[6] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[7] IBID.
[8] The History of International Relations, pp. 50–54.
[9] IBID.

breaching the first article because Germany was no longer the Member of the League. The League of Nations for the first time showed its weakness by the connivance of its own articles and, therefore, led to the loss of its prestige and influence on the international arena.

Unsurprisingly, many argue that the United Nations Organization follows the same pattern now. It has already stepped on the path of self-destruction by following the interests of such powerful countries like Russia, the USA, the UK, and Germany. The USA allows itself to give empty promises that it is not going to fulfill, to drag other people into its theatre of lies and to provoke military conflicts in the Middle East; despite the fact that the USA and Russia keep sending their "peacekeeping" troops to the Middle East for their own profit, the UNO does nothing to stop them as it is not strong enough to interrupt "adult games".

However, this was only the first flaw in the articles of the Covenant. The following articles created even more serious situations that allowed Germany and the Axis countries to gather important information and position themselves strategically and threateningly on the world stage.

B. Article 11 and 16: Failure to Stand Behind the One for All and All for One Pledge

According to the Covenant, Article №11 states:

> Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations…

Even though the League of Nations succeeded to settle more than 40 political conflicts, it has not accomplished enough measures to prevent the Second World War and to protect Global Security. It became clear when the world community finally noticed the beginning of preparation Germany, Italy and Japan for World War II. As it was mentioned before, Germany declared its withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 but it was not the only one. Japan left the League in the same year and Italy quitted in 1937. The only step made by the League of Nations against the aggression against other countries at the end of the 1930s was a fractional restriction of external economic relations with other countries during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War. However, it did not have any essential impact on Italy's economic situation and military potential. The Japanese aggression against Manchuria and its invasion into Chinese territory were criticized by the League only in words. Lastly, the League of Nations – an organization that obliged to "…promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security…" did nothing after integrated troops of Germany and Italy intervened militarily into Spain (1936–1939), after the Third Reich annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia and attacked Poland and after Italy annexed Albania. Two main Members of the League – France and Great Britain – finally declared war on Germany, but not until Germany became a real threat to their sovereignty and freedom. Article 16, in its turn, stated that "Should any Member of the League resort to war …it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all Members of the League", however, in fact the Members of the League did not take invasion in Poland and annexation of Czechoslovakia in their account. It was also stated that the Members of the League are obliged to "…undertake immediately to subject it to severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State". Perhaps, the leadership of the League would take the threat that weighed above Europe more seriously if their sovereignty was at risk; and they actually took and started protecting their own state when the march of

Adolf Hitler ended right in front of their state's door. However, it was too late for most of them to prevent the invasion.

C. Article 8: Setting the Stage for the Not-so-Subtle Spy Games

Perhaps, one of the most crucial mistakes of the League of Nations was that most of its Articles pertain only to the Members of this organization. For example, Article №8 states:

> The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.
> The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.
> Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years…

The whole statement is related only to members and it means, that any other country in the whole world that was not a part of the League of Nations had a right to keep as many weapons as it would like to keep and expand its military power. Therefore, Adolf Hitler basically has not violated any article of the Covenant of the League of Nations because he left this organization and had a right to increase the military power of the Third Reich and that is the reason why he was not even condemned in violating this article. However, the Council should have paid more attention to the military power of all countries in general other than only to its Members. If it wanted to set peace in the whole world, it must have declared that all countries must obey the articles referring to the amount of armament and reverence of the sovereignty of other countries. In addition to this being logistically or realistically impossible, it was also fatuous to expect other countries that were not Members of the League of Nations to follow the requirements if even one of the permanent members – France – refused to decrease the armament without the guarantee of military help in case of aggression. All Members of the League are expected to be treated equally; therefore, France as one of its permanent founding Members had to obey all of the Articles and Decrees. Poland and Czechoslovakia were also afraid of aggression from the West, especially after Germany's recovery and after Hitler was elected as a chancellor. Therefore, even Members of the League of Nations had different views and could not reach a consensus.

In the face of Germany's growing the threat, and possibly considering the demilitarization that several Members of the League of Nations had undergone, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy, reached consensus during the Munich Agreement (or Munich Betrayal) where they decided to annex the Sudetenland to Germany without any notification to Czechoslovakia. This was despite the fact that the tenth article states that the Members of the League of Nations are obliged to respect and protect the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League and this particular article was the reason for the US Congress to refuse to ratify the Treaty. This act was also a critical betrayal of the League's obligations under Articles 11 and 16, if not in name, very much in spirit.

Finally, all these occasions rendered the provision of the Article №8 about exchanging "…full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes" meaningless. The eighth article can be considered as the most crucial of all mentioned above because it directly influenced the first several years of war. Members of the League were obliged to reduce their national armaments to the lowest point as it was what the "maintenance of peace requires" but in fact, disarmament made these countries not harmless but helpless. The

League of Nations was the organization that provided its Members with the guarantee of peace only on the paper while impounding weapons – the thing that could give them the real help in case of war.

This policy and this particular article made the situation during the war even worse because countries of the European region were not prepared to deflect attacks or at least defend themselves. They were weak compared to their enemy who was not tied by the treaties of the League and had a chance to strengthen its military power unhindered. Another important point was that Members were implied to completely trust each other – it was implicitly understood as they have signed the Covenant of the League and therefore were obliged to exchange information about the military power of the state – information that in fact must be kept in secret. The whole idea of interchanging the information was built on blind trust. Countries needed to be protected from the stronger opponent and the League officially provided this protection – that is why countries had to sign the Covenant and to follow the articles of the agreement. The situation with Germany, Italy, and Japan demonstrates the absurdity of this article. All countries of the Axis Powers had an extraordinary chance to collect all information about military possibilities, weak spots and military perspectives of other countries while being the Members of the League and then use this information to develop plans for the deployment of troops. This particular article can be reflected in the phrase "We wanted the best, you know the rest". Allies were vulnerable to the Axis powers, and it entailed and worsened the human rights violation during World War II. The Armies of the countries did not even have a chance to fight against their enemy because they were not equipped enough. While Germany constantly developed its military power, other countries were tied by the Covenant of the League and were obliged to reduce their armaments. Therefore, by the moment the war began, Germany was much stronger than other Members of the League and that is why it did not face a significant confrontation of their victims. The cruelty of Nazis was endless and not only military suffered from humiliation and tortures but also civilians. Millions of people were subjects for different experiments held by Nazis' scholars in concentration camps and laboratories caused by idea of creation of the "Perfect Man". All these miseries and understanding that government was helpless inspired many people to fight for their country implicitly and making the lives of the invaders extremely difficult.

D. The League's Too Little, Too Late Attempt at Resurrecting its Reputation

The interesting fact is that after the USSR started the war against Finland on the 30th of November, 1939, it was immediately excluded from the League for aggression. What is more interesting, only seven Members of the Council out of fifteen voted for the eviction of the USSR; therefore, less than a half, and two-thirds were needed for that decision. The most interesting point is that three out of seven Members of the Council were appointed by Anglo-French representatives just prior to the voting day in a special way. Therefore, the result of the voting was totally predictable. In fact, there were no military actions by the moment of General Secretary request as the Finnish Democratic Republic has been already established and peace was made with the Soviet Union government ("Pravda", Dec. 16, 1939). However, despite that fact, USSR was excluded from the League as its leadership desperately needed a scapegoat to demonstrate the power of a dying organization. The situation for the League was so critical that it had to do at least something to prove its strong position regarding basic principles of the League. The founders of this organization also wanted to isolate USSR from the global community as it often tried to keep Great Britain and France in a check and prevent turning the League into the instrument of achieving goals for several states ("Pravda", Dec. 16, 1939). However, it caused nothing but the ironic reaction of the USSR representatives in the League

and the USSR government. It is clear that this was too little, too late and certainly aimed at the wrong "enemy."

4. CONCLUSION

Eventually, all these missteps led to the distrust of other Members of the League; Countries like Brazil, Guatemala, Costa-Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, Romania, Hungary, and others left the League of Nations or were excluded during the existence of the organization. In the period of World War II, the League of Nations actually existed only on paper (Shevale, 2015). The League of Nations' methods of influencing aggressor countries turned out to be ineffective. Some historians argue that the League showed its helplessness when the USA never became a part of the organization (Northedge, 1986, pp. 276-278).

In our unstable world, it is extremely important to remember about episodes of the past and to know the history of your country in order to avoid the mistakes of the ancestors. People have a tendency to make the same mistakes again and again, but if we will keep the colorful and terrifying picture of the past in our minds, we will prevent the repetition. Organizations that are created for protecting the peace and human rights all over the world must follow their obligations, world powers must treat other countries fairly and there always must be someone who will keep those who are in power under control. Big countries always played a significant role in the global arena and it is true even now. Organizations like the League of Nations are usually created to serve the interests of particular countries and often bring nothing but discontent. The same situation occurs even now with the United Nations Organization – it has already lost aspects of its prestige and influence. We need only to look at the more recent conflicts of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries to see this: Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Kosova, Somalia, Burma, and the list continues to grow. It reminds us of some important organization of the previous century, is not it? History repeats itself and our duty is to prevent its most disastrous moments from repeating, and at the same time develop and cherish the periods of prosperity and peace.

The League of Nations was eliminated by a solid voice on the 21st session, on the 19th of April, 1946. To conclude and summarize, it is impossible to determine one particular person guilty for the failure of the League of Nations. As it is said, "Piscis primum a capite foetat" or "Fish rots from the head". It can be concluded that the most crucial missteps took place in the very beginning, actually in the Covenant itself. The founders of the League were guilty of being purblind; the permanent Members and leaders of the League were guilty of their inaction, weakness, and pusillanimity; The League had its explicit goals that were declared in the Covenant but it had implicit goals too and the point is that it predominantly pursued these implicit goals. The League was supposed to be united, to make countries to cooperate with each other but in fact, it was no more than an unsuccessful attempt to consolidate nations under one international organization with world powers in the head. As a matter of fact, almost all Members of the League were just pawns in the hands of the permanent members, just small parts of the League that played not so crucial role in the decisions made by this international organization. Therefore, the League of Nations was initially destined to collapse and it made steps that finally led it to disruption. Hopefully, politicians all over the world have learned this lesson and people will never let human rights being violated in such a disastrous and horrifying way again just for the ambitious interests of several leaders.

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THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

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Abstract:
From 1903 to 1917, the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), a women-only British organization, campaigned for women's suffrage in the United Kingdom. Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters led the WSPU. Unlike the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) which was considered "civil" in terms of their campaigning, the WSPU was in favor of more direct, even violent actions. The NUWSS believed in peaceful campaigns through collecting petitions, and allowing men to join them. The WSPU believed in direct action, such as breaking laws, arranging violent marches, damaging buildings, and destroying property. The WSPU's direct action of persuading people of Britain to follow their views of women's voting rights, bargaining with government officials, and coercion towards Britain's authorities were used to successfully lobby for voting rights for women.

