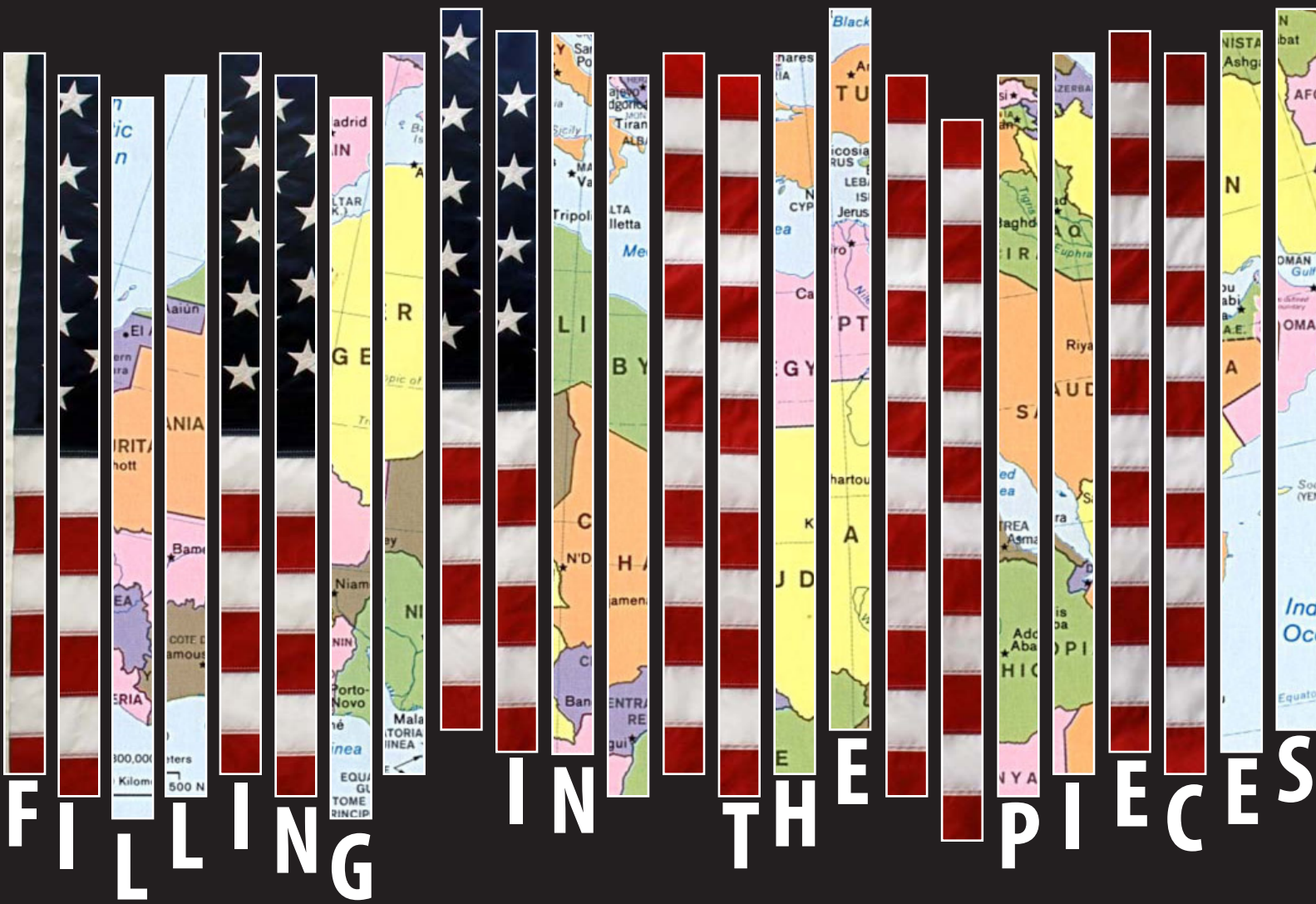


THE VANDERBILT POLITICAL REVIEW



THE VANDERBILT POLITICAL REVIEW

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VPR | SPRING 2011 TABLE OF CONTENTS