Keywords: *Britain, NUWSS, women's suffrage, WSPU*

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst started a women-only organization called the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). The WSPU referred to themselves as suffragettes and campaigned for the vote for the ability to vote in all political elections on the same terms as men. Pankhurst started the WSPU for two reasons. The first reason was because of what happened in the 1890s between her and the Independent Labour Party Branch. In the 1890s, Emmeline and Richard Pankhurst were new members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), a British political party of the left working class established in 1893. Richard Pankhurst unexpectedly passed away. As a remembrance of him, five years after his death, a Hall was opened as the headquarters of the Independent Labour Party Branch that would not admit women.[1] When Emmeline Pankhurst was aware of the branch not accepting women, she immediately decided to create a women-only organization, the WSPU. To gain members, she decided to call the wives of the ILP men and their daughters. Emmeline Pankhurst strongly believed that women were no less worthy than men. Earlier in 1897, an organization with the same values existed. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) also sought to achieve women's suffrage. The NUWSS was a peaceful organization.[2] NUWSS members also referred to themselves as the suffragists and believed in legal actions. For instance, they wanted to protest for women's rights without violence through petitions, posters, leaflets, calendars, and public meetings. These suffragists believed that their success would come from their intelligent arguments and education.[3] Emmeline Pankhurst shared the same values but had different notions on what she wanted to happen with the Women's Social and Political Union. The Women's Social and Political Union successfully lobbied for voting rights for women in Britain between 1902–1918 by persuading the people of Britain to side with them, negotiating with government officials, and violent direct action towards Britain's authority.

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[1] Holton and Purvis, *Votes for Women*, 111.
[2] Smith, *Suffrage Discourse in Britain During the First World War*, 2.
[3] British Library Learning, "What is the difference between the suffragists and the suffragettes," https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/suffragists-and-suffragettes [Accessed 19 Nov 2018].

2. PERSUADING PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

In the 19th century, the roles between women and men in Great Britain reflected "separate spheres". "Separate spheres" defined women's roles within a domestic sphere, while men roles were public sphere. Women did not have any demanding power over men. Women were subjected to their husbands' lead in any political or social decisions. As a result, it was known that since women had such a great influence at home there was no need giving them the right to vote.[4] To counter the belief that women should not vote in elections, the attempt to gain suffrage started with the NUWSS in the late 1890s. However, Emmeline Pankhurst knew that in order for women to have the right to vote on the same conditions as men, she had to get the WSPU to persuade the men of Britain to agree. The WSPU was aware that it needed support from the Conservative Party to make their force of persuasion stronger.

The WSPU was known for delivering speeches to the public. Most importantly, the liberal women of Britain were interested in the speeches because of Emmeline Pankhurst's persuasive statements and tone of voice. *Freedom or Death* is one of her famous speeches. To persuade her audience, she used examples of why the WSPU employed in violence. Pankhurst took responsibility for the violence of the WSPU but explained that no matter what, the suffragettes are going to continue to fight. She persuaded women to not give up. For example, in her speech she said, "They little know what women are. Women are very slow to rouse, but once they are aroused, once they are determined, nothing on earth and nothing in heaven will make women give way; it is impossible."[5] The "they" she refers to are the men. Pankhurst clarifies that the suffragettes will not go away until the right to vote for women is given. Teresa Billington attended a speech sponsored by the WSPU in the early 1900s. After the speech, she joined the Women's Social and Political Union. When she joined the organization she stated, "Emmeline was very gracious and very persuasive."[6] The motivation that Pankhurst shared during her speeches helped with persuading men to at least try to understand the actions of the WSPU.

Another way of persuading the people of Britain was the sympathy for women in Pankhurst's speeches. In 1913, Emmeline Pankhurst gave the speech, "Why We Are Militant" in New York. After her speech in New York, she came back to Britain to deliver a similar speech. She captured sympathy from the people of Britain by sharing experiences and observations involving the role of women. For instance, in her speech she stated:

> I wonder that women have the courage to take upon themselves the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood when I see how little protection the law of my country affords them. I wonder a woman will face the ordeal of childbirth with the knowledge that after she has risked her life to bring a child into the world, she has absolutely no parental rights over the future of that child… We realize how political power, how political influence would enable us to get better laws, would make it possible for thousands upon thousands of unhappy women to live happier lives.[7]

Pankhurst used women as a connection to her listeners to get their sympathy to join this fight for rights with her. She wanted the people to feel sympathy so that they can build strength to fight with the WSPU for women's suffrage. She wanted men to consider how women felt. The

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[4] British Library Learning, "Gender Roles in the 19th Century," https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/gender-roles-in-the-19th-century [accessed 19 Nov 2018].
[5] Conservative Women's Organization, "Freedom or Death Speech," https://conservativewomen.uk/content/pankhurst-freedom-or-death-speech [accessed 19 Nov 2018].
[6] Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography*, 67.
[7] Smith, *Suffrage Discourse in Britain During the First World War,* 5.

more people that were in agreement with the WSPU, the more successful the drive for voting rights became.

3. NEGOTIATION WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Aside from persuading the people of Britain, the WSPU also successfully lobbied for voting rights for women by negotiating with government officials. In 1905, Emmeline Pankhurst went to London to persuade a member of parliament (MP) to sponsor the proposed Women's Enfranchisement Bill as a private member's bill. [8] The Women's Enfranchisement Bill was to enable voting rights for women at elections. Pankhurst did this so the bill would not look like it was directly from the WSPU because then it would not even get looked at by the MP. Her motive was to have the bill filed as if it was from someone who was already a MP who sided with women rights. She established negotiations with Keir Hardie, who was a family friend and a Labour member of parliament.[9] On May 12, 1905, the bill did not pass because the parties did not agree with women voting. The bill was not even voted upon. This led to the first militant act by the Women's Social and Political Union, which involved protesting against Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister of Britain in 1905. The WSPU demanded that the Liberal Party save the bill. Of course, Emmeline Pankhurst did not think it would pass easily. In the same year as the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was proposed, the WSPU decided to create a different bill for equal voting rights of men and women.[10] The new bill did not pass Parliament, so no further negotiations took place that year. The WSPU sided mostly with the Liberal Party but they had to at least get the votes from the MPs. The WSPU did not back down. The WSPU wanted to talk to the Prime Minister to bargain for the voting rights of women. The WSPU sent their own representatives to try to get answers from the MPs at the House of Commons. The Prime Minister held the most power. After a while, there was still no news from the MPs or the Prime Minister, so the WSPU attempted to get the attention by declaring what they would not do as a citizen of Britain. The WSPU needed over 300 votes. The WSPU wrote petitions stating that they would refuse to pay taxes.[11] The Prime Minister of Britain did not answer or acknowledge the WSPU.

With no immediate progress for women's suffrage, the WSPU decided to negotiate with government officials. In the early 1900s, David Lloyd George, a Liberal Party politician, conducted negotiations through Sylvia Pankhurst. Sylvia Pankhurst was the daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst and a member of the WSPU. George promised a new government Reform Bill to include a women's suffrage clause on which the Liberal leadership would guarantee a free vote.[12] He even told the Home Secretary to prevent the rearrests of Sylvia Pankhurst under the Cat and Mouse Act so that the WSPU could believe him. The Cat and Mouse Act gave the government power to release sick prisoners temporarily and re-arrest them when they were well again. The Reform Bill was the WSPU's way of successfully getting voting rights for women. However, this plan that the WSPU wanted did not happen as expected because there were not enough people in Parliament to side with them. In 1908, the WSPU organized a rush on Parliament at Saint Stephen's Hall, where the House of Commons met. This disruption was highly advertised. The purpose was to publicly announce the need of women's rights to vote. Before the actual rush event planned by the WSPU, Flora Drummond, a member of WSPU, arranged for a band with WSPU banners and flags to appear on the terrace of the House of

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[8] Holton and Purvis, *Votes for Women*, 111.
[9] Holton and Purvis, *Votes for Women*, 111.
[10] Mayhall, *Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860–1930*, 81.
[11] Baker, *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*, 188.
[12] Holton, *Suffrage Days: Stories from the Women's Suffrage Movement*, 207.

Commons while the MPs were entertaining guests.[13] The WSPU wanted to inform the MPs about their future demonstration. When Drummond arrived at the terrace, she shouted, "This is the WSPU's invitation to members of both Houses to attend the demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday June 21 1908."[14] On the day of the event, about 250,000 people attended the demonstration to show their support for women's suffrage. This was the largest number of people who had gathered in one place ever in Britain. The WSPU wanted to show that they had a lot of support. They did not do any violent tactics at this demonstration. They wanted to show the government how many people they had supporting voting rights for women. As a result, Prime Minister Herbert Asquith responded by stating that at some future date the government intended to bring a reform bill that might include female suffrage.[15] The word "might" is what triggered Pankhurst, along with the other members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Emmeline Pankhurst did not want to give up and accept Asquith's "might". The WSPU thought that their plan would work smoothly but in result it did not get them further in their plan. The WSPU continued to lobby for voting rights for women after 1908.

4. VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION TOWARD AUTHORITY

The WSPU not only negotiated with government officials, but also violently directed actions towards Britain's authorities. Emmeline Pankhurst created a permanent motto for the WSPU, "Deeds not words". The "deeds" she referred to were violent actions, such as breaking laws, holding rowdy demonstrations, damaging buildings, and destroying property. Members smashed windows and partook in hunger striking.[16] In 1908, after the Hyde Park demonstration, the WSPU arranged another demonstration on June 30ᵗʰ to show the British government its level of support again. This demonstration was planned to be right outside of the House of Commons. Unlike the Hyde Park event, this demonstration involved two frustrated women smashing two windows with a bag of stones.[17] This was the first violent situation by the WSPU towards British authorities. In April 1909, four members of the WSPU damaged a statue of Viscount Falkland in Saint Stephen's Hall. Viscount Falkland was a politician who sat in the House of Commons in the 1600s. The suffragettes damaged the statue of Viscount Falkland to show how no respect existed for the House of Commons. The damage included the four members chaining themselves to the statue to advertise the WSPU's Albert Hall rally the week after.[18] This act brought shame towards the House of Commons. In June 1909, Marion Wallace Dunlop, a member of the WSPU, vandalized the wall on the outside of the House of Commons by writing in violet colored ink. She wrote an excerpt from the Bill of Rights stating, "It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal."[19] As a result of this act, she was incarcerated. In jail, Marion refused to eat in protest. She was the first hunger-striker of the WSPU. Marion was willing to sacrifice her life to achieve voting rights for women. After her release, the news of her hunger strike was released to the press. The more suffragettes who were imprisoned, the more hunger strikes occurred. When the hunger-strikers continued, forcible feeding was introduced. Britain's public sympathized for the WSPU but reacted badly towards the government.

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[13] Unwin, "The 1908 Pankhurst Medal: Remembering the Campaign for Votes for Women in Parliament", 439.
[14] Unwin, "The 1908 Pankhurst Medal: Remembering the Campaign for Votes for Women in Parliament", 439.
[15] Unwin, "The 1908 Pankhurst Medal: Remembering the Campaign for Votes for Women in Parliament", 439.
[16] Baker, *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*, 188.
[17] Unwin, "The 1908 Pankhurst Medal: Remembering the Campaign for Votes for Women in Parliament", 440.
[18] Unwin, "The 1908 Pankhurst Medal: Remembering the Campaign for Votes for Women in Parliament", 438.
[19] Mayhall, *Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860–1930*, 14.

The violent acts of the WSPU continued, as the organization decided to think smarter with its plans. The WSPU decided to start doing damage near the House of Commons. The WSPU wanted to continue the violence against public property aside from the House of Commons itself. The members of the WSPU wanted to put businesses at a pause in being successful so the government would be pressured into passing voting rights for women. The WSPU would go into town by the House of Commons to break windows and leave pamphlets. Leaving pamphlets behind was the main objective of their plan. The pamphlets were entitled, "Window Breaking: To One Who Has Suffered" and signed by "A Sympathizer".[20] The text argued that in order to put a stop to window breaking, there would have to be a change for women to vote. The WSPU structured the pamphlets so the direct message encouraged the recipient to tell the Liberal Government that they would stand against women not having the vote. The last sentence of the pamphlet stated, "Believe me, the women will never give in, and you would think the less of them if they did. It is the politicians who must give in, and you and your fellow electors can make them do it."[21] The last line of the pamphlet did not allow the recipient to hesitate to spread the news about the issue. The WSPU used their violent skills to try to persuade the owners of businesses to help demand votes for women.

The confrontational and disturbing actions of the WSPU continued. While members of the WSPU were in prison, they went on hunger strikes and were force fed by prison authorities. Sylvia Pankhurst endured ten hunger and thirst strikes as she campaigned for the vote, and she was one of many suffragettes who were forcibly fed by prison authorities.[22] WSPU members did not allow British authorities to have any type of control over them. In jail, the WSPU members were "tough enough" to handle the treatment of the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge (Cat and Mouse) Act.[23] The prisoners of the WSPU did not give in even in prison. With the protest, vandalism, and hunger strikes happening, the Britain authorities kept a close eye on the Pankhurst family, because they were the cause of what was happening. During a horse Derby race in 1913, Emily Davison, a member of the WSPU, plunged herself under King George V's horse.[24] The remaining members of the WSPU, especially Emmeline Pankhurst, were shocked to hear about this news. The WSPU did not plan or arrange for a member of their organization to sacrifice their life for the cause. This disturbing action drew more attention to the WSPU. This situation also alarmed the British authorities and public to stay alert and wonder what else the WSPU would do. Emily Davison wanted to sacrifice her life for the cause of women receiving voting rights.

5. CONCLUSION

The Women's Social and Political Union believed in the rights of women to have the opportunity to vote under the same rules as men. The WSPU did not quit between 1903 and 1917. The WSPU was an organization that stood for "One for all and all for one". Emmeline Pankhurst started this organization with an end goal. The tactics used gained public attention of Britain. The radical actions of the suffragettes were not fully understood by the British government and may have pushed the progression of women voting rights back, but part of their end goal was achieved. In 1918, the Parliament Qualification of Women 1918 Act gave women ages 30 and up the right to vote.[25] The tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union started

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[20] Jorgensen-Earp, *The Transfiguring Sword: The Just Wat of the Women's Social and Political Union*, 20.
[21] Jorgensen-Earp, *The Transfiguring Sword: The Just War of the Women's Social and Political Union,* 21.
[22] Purvis, "Sylvia Pankhurst (1882–1960), suffragette, political activist, artist and writer", 83.
[23] Baker, *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited,* 188.
[24] Baker, *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*, 187.
[25] Mayhall, *Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860–1930*, 20.

a change in Britain. A decade after this change, women were able to vote on the same conditions as men. In 1928, all British women over the age of 21 were granted the right to vote in elections.[26] The violent acts of The Women's Social and Political Union's may have played a part in women not getting the right to vote soon but made priority on the political agenda. When the members of the WSPU experienced rough treatment with force-feeding and The Cat and Mouse Act by the authorities, the WSPU gained public sympathy and more support. There are many inferences about the WSPU being the ultimate change for voting rights for women. Many women suffrage groups existed but the WSPU sparked the attention of the public and government the most. As a result, The Women's Social and Political Union's strategic choices of persuasion, negotiation, and coercion was not the only reason why women had voting rights in Britain but helped to gain voting rights for women in Britain.

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[26] British Library Learning, "What is the difference between the suffragists and the suffragettes," https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/suffragists-and-suffragettes [Accessed 19 Nov 2018].

THE HAMIDIAN MASSACRE: THE FORGOTTEN GENOCIDE

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Abstract:

The Hamidian massacre also known as the Armenian Massacre of 1894–1896 was a massacre of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire that took place from 1894–1896. The massacre was named after Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who pushed to reassert Pan-Islamism as a state ideology. The extreme violence that targeted Armenians during the reign of Sultan Abdül Hamid II, had left an unforgettable memory amongst the Armenian people throughout the 20th century and has even carried over to present day. The slaughtering of the Armenians had massively destabilized their communities in Eastern Anatolia, resulting in socio-economic devastation, collapse of culture, and internal/external migrations, which was heavily in Constantinople and the urban centers of Anatolia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Egypt, and the Americas. While the Armenians and have not forgotten about this horrific event in history, majority of the international community have forgotten this atrocity had ever occurred with some nations even saying that this never happened.

Keywords: *Armenia, Armenian Massacre, Hamid II, genocide*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Hamidian Massacre, also known as the Armenian Massacre of 1894–1896, was a massacre of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire that took place from 1894–1896. The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Hamid II, carried out this massacre upon the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia. Estimated casualties ranged from 80,000 to 300,000 with 50,000 orphaned children. In one occasion, the City of Urfa was attacked by Turkish soldiers, resulting in thousands of Armenians being slaughtered and burned to death. The massacres are named after Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who, in his efforts to maintain the imperial domain of the collapsing Ottoman Empire, reasserted Pan-Islamism as a state ideology. The massacres upon the Armenians first began in the Ottoman interior in 1894, before becoming more widespread in the following years. Between 1894 and 1896 was when the majority of the murders took place. The massacres began tapering off in 1897 following international condemnation on Abdul Hamid. The harshest measures were directed against the long-persecuted Armenian community, as leaders amongst the Armenians called for civil reform and better treatment from the government went ignored. The Ottomans observed no distinction between the victims' age nor sex. Sultan Hamid II had perceived the Ottoman Armenians to be agents of foreign hostility and a means by which Western Europe Powers could spread western ideology and collapse the Empire from within. Added to this, Sultan Abdul Hamid II adopted a Pan-Islamist ideology in an attempt to stop the process of decline and collapse of his empire, as well as for Ottoman Muslims to look upon attacks against Christians as a fulfillment of a religious duty. The Sultan also believed that the Armenians would revolt and secede from the Ottoman Empire. The massacres upon the Armenians first began in the Ottoman interior in 1894, before becoming more widespread in the following years. Between 1894 and 1896 was when the majority of the murders took place. The massacres began tapering off in 1897, following international condemnation on Abdul Hamid. The harshest measures were directed against the long-persecuted Armenian community as calls for civil reform and better treatment from the government went ignored. The Ottomans observed no distinction between the victims' age or sex, and massacred them with brutal force.

The extreme violence that targeted Armenians during the reign of Sultan Abdül Hamid II left an unforgettable memory amongst the Armenian people throughout the 20th century and has even carried over to present day. The slaughtering of the Armenians massively destabilized their communities in Eastern Anatolia, resulting in socio-economic devastation, the collapse of culture, and internal/external migrations, which was heavily into Constantinople and the urban centers of Anatolia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Egypt, and the Americas. While the Armenians and their descendants have not forgotten about this horrific event in history, the international community has forgotten this atrocity occurred, with many nations such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq, even saying that this never happened.

2. ARMENIAN HISTORY

The Armenians are an ancient people who have existed since before the first century C.E. Armenia has gained and lost a tremendous amount of territory throughout its long and turbulent history. Boundaries of the past have extended from the present-day Republic of Armenia and through most of modern day Turkey.[1] The name "Armenia" was actually given to the country by its neighbors; inhabitants of Armenia refer to it as "Hayastan" derived from the name Haik, a descendent of Noah (from the Bible), and "stan" which means "land" in Persian. The earliest use of this term was in the late sixth century B.C. The Armenian language is unique from other Indo-European languages, with its own distinct letters and grammar. Christianity is a deeply rooted aspect of Armenian history and culture.[2] While under the enforcement of Roman values and law, the official religion of all Armenians came to be Christianity. Armenia was the first nation to adopt Christianity as a state religion in 301 A.D.[3] This early Christian identity has greatly influenced Armenian culture, setting it apart from most of its neighboring peoples. The majority of Armenians belong to the Eastern or Western dioceses of the Armenian Apostolic Church, an orthodox form of Christianity.[4] The Armenians had been living on the edge of the Christian world among Muslim communities. However, as centuries had past, it was believe by the Armenians that the Church was destined to preserve the nation and its culture assimilation into the societies that were long before enforced by overbearing military conquerors. Inside Armenia's "web of significance", the Church was the one social institution that could resist one foreign invader after another.[5] The meaning behind this was that the Church was seen as a trusted and well-respected organization amongst the Armenian population. This had preserved the mental identity and cultural integrity of the scattered local communities both within Armenia and abroad. The adoption of Christianity had also influenced a second movement with regards to an Armenian identity, which was the Armenian alphabet and the development of Armenian literacy. [6]However, since the seventh century their country had been plagued by multiple invaders such as the Romans and Russians, resulting in the split from political ideology and only survived by coming together as a cultural community. It had soon become the custom to express Armenian identity in terms of conflict with foreign aggressors and the struggle to preserve the nation's character despite alien domination.[7] This continued up until the nineteenth century, at which time in history the Armenians were scattered in communities that were inspired to build strong mutual links with one another and the homeland of Armenia.

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[1] Cohan, A Brief History of the Armenian Genocide, 333.
[2] Cohan, A Brief History of the Armenian Genocide, 333.
[3] Cohan, A Brief History of the Armenian Genocide, 333.
[4] Herzig and Kurkchiyan. The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity, 3.
[5] Herzig and Kurkchiyan. The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity, 3.
[6] Herzig and Kurkchiyan. The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity, 4.
[7] Herzig and Kurkchiyan. The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity, 4.

Unfortunately, the nineteenth century would become the beginning of the Armenians' greatest suffering just as their historic homeland was being conquered by the Russians in Eastern Armenia and absorbed by the Ottomans in Western Armenia.