3	Interview with Dr. William Turner <i>Interview conducted by Nathan Rothschild and Sid Sapru</i>
4	Alumni Perspective: A Conversation with President George W. Bush <i>Wyatt Smith College of Arts & Science and Peabody College Class of 2010</i>
6	The Red Sea <i>Nick Vance College of Arts & Science Class of 2014</i>
7	The Unfinished Revolution: Egypt's Transition to Civilian Rule <i>Sloane Speakman College of Arts & Science Class of 2012</i>
9	A Hopeful Pakistan, A Hopeful America <i>Sanah Ladhani College of Arts & Science Class of 2012</i>
10	Wrapped in the Flag and Carrying a Cross <i>Eric Lyons College of Arts & Science Class of 2014</i>
12	The Libyan No Fly-Zone: A New Paradigm for Humanitarian Intervention and Reinforcing Democracy <i>Atif Choudhury College of Arts & Science Class of 2011</i>
13	Who Failed Our Country's Children? <i>Zach Blume College of Arts & Science Class of 2014</i>
14	Exorcising the Boogeyman <i>Andrea Clabough College of Arts & Science Class of 2011</i>

Interview with Dr. William Turner

*Interview conducted by
Nathan Rothschild and Sid Sapru*



behavioral health, like me, but I got selected. I then went off to Washington and spent six months at the National Academies of Science, and after interviewing with different Senators and congressmen on Capitol Hill, I ended up interviewing with Senator Obama and was selected by him to come and work as his health policy fellow and adviser. I was a part of his health policy team, which was a really interesting group of people. His chief health policy adviser was a physician, who is actually a graduate of Vanderbilt Medical School as well as the Harvard School of Public Health. I think I was brought on board because they were really interested in looking at legislation that dealt with behavioral health, with families, and with health disparities -- all areas in which I had a great interest.

Q: Can you give us a brief overview of your background and experience?

A: Well, I've been a university professor for about 20 years. Currently, I am the Betts Professor of Education and Human Development in the Department of Human and Organizational Development in Vanderbilt's Peabody College. My academic interest is in family studies and marriage/family therapy, but I've done a lot of work in the healthcare area as well. After doing lots of different research studies over the years that had real implications for people in the real world, I became very interested in learning how to translate research into policy. It's one thing to publish research in an academic journal and to have it read by other scientists and other academics who can take it and do something with it, but to apply it to the real world you need to take things in a different direction. I got really interested in working on policy when I was a professor at the University of Minnesota, where I became a part of the Hubert Humphrey Policy Center there. I started to work with policy writers and makers and decided I wanted to have a more thorough experience with it, so I applied for a Robert Wood Johnson faculty health policy fellowship back in 2007 on the outside chance I would be chosen. Generally speaking, they choose physicians and other people in the healthcare arena who are involved in much more direct ways than perhaps someone researching

Q: Given your experience working with then-Senator Obama on healthcare, do you feel that his views on the issue have changed substantially over the years?

A: I don't know that they've changed, but I think he probably has a much more pragmatic approach to how he handles legislation. Back in 2008, even though he was a Senator, he was also a presidential candidate, and discussions about healthcare legislation were beginning both in his office as well as through the entire Senate. Toward the end of my time in Washington, after he had become nominee, the legislation Obama was proposing seemed much broader than what we actually ended up with. It was truly healthcare reform, not just health insurance reform. We were looking not only at how we pay for healthcare, but also at how healthcare was delivered, how we educated future physicians and healthcare providers, how information technology was altering healthcare. All of these were parts of his future plans to revise the healthcare in this country as we knew it. However, I think once he began President, the realities that he had to deal with -- of a Congress who has to pay for these ideas, of a party that was very oppositional to what he was doing -- made him compromise a lot, and realize that things have to be taken incrementally. I'm not sure his views on healthcare reform have

changed as much as this views on the pragmatics of how you make it happen.

Q: What do you see as the strengths and weaknesses of the final healthcare legislation passed by Congress?