3. OTTOMAN HISTORY CONTEXT

The history of Armenia within the Ottoman Empire has been seen as a crucial time period for the identity of Armenians and their struggle as a nation. Before discussing the Hamidian Massacre, the 15-year time frame before this began provides important context that led to the tipping point. In 1887, following the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, resulting in the Russo-Turkish War from 1877–1878. With the Ottomans defeated in 1878, its government to accept the Treaty of San Stefano.[8] Turkey asked for an armistice to which Russia agreed and negotiations for a treaty were held at Adrianople. The Russians promised that the treaty would include the following clause in favor of Armenians: "For the purpose of preventing the oppressions and atrocities which have occurred in the Ottoman Empire's European and Asiatic provinces, the Sultan guarantees, in agreement with the Czar, to grant administrative local self-government to the provinces inhabit ted by Armenians (Van, Bitlis, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Elazig and Sivas)".[9] When the Russian delegates came to San Stefano and resided at the house of an Armenian notable named Araqel Bey Dadian, the Armenian patriarch Nerses Varjapetian went personally and besought Count Ignatiev, Education Minister under Tsar Nicholas II, to insist on the urgency of the reforms affecting the Armenians of Eastern Anatolia. The Treaty created Bulgaria and Macedonia as well as gave independence to Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro, Article 16 of the treaty discussed the evacuation of Russian troops in Armenia, creating an introduction of reforms in Armenia.[10] Article 16 of the treaty also was a guarantee for the reforms in 'the provinces inhabited by the Armenians' , as follows: " As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries (Russia and Turkey), the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians."[11] The Sublime Porte was the monumental portal at the Ottoman palace where the supreme tribunals were held. However, the pro-Turkish British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli interfered and pressured for the treaty to be submitted to a European congress resulting in the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed in 1878. Article 16 of the previous treaty was replaced with weaker statements, in which the evacuation of Russian troops would no longer be made conditional upon implementation of reforms for the Armenian people.[12] Article 16 as well was replaced by Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, which stated that the Ottoman government would carry out the improvements and reforms such as equal treatment as Turks and religious freedom, which was demanded by the Armenians, including guarantee for their security against the Kurds and Circassians. The Kurds and Circassians were two ethnic minority groups that had seen the Armenians as inferior for being Christians, which has led to violent conflicts. The progress of reforms for Armenians were to be periodically reported to the Powers of European Congress. Not only was Article 61 of great importance for the Ottomans and their subjects, but Article 62

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[8] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 40.

[9] Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire*, 6.

[10] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 40.

[11] Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire*, 6.

[12] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 40.

was as well for it concerned religious liberty for all Ottoman subjects. It stated: "In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall difference of religion be alleged against any person as ground force for exclusion or incapacity as regards the discharge of civil and political rights, admission to the public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries. All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to give evidence before tribunals."[13]

However, after the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, the freedom of religion was dramatically violated within the Ottoman Empire for the Armenians by the regime of Sultan Hamid II. It was believed that before the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan had no special enmity to the Armenians as well to any political aspiration of the nation of Armenia. It was believed the condition for advocating for their protection had first marked them out for suspicion and hatred by the Ottoman government and the Sultan.[14] Rolin-Jaequemyms, president of the Belgian Institute of International Law and an observer of Ottoman affairs, supported this claim by discussing how the Turks had responded to the huge immigration of Circassians, who has had past tensions with the Armenians, poured into the Ottoman territory, specifically Armenian districts, after the Russo-Turkish war.[15] Once in the Armenian districts, the Circassians were not allowed to leave nor were the Armenian residents even as living conditions became horrendous. Rolin-Jaegquemyms further explained that these consequences could have been easily avoidable but clearly neglected by the unwilling Turkish authorities.[16] The British vice-consul at Erzeroum had reported on the events occurring in Armenia this stating, "Half ruined by the war, and lately reduced to beggary and starvation by the failure of the crops, the unfortunate people have nevertheless been inexorably pursued by the tax gatherers, and imprisoned by the authorities when unable to pay, and this notwithstanding that the Government owed many of these same people considerable sums of money for supplies furnished during the war."[17] While it can be hard to tell the extent of which the central government was involved versus the extent of depredation imposed by corrupt local authorities, evidence such as the decision by the central government to demand taxes from these districts and detailed reports of the state of affairs in various districts can make the connection that there was at least considerable compliance from the highest levels of the Ottoman government.[18] Sultan Hamid II had a multitude of reasons for the continuous crackdown in Eastern Anatolia and tried to persuade it as justification as the international community began demanding answers.

4. ARMENIANS SEEN INFIDELS BASED ON THEIR RELIGION

Religion had been played a major role within the Ottoman government especially on how they interpreted the Treaty of Berlin. The Ottoman Empire had been ruled from a religious, Islamic foundation. Islam, as it was interpreted at the time, had little tolerance for non-Muslims.[19] Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were seen as infidels and were subject to the rule of law as well as the mercy of Muslim society. Non-Muslims such as Christian Armenians were placed amongst the millet system, which had been clearly identified that they were inferior.[20] The millet system was the institutional framework governing relations between the Ottoman state

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[13] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 40–41.
[14] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 41.
[15] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 41.
[16] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 41.
[17] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 42.
[18] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 42.
[19] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 43.
[20] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 42.

and its large and varied non-Muslim population. This system had taught Turkish Muslims to look down on Christians as a whole, adding more fuel to the fire on why the Armenians were targeted. The pluralist Islamic model that was the foundation of Ottoman society, and the resulting Muslim outlook upon relations with non-Muslim inhabitants was seen as a crucial aspect of this.[21] From the Islamic perspective at that time, Christians were only to be endured and tolerated if they accepted the authority and superiority of Muslims and the Islamic order.

However, the reforms of the nineteenth century from the Treaty of Berlin had challenged this core belief between Muslims and Christians, creating hostility and resentment. This had been furthered fueled by a propaganda campaign by Muslim leaders within the Ottoman Government in the 1850s that pointed the collapse of religion and dissolving of the state to the influence of Christian customs. It could be said that the common attitude of hatred and discontent from the Turks and Kurds towards Armenians during this period was due to their religious identity rather than national identity.[22] The Hamidian massacres that preceded the Armenian Genocide are not even referred to in passing, despite the extensive coverage given the "Islamist" policies of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In neither case was Islam anything other than a political tool in the hands of vicious and unscrupulous rulers.[23] The Hamidian massacres have been seen as an attempt by the Abdul Hamid II to reward his supporters in the rising Muslim merchant class at the expense of Armenian petty businessmen. A similar pattern emerges with the Young Turks, whose first commitments were pan-Turkish and certainly not Islamic. Adding on to this, the accepted position of the Armenians as a millet within the Ottoman Empire became increasingly concerning heading towards the end of the nineteenth century. There had also been a growing perception that the Armenians had violated their place in society on multiple occasions and no long had the right to live under the system. The Turkish people were struggling with acceptance of increased prosperity, higher education levels, and better jobs amongst the Armenians.[24] As Sultan Abdul Hamid II came to the power, jealousy and resentment was overflowing amongst the Turks, resulting in the sultan reviving Muslim superiority within Ottoman society as well as labeling Armenians as infidels. The Turks had also believed the Armenians were acting further outside their correct place as a millet, according to the millet system, through their apparent disloyalty in appealing to Europe for international intervention to improve their conditions of life in the Ottoman Empire. Under Article 62 of the Treaty of Berlin Christian Armenians were to be treated with civic equality even thought this was a violation of a fundamental tenet of Islam as it was interpreted at the time.[25] The Armenians had used their faith not for comfort and strength but as a cultural identity as well that was never to be taken. Ottoman rhetoric concerning the Armenians had for the past decade stressed that independence would wreck the Empire and that the Armenians were simply the tools of European imperialism.

5. EXTENSION OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION/ ARMENIANS SUSPECTED OF REVOLTING AND SECEDING FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

With the intervention of the European Congress in the Treaty of Berlin, and the religious ideology of the Armenians as Christian, the Sultan believed that the Armenians had become an extension of Western Civilization. The demands that were made from the Treaty of Berlin had displeased Sultan Hamid II, which seemed to implement ideals such as equal treatment and

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[21] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 43.

[22] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 44.

[23] Kalpakian, *The Mind of Jihad: Laurent Murawiec.*

[24] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 44.

[25] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 44.

freedom of religion, from western democracy into the Armenian community. The Sultan believed that if this were to occur within in the Armenian communities of Eastern Anatolia then the Ottoman Empire was to collapse from within the empire. The reasoning behind Sultan Hamid II's claim was that Western Europe had been controlled by Christian majority and correlated that with the demands already made by the Armenians within the Treaty of Berlin.

As the Armenians began to become self-aware of their oppressions, majority of Armenians joined together to form revolutionary political parties that stressed civil and political rights as well as their willingness to remain within the Ottoman Empire only if they are granted communal autonomy. The Armenian revolutionary movement was seen as a major threat by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, an "intolerable danger".[26] Ottoman rhetoric concerning the Armenians had for the past decade stressed that independence would wreck the Empire and that the Armenians were simply the tools of European imperialism. The formation of the Armenian revolutionary parties, such as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, about which the government was well informed, and the increasing activity of these groups throughout 1893 made some kind of Ottoman reaction necessary.

The tension throughout the region and in Constantinople had been building up for two years, making the danger of violent reactions on the part of the Muslims an ever-increasing possibility. Instead of letting the local populations take matters into their own hands, which would have not only discredited the government in the eyes of the majority population, the government decided to take action itself. With the Ottoman Government taking the reins, there was the open-ended massacres and more serious revolts against Ottoman authority by both Armenians and Kurds. This became the final stepping blocking for the Ottoman Empire to execute the Hamidian Massacres of 1894–1896, in which it was to be seen as justified since it was the duty of any government to re-establish order.

Relation to Eastern Europe

While information continues to surface to this about the Hamidian Massacre, the only correlation can be found within the events that followed in Armenia between 1915 and 1917, known as the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian Genocide was a result of the Ottoman government's systematic extermination of 1.5 million Armenians, mostly citizens within the Ottoman Empire. The genocide was carried out during and after World War I and was implemented in two phases: the wholesale killing of the able-bodied male population through massacre and subjection of army conscripts to forced labor, and then followed by the deportation of women, children, the elderly, and the infirm on death marches leading to the Syrian Desert. The most significant understanding of the continuous victimization of the Armenians in the decades preceding the World War I genocide was the relatively nonexistent freedom with which the Young Turks had proceeded with.[27] Encouraged by the inaction of the Great Powers (Great Britain, France, and Russia), who were responsible for preventing or punishing these massacres, the Ottoman authorities persisted in their methods of completing the Turko-Armenian conflict through lethal violence.[28] In the same context, the Ottomans continued to deny the crimes resulting from such violence. The progressive escalation in the level of genocidal killing of the Armenians in Ottoman Turkey through sporadic and recurrent

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[26] Mayersen, *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined,* 46.
[27] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 507.
[28] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 507.

massacres in the eras of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and the Young Turks is a particularly important fact in this respect.[29]

When describing these events, a British historian named Arnold Toynbee in 1916, compiled a massive volume documenting and detailing the Armenian genocide and recognized the intimate connections between Turkish official denials to the subsequent mass murders. When challenging the Turkish wartime declaration of innocence, Toynbee dismissed this. He concluded this by stating "it is evident that the war was merely an opportunity and not a cause."[30] Restating his firm conviction that the Armenian massacre was a premeditated genocide, he stated half a century later that "the massacre of Armenian Ottoman subjects in the Ottoman Empire in 1896... was amateur and ineffective compared with the largely successful attempt to exterminate them that was made during the First World War in 1915."[31] Moreover, like the later Jewish genocide, this genocide was "carried out ... under the cloak of legality, by cold-blooded governmental action. These were not mass-murders committed spontaneously by mobs of private people."[32] Massacres of Sultan Abdul Hamid's era (1894–96) lacked thorough planning and the requisite experience for organizing them on a genocidal scale. More importantly, there was some lingering unease that unrestricted and indiscriminate mass murder at that time might, after all provoked the Powers to proceed militarily against Turkey under certain treaty rights.[33] This particularly correlates with the Great Powers already established legacy of "humanitarian intervention" in Europe and the Near East. This element of uncertainty forced the perpetrators to view the massacres more or less as experiments.[34] In the end, however, the outcome proved quite reassuring for the Turkish authorities and led them to believe that they could view the victim population as fair game when planning more effective future operations.