A: Well, I think it has a lot of strengths, even though you might not necessarily know that if you watch the news. I think nobody can deny the fact that it is important to cover as many uninsured as possible, and I think the healthcare bill goes a long way towards doing that. Although we don't have the sort of public mandate that mandates insurance for everybody, we do cover a substantially larger portion of the population than has ever been covered before, and I think that's a great thing. The fact that we know longer have to worry about pre-existing conditions to the extent that we once did is an extraordinarily important change, too. The fact that young people can now be covered on their parents' insurance through age 26 is a really important thing. I have a daughter who just graduated from Vanderbilt this past May and though she will be starting graduate school soon, it's been really nice knowing that she can still be covered under my insurance for another five years. These are very real changes that are happening today that make a huge difference. In terms of the weaknesses of the bill, I personally think that, in some ways, it didn't go far enough in terms of covering the uninsured; there are still a lot of uninsured individuals in the country and I don't know that we have a particularly great plan on how we are going to cover them. I think more needs to be done there. I think the fact that we did focus so much on how to pay for healthcare and didn't look more broadly at the larger healthcare system was unfortunate. In fact, if we do a better job training physicians and recruiting physicians to the right areas of focus, we can actually lower the costs of healthcare overall. So many physicians these days are going into specialties that don't necessarily reach the masses. We don't have nearly enough primary care physicians, people who are on the front lines (even though we have an awful lot of specialists who make an awful lot of money). I understand why they go in that direction, but

I think that there needed to be some real change there. In short, I don't think the bill went far enough. Some of that was for pragmatic reasons; the President was forced against the wall by those who also had a say in the matter. I also think they could have done a bit better job of communicating what they were doing; I think they let the opposition get a hold of the message in perhaps a way they shouldn't have. I'm not sure exactly why that happened, but I think it may have had something to do with the fact that there were so many things going on in the nation at the time. With the economic meltdown, two wars, and so much unrest in other parts in the world, there were many different issues that were competing with healthcare reform. I'm always surprised that so many people don't really understand the benefits of the bill, and that when people talk about it, their thoughts are usually couched in very negative terms that are based on what they've heard on talk-TV or from someone who's charged with speaking about it in a negative way.

Q: What do you think is the best policy solution for reducing health disparities in America between the nation's poor and rich, as well as among people of various ethnic groups?

A: That's the million dollar question. It's a huge problem, as your question suggests. I don't know that there's any one simple solution to how you go about do-

ing it, but I think a lot of it has to do with our willingness to provide better preventative care for lower-income folks. They are disproportionately provided care through emergency rooms, when things are already out of control. If you could do something to provide early care, the problems would almost certainly be somewhat alleviated. I think we have to invest in terms of providing this kind of care, and I think this bill will touch on it in some ways just in that it brings more people coverage. Those who are on the very, very low end have always had some access through Medicaid, but its those families who don't quite qualify for Medicaid but don't have enough money to pay for private insurance that really are in a difficult situation. I also do think we need to provide better education about healthy living; I know there are a number of initiatives around the country that are starting to look at the social determinants of health -- people's lifestyles, the way they think about living in the world, and things like that. As long as we focus on health in isolation, I don't think that we're going to have a breakthrough solution.

Q: What do you see as the future direction of mental health policy in America, especially in light of calls to reduce entitlement spending and increase the age at which people are eligible for Medicare benefits?

A: That's a really good question. I have had periods where I'm very optimistic; for example, when healthcare legislation first came on the table. I think in those early days, it seemed like mental health was going to be treated very similarly to physical health. Right now, though, I'm much more concerned, especially given the economic problems we're facing, because it really seems like in the hierarchy of healthcare mental health is seen as being less important than physical health. Still, I think there is more acknowledgement than ever that mental health services are needed, especially since every now and then something dramatic will happen in our country that makes us aware of just how important it can be. For example, the shooting of Gabriel Giffords just a few months ago; the shooter clearly and certainly was a person who had severe mental illness. Incidents like that make us aware that we as a nation need to do something to address those issues, although once the spotlight isn't on the incident anymore, mental health seems a lot more expendable to people who aren't dealing with it on a day-to-day basis. I think in the earlier drafts of this healthcare legislation, mental health was very much a part of the thinking. In the final draft it's still there, just not that well-funded or focused upon. Again, a lot of the really important and key overhauls of the healthcare system got lost because we got hung up on how we were going to pay for it, and that was unfortunate.



Alumni Perspective: A Conversation with President George W. Bush

Wyatt Smith

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Class of 2010*

Like most political science majors at Vanderbilt, I spent many undergraduate hours crafting papers, honing arguments,

“While Bush waits for history to be his true judge, he remains confident in the rightness of his intentions and actions as president, even as outcomes have not always developed according to plan.”



and developing frameworks for analyzing presidential decisions. For all the work, however, I hardly imagined that a few months out of Vanderbilt, I would have the chance to apply that type of critical thinking to a personal conversation with an American president. Then a Facebook competition came along and presented that very opportunity.

Last October, I paid a visit to the embattled country of Iraq on the Michael B. Keegan Traveling Fellowship, a Vanderbilt grant that supports a year of international exploration on issues of democracy and citizenship. While cruising Facebook from my hotel room in the northern city of Erbil, I came across a contest to interview former president George W. Bush about his recently published memoirs, *Decision Points*. A few questions, a video, and thousands of Facebook votes later, I was selected as the winner among more than 13,000 entrants. To term such an opportunity “surreal” does little justice to my emotions at the time.

I spent hours preparing for the interview. In addition to reading President Bush’s memoirs a couple of times, I engaged people I met in my travels from Beijing to Bavaria about the most pressing issues in their countries, so that I might form a series of broad, internationally-grounded questions to pose to the former president.

I worried over syntax, debated over word choice, and wrung my hands over tone. By the time I boarded a flight for Dallas in early February for the interview, however, I decided to ignore the worry and treat the opportunity like a respectful, yet hopefully challenging conversation.

Once in Dallas, I hardly had time to be nervous. My driver got lost on the way to the meeting, and I entered the former president’s building in a rush, several

minutes behind our appointed meeting time. Any lingering apprehension melted away the instant I entered the room, however, as President Bush belted out in his characteristic Texas twang, “How you doing, big boy? So glad you’re here.”

Bush dressed casually in a blue sweater and sat behind a simple wooden desk as he welcomed me into his surprisingly understated post-presidential quarters. While the pressures of his time in office may have been reflected in the grayness of his hair, any hints of fatigue were belied by his high degree of energy. It seemed evident that he was enjoying his retirement.

After a round of small talk—including his experiences at the Super Bowl in Dallas the night prior—we dove into a wide-ranging conversation on a host of international and domestic issues. We covered his views on the importance of U.S. aid to Africa (America faced a moral imperative to assist victims of the “raging pandemic” of HIV/AIDS), the ongoing unrest in the Middle East (“people everywhere want to be free”), controversial interrogation methods used in the post-9/11 world (“by taking actions that were legal, we saved lives”), and America’s relationship with China going forward (“we should attempt to resolve our

“I worried over syntax, debated over word choice, and wrung my hands over tone... The instant I entered the room, however, President Bush belted out in his characteristic Texas twang, ‘How you doing, big boy? So glad you’re here.’”

differences without disrupting strategic linkages”), among other topics.

President Bush calmly answered most of my questions, but grew animated on the subject of Iraq and our failure to find the weapons of mass destruction in the wake of invasion. I asked the former president if he regretted the decision to engage troops in ousting Saddam Hussein. While he expressed “regret” for the loss of life, he said that “the liberation of 25 million people is an important milestone in the ideological struggle” between the forces of good and evil in the world. At no point in his presidency, he insisted, did he cast doubt on the Bush Doctrine principle of preemptively invading countries that might do America harm.

Beyond that telling exchange, President Bush's most interesting answer came in response to my question about his expansion of executive power in the federal government. Instead of expressing concern about the executive branch becoming even more powerful in the future, Bush reframed my question: Congress and the president, he argued, exist in a constant state of tension. When the president feels the legislative branch "encroaching" on his authority, it is incumbent on the executive to "protect presidential power" using methods like the veto or presidential signing statements that couch his support for legislation under certain caveats. I found the illustration to paint a fascinating picture of President Bush's perspective on the role of the executive branch in our system of government.

As our interview neared its conclusion, Bush revealed a few of the many talents that led to his rise in politics. Displaying interest in my future plans, he offered encouragement about my decision to join the Teach for America organization, counsel about pursuing graduate education in business to widen my worldview, and graciousness in calling my father to congratulate him on "doing his duty" as a parent. It was a kind gesture that my dad will never forget.