One of the most significant common elements between the Armenians and the Jews has been the inferior status to which they have been relegated for centuries as belittled minorities by nation-states and the dominant groups operating within them.[35] To add, their vulnerable status was a manifestation of these structural realities. By designating a group as "inferior" had implied a host of prejudices and entails a range of discriminatory practices that frequently weakened the collective mental state of the targeted population.[36] Adding to this, legal disabilities had also worsened these social liabilities as well. For the Armenians, the legal disabilities included the denial of the right to bear arms in a land where their adversaries (Kurds and Circassians) were armed to the teeth, especially in the interior and the distant provinces. For extended periods, both the Armenians and the Jews were politically disenfranchised and were excluded from the governmental power structure of their respective societies.[37] This

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[29] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 507.

[30] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 508.

[31] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 508.

[32] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 508.

[33] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 508.

[34] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 508.

[35] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 517.

[36] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 517.

[37] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 518.

political marginalization often contrasted sharply with the economic ascendancy of certain segments of these two minorities. This limited economic success combined with a lack of political power became conflicted in the ability to increase the vulnerability of these ethnic groups, especially as large segments of the majority ethnic groups suffered sustained economic hardships.[38] This had also recognized that both of these cases involved structural causative anti-Semitic and anti-Armenian factors. Specifically, discrimination against the Jews and Armenians effectively barred them from certain occupations, such as the civil service, the military, and the government.[39] This exclusion was restrictive enough to impel the Armenians and the Jews to forego this fields-where income was regulated by fixed salaries-and instead channel their ambitions into trade, commerce, and industry. Nevertheless, most of the Armenian and Jewish populations had become neither affluent nor particularly prosperous.[40]

6. CONCLUSION

With the religious persecution of Armenian's Christian belief, the suspicion of being an extension of Western Democracy, and the suspicion of revolting from the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan gave the order to oppress and slaughter 100,000 to 300,000 Armenians living in Eastern Anatolia from 1894–1896. This paper hopes to open peoples' eyes about a genocide that had been long forgotten within the bands of time and history. Additionally, this massacre is could be seen as a significant event that led to the Young Turks under the Ottoman Empire carrying out the first genocide of the 20ᵗʰ Century, the Armenian Genocide, which systematically killed 1.5 million Armenians from 1915–1917. The Young Turks grasped this idea as well from Abdul Hamid II who was leader of the Ottoman Empire as they were running their empire. Just like the Armenian Genocide, the Hamidian Massacre had no response or outreach for humanitarian aid from the international community until the killings and pillaging was all said and done. The Armenian Genocide as well gave justification with Nazis Germany's Invasion of Poland in 1939 and the systematic killing of 6 million Jews in Eastern Europe. Hitler was well aware of the atrocities by the Ottoman Empire and stated "Who speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians?", which was just a week before the September 1, 1939 invasion of Poland.

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[38] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 518.

[39] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 518.

[40] Dadrian, T*he Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice*, 518.

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THE ROLE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM IN REVOLUTIONS

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Abstract:
This research paper will cover the role and importance of the students' participation in revolutionary movements by the example of recent Ukrainian and Arab Spring revolutions. This paper will show the significance of Human Rights to the society by illustrating how much it meant to students to actually have the basic rights, as they suffered from the lack of freedom, which is crucial, as may also lead to revolutionary actions. The paper will include an analysis of the role of the protesting students in the events and the answer to the question why the students were actually so important for the movements, as well as the problems that the students faced, using the Liberalist theory. We will also compare these two events with the revolutionary movements in Czechoslovakia in the late 1980s. Each of the three revolutions will be analyzed by the same criteria, which will demonstrate that different revolutions actually had the same need for human rights issues. We will analyze why the students' participation was so crucial in both Ukrainian and Arab Spring revolutions, as well as one in Czechoslovakia.

Keywords: *Arab Spring, Velvet Revolution, Ukraine, revolutions*

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

This research was inspired by the findings of competent scholars in the following case studies: Arab Spring, Ukrainian Euromaidan and Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia.

In the case of Ukraine, we have used the researches of two academics – Nadia Diuk and Emily S. Channell-Justice. Nadia Diuk, a vice president of the National Endowment for Democracy,[1] in her article "EUROMAIDAN: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution" has analyzed the chronology of the Euromaidan revolution, explaining the reasons and the timeline of the events. Regarding the role of the students, the author has noted that it was the students who played one of the biggest roles in the revolution, as they took the lead of it. Another researcher, Emily S. Channell-Justice, a doctoral candidate in socio-cultural anthropology at the Graduate Center, City University of New York,[2] in her article "Flexibility and Fragmentation: Student Activism and Ukraine's (Euro)Maidan Protests", paid the main focus of the analysis is on the students' activism in particular. The author has worked closely with the Student Coordinating Committee and participated in student actions in Euromaidan, which gave her the deeper understanding of the events, being an observer, researcher and participant at the same time. The author has denoted that the students had played a crucial role in events, demanding the formation of the new government.[3]

For the case of the Arab Spring, we have used the book "The Arab Spring Five Years Later: Toward Greater Inclusiveness" by Hafez Ghanem. The scholar focused on what motivated people to go against the regime, what they lacked the most, the consequences of the Arab Spring, and its flaws, nevertheless, providing solutions to keep the Arab Spring on its right direction. We have also used a scientific paper that was published by the American University in Cairo, "The Student Movement in Egypt. A Microcosm of Contentious Politics", where the

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[1] Nadia Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 9.
[2] Emily Channell-Justice, *Flexibility And Fragmentation: Student Activism and Ukraine's (Euro)Maidan Protests,* (2014), 64.
[3] Emily Channell-Justice, *Flexibility And Fragmentation,* (2014), 64.

authors focused mainly on the role of students during the Arab Spring, they participation, and the goals they followed, having different backgrounds and different political beliefs. The paper also referred to the human rights violations that the students were exposed to during the demonstrations, and, lastly, the paper summarized the good outcomes, and the achievements resulted from the student activism.

For the case of The Velvet Revolution of Czechoslovakia, we have used "Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989)", written by Dr. Lester R Kurtz, where the author summarized the events of the revolution: how it started peacefully, how the police reacted violently to the protesters, and how the death of one protester lead to strong reactions from the student's demonstrations. The author has also summarized the actions of Václav Havel, and his crucial role during the revolution. During our research for the Velvet Revolution, we have also used "Games of the Velvet Revolution: An Integrative Approach to the Transition in Czechoslovakia 1989", written by the political scientist Vit Simral. The author has covered the goals that the students demanded, provided the outcomes that that the students managed to achieve, and socializing the state without being afraid to do so.

2. INTRODUCTION

Revolutions, as the phenomenon itself, are incredibly important by any means, such as historical, sociological, ideological and many more. By learning the reasons of revolutions and motives of the protesters, we can see what exactly was most important to achieve for a society in a time and a place the revolution was held, or even for a whole mind of the society of the taken time period. The recent revolutions – Arab Spring and Ukrainian Euromaidan, as well as the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in late 1980, have shown the importance of human rights for the society. Students, as the most inspired and active representatives of the society's needs, took the major role in these three revolutions. In this paper, each of the three revolutions will be analyzed by the same criteria – the events itself, the role of the students in those events, how the human rights were violated and how can it be explained through the liberalism theory. The chosen theory for the analysis of these revolutionary events is Liberalism, as it is the best explaining theory being, providing the theoretical basis for the motives of the protesting students. By analyzing the revolutions through the same criteria, we will understand the actual impact of the students and how important the human rights are to the society, despite the different locations and time periods of time.

3. THE ARAB SPRING

During the events of the Arab Spring, which started in 2010, the Arabs were mostly motivated by the economical deficiency[4], as well as the aim for gaining democracy, stability, and peaceful community,[5] those goals were the main concerns for the Arab citizens, specifically the youngest generations, due to the sufferance from the lack of social justice, and lack from freedom of expression[6]. Moreover, "The people want to bring down the regime"[7] that was the major slogan of all the protests in the streets in many different countries throughout the Arab World, such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan, and Morocco[8], however, the

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[4] Hafez Ghanem. Introduction. *The Arab Spring Five Years Later: Toward Greater Inclusiveness*, (2016).
[5] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later,* (2016).
[6] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later,* (2016).
[7] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later*, (2016).
[8] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later,* (2016).

circumstances were different in each country, some of them the events developed to major developments, and the others have been terminated, nevertheless, all of them in different geographical areas had the same goals, which were "demanding bread, freedom, social justice, and human dignity."[9]

Unfortunately, the outcomes of the Arab Spring until today are unpleasant, the transitional period was full of violence, civil wars, and 15 million Arabs lost their homes and shelters, and became refugees either inside their countries, or around the world[10], in addition, many Arab countries are now recognized as failed states,[11] and the results of the whole movements, as was mentioned above, was disappointing, which as a result lead to more anger within the young generations, including students, because only the minority of the population who had connections with the political elites gained premiums and benefits,[12] which has arisen the sense of inequality among the people, the young generation problems were in lacking the life basics, such as, good jobs, and decent households, which made their life hampered, and they were not even able to get married because they were not able to handle the responsibility within a weak life standards.[13]

The role of students politically and socially has been embraced. "For the sake of the nation"[14] the students started to have the courage to engage in politics, but how to define the participation of the students in public affairs? according to Sidney Tarrow, "a collective challenge by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities".[15] I will take in particular the role of students during the Egyptian revolution. When the revolution was still in its beginning, the students played an important role, and the participation of the students during that times were in its highest points,[16] all the students from different universities, and from the different political and ideological atmosphere, were united with ambitions in common[17], they totally free to participate inside the universities campuses with all the political parties,[18] the students strongly opposed the presence of the security forces to not control their freedom, in addition, the students alongside with the staff organized protests in opposition of those who were involved in corruption crisis, and political suppression in the former regime and they have positions inside the universities.[19] Those participations sometimes were violent, and the students engaged in brutal conflicts with the administrators, and violent engagements with the security of the campus, and the military powers.[20]

The student activism movements occurred on January 25 in Egypt brought good outcomes and improvements to their community, those positive outcomes were: A) the national force apparatus were forbidden from intervening in all the public universities, B) the process of writing new students charter were completed in 2011, which gave the students more freedom and liberty, C) they passed a law which allows the students to elect the officers of the universities, such as the dean and the administrators of any faculty,[21] those three improvements gave the students the opportunity to have more freedom, and to have their opinion expressed and taken into consideration.

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[9] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later,* (2016).

[10] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later*, (2016).

[11] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later,* (2016).

[12] Ghanem, *The Arab Spring Five Years Later*, (2016).

[13] Ibid.

[14] Jordi Tejel Gorgas, *The Limits of the State: Student Protest in Egypt, Iraq and Turkey, 1948–63,* (2013).

[15] Tarrow, Sidney. *1998. Power in Movement.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[16] Hatem Zayed, Nadine Sika and Ibrahim Elnur, *The Student Movement in Egypt. A Microcosm of Contentious Politics*, (2016).

[17] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).

[18] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).

[19] Lindsey Ursula, *Freedom and Reform at Egypt's Universities*, (2012).

[20] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt,* (2016).

[21] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).

After the revolution of January 25 in Egypt, the freedom of speech and participation among the students have reached its peak in the period of 2011–2013[22], nevertheless, a clear declination was seen after 2013 because participants started to cause many risks, and this is because of the danger they were exposed to, and that danger were illustrated in detainment and even suspension from universities[23], the freedom of the students went back to be constrained, the human rights of the students were clearly violated, hence, the authorities declined all the student's councils in all of the public universities[24], however, after the revolution, the students were not scared of any public activism, such as, participating in political protests, or publishing any press decorations or protestations[25], furthermore, this improvement did not last for long, during the period of the acting president Adly Mansour, the students lost their freedom, they were only allowed to speak up in the favor of the regime, otherwise they would be harmed[26].

How can this situation be seen from a liberal lens? the main concerns of liberalism in human rights are the life essentials, this consist of being free from slavery, torture, and any kind of detentions, however, the classic liberalism in the field of human rights view the organizations, and the freedom of speech as fundamental human rights, and those rights were strongly violated, in preventing students from participating their legitimate rights. In addition, liberals do not support the intervention of the state in the matters of the civilians[27], and as was stated above, this was not achieved.

4. EUROMAIDAN, UKRAINE

The Euromaidan started after ex-Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich' refusal to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union, which was to be signed at Vilnius Summit on November 28–29, 2013.[28] This agreement was incredibly important for the Ukrainians, as it would have marked a huge step away from the orientation toward Russia,[29] as well as many other issues, such as, for instance, the fact that the agreement would have helped the Ukrainian weak economy, as it would make better economic relations with the European Union and open new markets.[30] After the unexpected refusal to sign the agreement, thousands of students went out on the streets.[31] Needless to say, that in fact, Ukrainian students played a crucial role in generating the mass in these protests.[32] The students went out to protest peacefully. Besides having political goals, the students were also trying to fight for their future, they wanted to secure their civic interests, demanding for a new, democratic government.[33]

There was a changing point, which shifted the Euromaidan protests from peaceful to violent and aggressive ones. On November 30th, 2013, the Ukrainian authorities sent special forces to "clear" the square with hundreds of students protesting on it.[34] There was a brutal and violent attack, the forces beaten students really aggressively and bloody.[35] This may be clearly seen as the human rights violations towards the students. According to the Ukrainian

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[22] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt,* (2016).
[23] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).
[24] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).
[25] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).
[26] Zayed et al., *The Student Movement in Egypt*, (2016).
[27] Mitchell, Neil, Rhoda E. Howard, and Jack Donnelly. *Liberalism, Human Rights, and Human Dignity,* (1987).
[28] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 10.
[29] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 10.
[30] Channell-Justice, *Flexibility And Fragmentation,* (2014), 59.
[31] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 10.
[32] Channell-Justice, *Flexibility And Fragmentation,* (2014), 59.
[33] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 15.
[34] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 12.
[35] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 12.

constitution, there is a right to freedom of thought and speech, as well as, most importantly, the right to demonstrations[36]:

Article 34

Everyone is guaranteed the right to freedom of thought and speech, and to the free expression of his or her views and beliefs.[37]

Article 39

Citizens have the right to assemble peacefully without arms and to hold meetings, rallies, processions and demonstrations.[38]

The head of the political leaders did not expect such uprising.[39] Victor Yanukovich left the country, due to the violent conflict, and then the students peacefully occupied the building of the Ministry of Education and Sciences, demanding better education policies to improve higher education and a new Minister of Education for the clarity of the Ministry's budgets.[40] During the Euromaidan, students took crucial roles, they were one of the most important sectors, the other ones are: political party sector, non-political and civic sectors.[41] Liberalist students wanted to achieve European values.[42] Despite the changes in the government, many students remain skeptical about the effectiveness of new minister in changing Ukrainian education for the better.[43] However, the students' activism on Euromaidan was decisive for the protests movements, as it created the dynamism of it.[44]

The events that happened in Ukraine and the students' will to protest may be explained through Liberalism and especially Neoliberalism International Relations theories. As was mentioned earlier, the revolution started after the Ukrainian government's decision to stop the process of signing the Association Agreement with the EU. Ukrainian students, by protesting, showed their desire to cooperate with the democratic states, which the European Union is.[45] Due to the weak and unstable economic and political situation in Ukraine, it seeks for the cooperation with other, more powerful, states and international institutions, which is the goal of Neo-Liberalism.[46] In Neo-Liberalism, the states have mutual interests, which can be achieved through the cooperation among states,[47] and it leads to the social, economic and technologies exchange[48], so this, again, explains the Ukrainian reaction towards the refusal of the government to sign the cooperation agreement with the EU, as, for instance, from the economic side, it would lead to the free trade of goods and services.[49] The cooperation with the EU would be beneficial for the economic and political future of Ukraine, as the EU promotes western democratic values and institutions,[50] which means that the society will be better-off, as, for instance, such important things as human rights will be more respected, than it used to be.[51] What we can conclude is that Ukraine wants to become a stable democratic state, which could

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[36] Constitution of Ukraine, Section II – *Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Man and Citizen,* (1996).

[37] Constitution of Ukraine, Section II – *Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Man and Citizen,* (1996).

[38] Constitution of Ukraine, Section II – *Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Man and Citizen,* (1996).

[39] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 12.

[40] Channell-Justice, *Flexibility and Fragmentation,* (2014), 59–60.

[41] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 15.

[42] Diuk, *Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution,* (2014), 16.

[43] Channell-Justice, *Flexibility and Fragmentation,* (2014), 64.

[44] Channell-Justice, *Flexibility and Fragmentation,* (2014), 64.

[45] Susan George, *A Short History of Neoliberalism,* (1999).

[46] Wendy Larner, *Neoliberalism?* (2003), 509.

[47] Larner, *Neoliberalism?* (2003), 509.

[48] John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 190.

[49] George, *A Short History of Neoliberalism,* (1999).

[50] Baylis et al. *The Globalization of World Politics,* (2010), 184.

[51] Baylis et al. *The Globalization of World Politics,* (2010), 193.

help to develop the country in future, that is why the students were trying so hard to show their strong disagreement with the government behavior, fighting for their future.

5. THE VELVET REVOLUTION

On the 17th of November 1989, in Prague,[52] a peaceful protests composed of students had commenced, in memory of Jan Opletal, the Czech student who was killed by the Nazi forces, and who was an icon of the defiance of the Czech people, however, the protests continued the demonstrations till the Wenceslas Square, therefore, the riot police fought them hard and violently, and started to beat the protests[53], furthermore, a rumor was diffused about one student who had been killed by the riot police, as a consequence of this, a strong reaction, and antagonism toward the riot police. with massive crowds "up to one million in a country with less than 16 million total population" and signed the 77 charter.[54] The movement was led by the playwright Václav Havel, which later on became the president of Czechoslovakia[55], however, Havel called for an emergency meeting with other activists, to discuss the charter 77,[56] which is a charter that was made by the Czechs, and Slovak intellectual writers, in purpose of requesting the communist government, to recognize some human rights elements[57], the outcome of the meeting was the creation of "Civic Forum"[58], furthermore, the "Civic Forum" started to organize demonstrations, and unified actions such as, " people shaking their keys to sound the end of the regime"[59], the opposition movement got broaden and wider, in addition, they took advantage of the negotiations accord between the oppositions, and the government, along with the Communist party members, those quick improvements resulted in the resignation of the whole Politburo of the communist party,[60] and therefore, it led to the creation of a new "compromise government"[61], and a new democratic government were created.[62]

During the Velvet Revolution, the role of the students were very important, the students from the very beginning started the strikes of the protests,[63] and many other actors joined to them such as , activists from the theaters of Prague,[64] the students were not satisfied with the situation of the country, and "that manifested itself in the rise of students' movements and various independent post-material initiatives"[65], the majority of the students were active morning the subcultures, such as "Wave" and "Punk" during 1987 and 1988,[66] and there were the first attempt of establishing an independent organization , which is a non-state organization "to the pro-regime Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth"[67], therefore, the students gained more courage and were not scared to criticize.

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[52] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989,* 2008).
[53] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[54] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[55] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[56] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[57] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989)*
[58] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[59] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[60] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[61] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[62] Kurtz, *Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution (1989).*
[63] Balík, *Democratisation in Czechoslovakia Political and Social Institutions,* (2015).
[64] Balík, *Democratisation in Czechoslovakia Political and Social Institutions.*
[65] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution: An Integrative Approach to the Transition in Czechoslovakia 1989,* (2011).
[66] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution,* (2011).
[67] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*

Liberalization of the state, is one of the main goals of the students' movements, to have a democratic state is the protests fundamental aim[68]. However, Vasil Mohorita, the leader of SSM ("Socialistic Youth Union" – one from youth organizations in Czechoslovakia"), Mohorita showed his support to the crisis of the students even before the collapse of the regime[69], Mohorita tried to liberalize the government in the spring of 1989,[70] as he held a crucial position in the Politburo, "enabled him to organize the student movement and sponsor some independent initiatives"[71], and made his actions more effective, however, this division inside the regime's dominance, was the main cause of the events of the 17th of November 1989[72], which as was mentioned above, it was followed by the violent actions of the riot police, and therefore, the Velvet Revolution was broke out.[73] In addition, the most remarkable event of the students protests movement was the students strike,[74] and the students viewed this action to pressure the authorities to accept their demands, many other actors joint the strike alongside with the students, such as intellectuals, academics, and artists[75], on the result of this, the strike achieved its purpose, and the protests achieved their demands successfully.[76]

The liberalists beliefs were strongly present in the Velvet Revolution, as the students main goal was a democratic state, liberalism believes of the freedom of the citizens without the interference of the state, this was strongly violated in the Velvet Revolution, the human rights of the protests were taken for granted, however, the liberalists believe that each human being has a basic rights, which has been clarified in the first article of the "Universal Declaration of the Human Rights", "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood",[77] this is exactly what the protests of the students in Czechoslovakia aimed for, therefore, that was what they received.