While our time together was short, my conversation with President George W. Bush left an impression on me unlikely to fade with time. He struck me as a man of deep conviction and a clear, if not always perfectly articulate, view of the world. While many of his decisions remain controversial—and I am the first to admit misgivings about the black and white nature of his worldview—I believe future events may redeem Bush for predicting the onset of democratization in the Middle East.

While Bush waits for history to be his true judge, he remains confident in the rightness of his intentions and actions as president, even as outcomes have not always developed according to plan. If our interview revealed anything, it is that no amount of second-guessing will shake him from that viewpoint.



The Red Sea

Nick Vance

College of Arts & Science

Class of 2014

In the concluding year of George W. Bush's second term, unemployment figures grew and the housing market collapsed – as did support for conservative ideology. Heading into the primaries, many pundits expected Hillary Clinton to sweep the Democratic primary without much competition and control a nation with a newfound support for liberal policy. Both chambers of Congress were controlled by Democrats, and Republicans were seemingly unresponsive to the problems troubling Americans including those who had supported the GOP in the last election.

President Obama currently faces many of the same issues that cost the Republicans majorities in Congress during the 2006 election. The economy is in a better state than when Obama took office, but Americans still worry about unemployment and the ballooning national deficit. The generally unpopular war in Afghanistan still troubles the White House as the public grows weary. While much has already been accomplished in Obama's first term such as financial and

health care reforms, support for conservative Republicans is booming, as displayed by the takeover of the House of Representatives in the midterm elections. With these new gains, Republicans are already looking toward the presidential election in 2012. Popular candidates include former Arkansas governor turned Fox News personality Mike Huckabee, former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, and the omnipresent celebrity and former Governor of Alaska, Sarah Palin. However, with the rise of the Tea Party Movement, the Republican Party is not strongly unified; some members who adhere to the Tea Party manifesto even disparage the institutionalized party which they claim fell away from true conservative principles after the Reagan administration.

The rise of a factional Republican party has profound implications for the presidential primary race in 2012. Romney, Palin, Huckabee, and Newt Gingrich continue to lead in early polling, but support from the Tea Party is readily sought after by conservatives in the current environment¹. Palin is considered the darling of the Tea Party, but is seen as possibly too polarizing. Evangelical Christians worship Mike Huckabee as he was a pastor for much of his life. Many Tea Party members despise the health care law that Romney signed as Governor of Massachusetts, but winning an election

requires winning a significant portion of independent voters. Additionally, Romney is touted as a financial expert, and if the economy continues to struggle, the former Governor of Massachusetts could run a highly effective campaign based on his economic experience in venture capital. Many Republicans worry that Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich is too controversial to campaign well enough to win the crucial independent votes, but he effectively led the Republican takeover of the House of Representatives in 1994. More candidates are starting to gain more name recognition such as the former Governor of Minnesota, Tim Pawlenty and current Governor of Indiana, Mitch Daniels. However, the importance of name recognition is now unknown in modern politics. The Tea Party is attempting to rid political institutions of the establishment, so it could work to a candidate's advantage to have less name recognition. This pattern was demonstrated during the midterms with the success of start-up candidates such as a Sharon Angle and Christine O'Donnell, both of which lost their respective US Senate races somewhat narrowly. Essentially, the Republican Party is split between the moderates and the conservative libertarians, the center-right and the far-right. Although many polls have voters favoring a Republican in general for president, when specific candidates are pitted against the incumbent, none are predicted to prevail.

In the new world of twenty-four hour news and boisterous blogging, popular sentiment changes quickly. The midterm elections displayed that Republicans are regaining support after the electorally disastrous Bush era, yet defeating President Obama in the 2012 election will be no easy task. For a candidate to succeed, the primary must not be too brutal, the funding and support must exist from both the base and the independents, and the candidate must prevail over Obama's highly effective campaign strategies. The economy will also surely play a huge role in the campaign. President Obama will be forced to defend his actions in his first term, while the challenger will propose new ways of handling the economy. Two more years will undoubtedly pass ownership of the economic issues to the current

administration, not the prior one. With a favorable conservative climate, there will certainly be scores of potential candidates. As displayed in the 2008 election in which candidate Obama came out of nowhere, one of these candidates could easily upset the heavyweight contenders. The nominee will face a challenging task of a troublesome election -- whenever and if ever the Red Sea is parted and a strong Republican candidate is revealed.