6. LIBERALIST APPROACH

The goal of every International Relations theory is to explain the events and its motives through it. Regarding such phenomenon as revolutions, the theory that works the best here is Liberalism. In Liberalism, there is a goal to increase personal, civil, social and economic liberty.[78] In all the three revolutions that were explained in this paper – Ukrainian Euromaidan, Arab Spring, and Velvet revolutions, despite different circumstances and time periods, there were pretty much the same goals of the mass protesters – the students. There were different goals for protesting students during the Arab Spring revolution, most of them were simple human rights elements, such as a stable economical statue, better life standards, and freedom of speech. They wanted to be able to speak and express their opinions without being life threatened. Same issues can be applied to Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, where the protesting students wanted to finally get rid of the Soviet communist oppression that did not allow the society to be free, to have basic human rights provided. In the Ukrainian Euromaidan revolution, there also were the same liberalist issues, also neo-liberalist ones. The students wanted to stop the corrupted government,

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[68] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[69] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[70] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[71] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[72] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[73] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[74] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[75] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[76] Simral, *The Games of the Velvet Revolution.*
[77] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 1.
[78] Boyd A. Martin, *Liberalism,* (1948), 295.

as the concentration of power and corruption[79] are the enemies of liberalism[80], become fully free and join the EU, which would provide the path to do so. In each revolution, the goals and motives of the protesting students may be clearly seen and understood through the prism of the Liberalism theory. In every revolution, there was the goal to achieve freedom, which is also the goal of the Liberalism theory.[81] According to Liberalism, there has to be a democracy and it must be protected[82], that is also what the students from each revolution wanted to achieve. The students that were protesting, wanted the government to provide the values of freedom and human dignity,[83] which is the Liberalist approach as well. The protesters believed in most liberalist claim that everyone should be free and equal.[84] As was mentioned earlier, all students, in every case, needed to achieve human rights, as they were violated in each case, in liberalism, human rights are really important[85], as they provide the rights and freedoms to the people, which makes it more equal and free. In liberalism, both positive and negative liberties are important.[86] Regarding the concept of negative liberty[87], in each revolution, the protesting students wanted to be free from fear, they wanted to be free from the bad government's control. In the positive liberty, they wanted to have human rights provided, as well as social, civil and economic ones. They wanted to have such basic rights as rights to free speech, good education and others. This is what unites all of the three revolutions. In each case there were circumstances that did not allow people to be fully free. The students fought for justice, truth and respect.[88]

7. THE ROLE OF CIRCUMSTANCES

Despite the similarity of the motives of the protesting students in the three revolutions – Arab Spring, Ukrainian EuroMaidan and Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, there still were different outside factors and reasons, which is why the outcomes of these revolutions were different. As mentioned earlier, in each case, there are almost the same motives for protesting, which could be generalized as the will to change current governance, even overthrow it. In Arab Spring – the students wanted to overcome the undemocratic regimes, in Ukraine – the protesters wanted to overthrow the corrupted Ukrainian government that acted against the society's will for the EU cooperation, while in the late 1980s in Czechoslovakia people wanted to overthrow the pressuring Soviet communist regime and finally become an independent democratic state. However, even with similar motives, the outcomes of the revolutions were different – they are different not because of a different methodology of the protesting students, but because of the different circumstances. The circumstances are incredibly important in this case, as there is not much the students could change about the outside factors. In Arab Spring, there were bad conditions for the better change, which only made the situation worse. In Ukraine, the new government is not strong and stable enough to provide the conditions for better living and after the revolution, the relationship with Russia got critical and there is a still on-going war going in some of Ukrainian territories, such as Donbas. However, in Czechoslovakia, the circumstances were much better, which helped significantly to achieve what the protesters wanted – the Soviet Union was collapsing, leaving its former state, so the Soviet control got

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[79] McCloskey, *Liberalism,* (1974), 20.
[80] Humphrey, *Liberalism,* (1955), 430.
[81] Humphrey, *Liberalism,* 432.
[82] Humphrey, *Liberalism,* 433.
[83] Humphrey, *Liberalism,* 430.
[84] Humphrey, *Liberalism,* 419.
[85] McCloskey, *Liberalism,* 13.
[86] McCloskey, *Liberalism,* 14.
[87] McCloskey, *Liberalism,* 13.
[88] McCloskey, *Liberalism,* 27.

that weak that it allowed its former-Soviet states to leave peacefully. The conclusion can be made here is that it is always very important to consider the fact of circumstances, as they may affect the outcome significantly, as it happened in each case.

8. CONCLUSION

The importance of having basic elements of human rights was the case in the three revolutions – The Euromaidan, the Arab Spring, and the Velvet Revolution. The violations of human rights of the innocent civilians were clearly emphasized, all of the three countries governments responded with violence to the protests, tried to stop the students' activist movements, and to cut down their opinion expressions. However, even though that the three cases had a lot of similarities, some differences also were present, the circumstances that the protests faced were different, especially in the Velvet Revolution, as the circumstances in Czechoslovakia helped out to accomplish the demands of the students in shorter time than the other two revolutions. In addition, the aftermath of the Euromaidan revolution, and the Arab spring did not bring peaceful and successful outcomes as much as in Czechoslovakia, and this is due to already suitable for the moment condition – the Soviet ecumenic weakness. Importantly, despite the assistance that the students in Czechoslovakia and Ukraine gained from other actors, such as the academics, the intellectuals, and the artists, in all of the three revolutions it was mainly the students independently who played the greatest role in the demonstrations. Furthermore, the whole case study was analyzed through a liberal lens, because all of the liberal principles can be successfully applied to these events. The liberalists do not support the idea of the state intervening in the matters of the domestic population, which that what the state did in the three cases, and that was one of the students' motivations for the revolutions, however, the state obligation is only to maintain a peaceful state, with a good life standard. Liberals in human rights support the freedom of speech, and expressing opinions, and view this as one of the basic human rights that each human should have. Revolutions will always be a changing point in the future of states and its population, this change could be towards better life, and human rights, or to worsen an already bad situation, and spring could come, but without it blossoming flowers.

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THE VIETNAMESE FAMINE OF 1944–1945: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RISE OF THE VIET-MINH AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM IN FRENCH INDOCHINA

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Abstract:
From 1944–1945 the Vietnamese people suffered great losses to a famine that to this day, historians disagree on the number of Vietnamese who died of starvation due to mismanagement by French and Japanese officials. This research involves breaking down the implications of the famine in Vietnam in the latter stages of World War II. The goal is to explore to what extent Japanese occupiers played a role in conflict with the French Vichy government which was collaborating with Axis powers from 1940 on. From this famine rose a powerful nationalist leader, Ho Chi Minh who would seize control of lands and declare a new government following the conclusion of the war. The nationalistic and anti-imperial campaign that Minh was able to orchestrate shapes the region to this day.

Keywords: *Vietnam, famine, World War II, Ho Chi Minh*

The Vietnamese people have been through large periods of foreign rule throughout history, a millennium of occupation by the Chinese followed a century of imperialist colonization by the French. During the latter years of WWII, a famine ravaged Vietnam. Estimates vary due to the lack of raw data from the famine, but some estimates place the death toll at 2 million.[1] The famine was brought on by a myriad of reasons, some of which were coincidental, and others were calculated and preventable. While the goal of Allied and Japanese actions leading to the famine was not specifically to starve the Vietnamese people, that was the end result. Vietnam had not been very stable, especially in the Northern regions, and the Viet Minh were initially just one of many groups vying for regional control. The group and its leaders capitalized on the Vietnamese peoples' disdain for French and Japanese occupation that was only made worse by the famine.

The entirety of East Asia was affected by the rapid expansion of the Japanese Empire as most of the region was under the rule of France and Great Britain at the outbreak of WWII. One place that saw significant strife and political upheaval during and after the war was the colony of French Indochina, which is comprised today of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. This region had been under French rule only since 1887, but in that time, the native Vietnamese Khmer and Lao had grown a disdain for French rule. Besides the logistical issues of ruling territories all over the globe and having to provide the administrative officials as well as the military in those countries, the French Empire had been under strain following WWI due to native peoples feeling under appreciated for the fighting they had done for France in the war. Nearly 100,000 Vietnamese fought for France in the First World War and received little to no recognition, nor were they rewarded with any level of political autonomy or economic advancement.[2] The French also extracted many natural resources from the colony to include coal, rubber and rice. This uptick in the production of raw materials saw more opportunities for work for the Vietnamese, further enforcing the notion that they could rule themselves without French over lordship. While Vietnamese-conscripted soldiers fought and died at the Somme

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[1] Gunn "Rice Wars in Colonial Vietnam", 257.
[2] Tønnesson "Vietnam 1946", 54.

and Picardie, on the home front, insurrections took place, mainly rebels attempting to break nationalist leaders out of prison, which led the French colonial governors to treat protestors and demonstrators harshly. The largest demonstration took place in 1917 when the boy emperor Duy Tan attempted to lead a revolt.[3] In comparison to uprisings to come, the movements that took place during the First World War were tame and were quelled by promises from the French government of more liberal governors and reforms that would give the Vietnamese more freedoms. These promises never came to fruition, as life in French Indochina did not improve leading to further unrest and the rise of more powerful groups that would ultimately declare Vietnamese Independence following World War II[1].

The Interwar period was a tumultuous time for Indochina, as Khmer, Lao, Chinese and Vietnamese independence movements grew[4]. It is important to note that there were not only clashes between the various Asian subjects and their French overlords, but also between the different Asian movements. Interesting political trends existed within the colony, as French colonial administrators collaborated almost exclusively with Vietnamese elites, leaving their Lao and Khmer counterparts to make deals with one another[5]. This trend would end up helping the Viet Minh, as the leader, Ho Chi Minh was able to point at Vietnamese elites as a source of tyranny over the people as well[6]. These Vietnamese elites aligned more with their French colonizers than the Vietnamese people, which proved to be another motivator for the Vietminh during their rise to power. The interwar period, though no tangible gains were made towards full independence, showed the trend that nationalist movements could gain traction even under harsh colonial rule. It also proved that loyalty to ones' true Vietnamese identity would be seen as paramount to the Viet Minh.

The portions of French Indochina which constitute modern-day Vietnam, known to the French as Annam, Cochinchina and Tonkin, were rich in natural resources. Though the colony as a whole had the potential for industrialization, the French discouraged industries that would outcompete exports from France proper.[7] This meant that the whole colony, not just the three Vietnamese provinces was kept relatively poor as a result of French management of resources. The French colonial administrators did encourage the expansion of natural resource production to include gold mines, rubber trees and rice. Alongside these natural resources citizens in French Indochina also created hand-crafted works such as religious figures, ceramics, woven bamboo, and a variety of other artisan products. These resources are not evenly distributed, the majority of rice is grown in the southern province of Cochinchina whereas mining and other industrial processes are located in Annam and Tonkin. From 1935 to the start of the war and Japanese occupation, rice production in Cochinchina had steadily grown as well as the area that rice plantations took up in the province, almost 90% of the fertile land in the province.

Despite minimal fighting happening in the colonies World War II was tumultuous in French Indochina, a famine ravaged the northern part of the colony in the latter years of the war. Due to the diplomatic isolation from the Free French government General Georges Catroux, the administrator of French Indochina was forced to accept a virtual surrender with the Japanese Empire in the early stages of the war[8]. Following France's armistice with the German Reich, Vichy France was given control over its colonies, including Algeria, Syria and Indochina. The Japanese knew the French had very little defense, and in September of 1940 invaded and occupied the Northern part of Vietnam, stationing Japanese troops in Hanoi and Haiphong, two of the largest cities. The fighting between the French and Japanese was light,

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[3] Beck "South Asia", 460.
[4] Dupuy "Asian and Axis Resistance Movements", 46.
[5] Goscha "Widening the Colonial Encounter", 1212.
[6] Gluckstein "Vietnam-An Anti-Imperialist Breakthrough", 199.
[7] Miller "Industrial Resources of Indochina", 396.
[8] Dreifort "Japan's Advance into Indochina", 281.

and most French positions were overrun with ease due to the help of Japanese air and naval support along the Gulf of Tonkin coast. It was not until mid-1941 that the Japanese occupied the entirety of French Indochina following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. The Vichy government was complicit in allowing the Japanese to sequester resources from the colony throughout the war[4]. The resources exported were mainly grains, such as rice, to go to Japanese armies on campaign, but rubber plantations were built by the Japanese, and rubber was being exported as well, as much as 40% of Japanese exports out of Indochina were rubber[9]. In late 1944, Vichy France collapsed following the Allied invasion at Normandy. The same Vichy French colonial administrators remained in place for the moment, but some changes were made in secret. In March of 1945 the Japanese launched an offensive against all French positions in Indochina, and though the Japanese were outnumbered, they were able to achieve victory by May. All French government, military personnel, and civilians were either killed or interned. Many fled across the Chinese border only to be interned by the Chinese. The heaviest fighting was at Lang Son along the Chinese border, where Japanese troops took captive a high ranking French general as well as a French colonial administrator and beheaded them after each refused to surrender the garrison of Lang Son. At the same time, they were fighting with the French armies, mainly comprised of Tonkinese or Vietnamese, the Japanese were also coming into conflict with Viet Minh guerilla fighters in the North, who had been supplied by the OSS, a precursor to the CIA[10]. Following the defeat of French forces in May, the Japanese declared the kingdoms of Laos, Cambodia and the Empire of Vietnam, placing Bao Dai as the Emperor of the newly created state. This would not last, as following the capitulation of the Japanese Empire, the August revolution commenced, and the Viet Minh would declare a new government in early September.

During the period at the end of the war, whilst the French and Japanese were fighting for control, a famine ensued killing as many as 2 million Vietnamese mainly in the northern regions of Vietnam. The exact dates of this famine are debated but it began roughly in November of 1944 and ended in late 1945, around August. One of the origins of the famine is from Allied bombing campaigns damaging irrigation throughout the country. Allied bombers had flown missions all over Vietnam against Japanese positions, but they had adverse effects on non-military targets as well. One of these were the dikes that provided water to rice farms. In the latter stages of the war, dike management was lacking, contributing to a weak crop. American bombing runs had also destroyed other infrastructure such as railroads, making it difficult to get the rice distributed to the people. This was the American goal in these attacks, as they wanted to adversely affect Japanese supply routes. The majority of Vietnamese rice came from the southern part of the country in the Mekong Delta but, because the shipping lines were disrupted by the U.S naval presence and rail lines were being harassed by air strikes, the rice did not reach the North. The geography of the northern regions was not conducive to growing food and instead northerners ran rubber plantations and mined for coal. There are always unintended consequences in war. While the Americans were pursuing a noble goal of depriving the Japanese of resources, adverse effects were felt by the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians. The Americans were not solely to blame for the starvation that occurred in Northern Vietnam, but their negative contributions cannot be minimized.

Another cause of the famine was Japanese and Vichy officials sequestering foodstuffs and exporting them, and rubber plantations being built in the north where rice to feed the populace could have been grown. One cannot point to one specific reason as to why an estimated one million Vietnamese starved to death between 1944 and 1945. The famine affected mainly the northern part of Vietnam, where the majority of Nationalist uprisings took place as well, but the Mekong region to the south also faced some hardship. The rice harvest in the fall of 1944

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[9] Dũng "Japan's role in the Vietnamese Starvation", 588.
[10] Gunn "Rice Wars in Colonial Vietnam", 264.

was already at a disadvantage due to uncontrollable natural causes. Drought in the early part of the harvest coupled with flooding in the later stages and an insect problem that already adversely affected that year's crop[11]. Local hoarders, referred to as 'speculators' were also hoarding rice and other food, furthering the effects of famine. This level of social inequality was seen as a leading problem leading to famine, as wealthier members of Vietnamese society bought up large stores of rice[12].

The majority of the blame for the starvation of an estimated 1 million Vietnamese should lie on Vichy French and Japanese officials, who held on to rice stores and refused to distribute them to the population. In his speech on 2 September 1945, Ho Chi Minh placed blame on French and Japanese mismanagement for the deaths of his countrymen, conveniently not blaming the United States who had helped him to advance his cause. The question of French and Japanese blame is answered by records that show the Japanese demanded rice to feed their mainland, as well as other areas of the vast occupied areas throughout the Pacific. There is also evidence that a multitude of rice was not even being used for food but being converted into alcohol to serve as a substitute for gasoline[13]. Due to these factors, the majority of rice was being stockpiled in Southern Vietnam for what the Japanese thought would be an extended conflict. There was evidence that French colonial officials took steps in the midst of the famine to mitigate its effects, taking place in early 1945. The Resident Superior in the colonial province of Tonkin, which comprised the northern region of Vietnam, was Paul Chauvet, and there is sufficient evidence to suggest he did everything in his power to try to mitigate the effects of the famine. The means by which rice was transported from the paddies in the south was by junks, or small boats manned by merchant marines. Chauvet attempted to mobilize large amounts of junks in order to get the rice stockpiled in the south and sent to the starving northern population. The operation was considered a failure, as many of the junks did not arrive, and some of them that did were requisitioned, and the rice was taken to be sold on black markets, not distributed to the population. This failure is also due to the fact that mid-way through this giant logistical operation, the Japanese coup and subsequent removal of all French oversight occurred. The Japanese appointed officials who took over did not take the issues of famine as seriously as the French administrators, being that the Japanese were in desperate logistical straits elsewhere in the world.

Another cause of the famine was the redistribution of agricultural capabilities in Vietnam. The famine also could have been prevented had the French/Japanese given the Tonkin region the means to feed itself. At its base, Indochina was a colony, and the French got valuable natural resources from it. In order to extract the most resources from the colony, the French moved the majority of food production to the Mekong region and reserved the north for industrial purposes. The north was known for its rubber plantations, and much of its fertile land was used for this purpose, not for growing crops to feed the population. The French had set the precedent for this, but under Japanese administration, the Tonkin region was also forced to grow other non-food crops such as flax.

At the time the famine was occurring Japanese officials anticipate the Vietnamese populace to be too weak due to the high level of starvation occurring in Northern provinces[14] The rise of the Viet Minh to power in Vietnam was not probable at the time of Ho Chi Minh's return to his homeland in 1941. At that point, the Viet Minh were one of the many anti-imperialist nationalist groups operating. The Viet Minh operated out of the Cao Bang province in Northeast Vietnam, an area where the French had fought frequently with rebels. It was an area of special interest to the French, due to the constant level of unrest that required consistent military presence. The Viet Minh had a few operating bases in the northwest region of Vietnam,

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[11] Dubinskii "The Far East in the Second World War", 233.
[12] Dũng "Japan's Role in the Vietnamese Starvation", 578.
[13] Gunn "Rice Wars in Colonial Vietnam", 258.
[14] Dũng "Japan's Role in the Vietnamese Starvation", 581.

west of Hanoi, but they were incredibly fragmented and under-equipped as they had not yet received assistance from the United States and the OSS. The fledgling group was not without leadership, as while Ho Chi Minh remained in China, a young Vo Nguyen Giap was an influential figure within the Viet Minh and was very successful as a young commander[15]. Giap, among other leaders, worked tirelessly in the years leading up to 1945 to link the bases they had with intelligence networks while attempting to recruit citizens to their cause. Along with these quasi-military operations, the Viet Minh were also incredibly active in spreading anti-imperialist propaganda. To them both their Japanese occupiers and French colonizers were imperialists. This was not the sentiment everywhere, as many Vietnamese saw Japanese rule as more advantageous than French rule. Some Vietnamese felt that rule by other Asians was more advantageous as they had closer cultural ties. This disparity is where Viet Minh propaganda played a role.

In the early stages of the famine in November 1944, following his return to Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and his party members were able to instigate a peasant revolt in the provinces they were active in. The French, who maintained de facto control of the province dispatched legionnaires to respond. Important to note is that French units were comprised mainly of conscripted natives, some of whom had deserted, possibly due to Viet Minh and the other groups' propaganda. This rebellion, while it may have been agitated by Viet Minh anti-imperialist ideals spread in the area, was not an official Viet Minh operation. It did, however, prove that the revolutionary ideals spread by the Viet Minh had a place among the general population. The rebellion was also successful in seizing more French weapons that would be used later by Viet Minh and other rebel groups in the 1945 rebellions. Following this rebellion, French units were more persistent in conducting operations against the Viet Minh and other groups in the region, but these operations were interrupted by the Japanese takeover in March. Once all French garrisons had been vacated after the Japanese coup, the Viet Minh seized larger swaths of land in the northwest of the country as well as vacated French outposts. Once the Empire of Vietnam was declared, and the Japanese put Bao Dai on the throne, they worked to get rid of Viet Minh influence, as they saw it as a threat to their pro-Japanese government. Despite the Japanese internment of suspected nationalists and Viet Minh members in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh made very few offensive operations against Japanese units, maintaining a level of neutrality, despite echoing anti-Japanese rhetoric. Following the Japanese coup and virtual takeover of the Vietnamese government, the OSS contacted the Viet Minh in order to assist in overthrowing the Japanese-appointed officials. This was not because the U.S believed in the communist cause, or even in self-determination, but they were attempting to avoid a long, costly war with Japan. Any distraction that Hirohito and the Japanese Empire faced would help the American cause. This complicated things for the Americans as they had just liberated their French allies and yet were now supporting the very faction that would take away French rule in Indochina. Once the August revolution commenced, within two weeks, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam independent, delivering an emphatic speech in Hanoi to a large crowd of emphatic Vietnamese, who for the first time in decades would be ruled by a Vietnamese ruler.

Many factors went into a horrible tragedy and loss of human life that constituted the famine of 1944–45. Not one single event can be seen as the root cause. French opportunism in the early colonial period set the precedent of the northern provinces of Vietnam relying on the "bread basket" of the south, which led to the Japanese also extracting almost purely manufactured goods and cash crops from the north. The inopportune timing of the Japanese coup to overthrow the French undermined French efforts to mitigate the effects of famine, and because of that two-month military conflict, rice from the Mekong never reached Hanoi and Haiphong. American bombing raids against Japanese targets caused serious damage to the dike

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[15] Khanh "the Vietnamese August Revolution Reinterpreted", 774.

system in North Vietnam, which caused flooding and ruined some of the small harvest in Tonkin. These famine conditions caused political and economic upheaval, which made room for nationalist and liberation movements to form, the most prominent of these being the Viet Minh. The Viet Minh, led by prominent communist Ho Chi Minh, ran brilliant propaganda campaigns and were able to capitalize on the power vacuum left after the capitulation of the Japanese Empire. Minh capitalized on Vietnamese disdain for occupation and imperialism, using the tumultuous political climate that came out of the Second World War and the ensuing famine.

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