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/146792/Huckabee-Slight-Edge-Palin-Down-GOP-Preferences.aspx>

The Unfinished Revolution: Egypt's Transition to Civilian Rule

*Sloane Speakman
College of Arts & Science
Class of 2012*

This is the largest pro-democracy revolution in Egypt, perhaps the Arab world, in all of history. Like millions of people around the globe, I watched Shadi Hamid of the Brookings Institute deliver this statement in an interview with CNN on Friday, January 28, as tens of thousands of anti-government protestors across Egypt flooded the streets in an historic moment. As these millions of viewers watched the chaos unfold from the comforts of their home, I looked on from the rooftop of my building, located ten minutes from Tahrir Square, the focal point of the demonstrators. That night, and every night until I was evacuated, I fell asleep to the soft chanting from Tahrir. The sky burned red from the city on fire across the Nile. Loud explosions from the tanks echoed, along with sirens, across the river to the fourth floor of my complex. As the military deployed down the streets of Cairo into Tahrir late Friday evening, the tanks were met with triumphant roars from the protestors, a glimpse of the victory to come.

But for a nation whose last three rulers came from military ranks, all of which

ruled without term limits and with unquestioned power, many wondered why this was considered a victory by the protestors. Since 1952, when General Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew the monarchy in the Free Officers Revolution, a series of strong, military leaders have led Egypt with a stern hand and an oppressive force. A military takeover in Tahrir, siding with the people to overthrow the government, was not revolutionary. In fact, it's the only thing they've ever known. So, why were the tanks met with such victorious cheers? Was it because they knew Mubarak deployed the army out of fear? Or was it their hope of the military assisting them in achieving their ultimate goal? As a standoff ensued in the hours following the military's deployment into the streets, the military soon made their allegiance known and sided with the people. Was it an act of genuine altruism? Or a step motivated by power-hungry officials eager to seize the throne for themselves? Fourteen days after the military rolled into Tahrir, President Mubarak resigned, leaving the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) in charge once again.

The Chairman of the SCAF, Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, assumed power with the promise of establishing a quick transition to civilian rule. His agenda consisted of constitutional reform and the preparation for free elections. He has pledged to remain committed to all international peace treaties, for now, and he promises that elections could be held as early as August. Furthermore, the military has promised that they will put forth no military candidate in the presidential elections, reassuring the population that the next government will be a civilian one. However, the clock is ticking. The SCAF announced that it will rule for six months or "until elections are held," effectively leaving Egypt with an indefinite period of military rule. All legislative decisions are made by military decree under a suspended constitution, effectively sidelining the Egyptian people from the decision-making process. Tantawi has yet to abolish the martial law instated by President Mubarak in 1981, and the resignation of key cabinet members close to Mubarak have all happened at the demands of con-

tinued protests, not an initiative of Tantawi himself. Demonstrators continue to fill Tahrir Square in an effort to expedite the transition as well as voice their list of demands. The resignation of a prime minister cozy with Mubarak (Ahmed Shafiq) and his replacement with a man who had been an open critic of the regime (Essam Sharef) is just one of the many examples of this. However, the Egyptian people are not buying Tantawi's shallow efforts. One friend tells me they believe "Sharef is just a puppet of the Egyptian military...someone is manipulating from behind, but we're not sure who they are." She tells me the military has increased security to an unprecedented level, stopping and searching each car as you pass between neighborhoods, even in expatriate neighborhoods like Zamalek. Demonstrators continue to call for the disbanding of the deposed National Democratic Party and the release of its assets to the public; a constitution written by an elected committee; and even the formation of a presidential council comprised of civilian figures and trusted judges. They want all traces of the former regime gone and a government that is wholly accountable to the people.

It is important to note, however, that the process of de-militarizing Egyptian politics is much more complicated than

the nominal transition of power from a military general to a civilian leader. Under decades of Mubarak rule, the militarization of Egyptian society increased to the point where the military essentially operated independently of the state, even generating its own funds. A transition to civilian rule will need to be much more than a free and fair election in six months. It calls for a "delicate remedy in the relationship between the army and civil society," says Said Okasha in his *Al-Ahram* article. The military is, and has been for decades, the most respected institution in Egypt. Egypt remains a state confused between "glamorous slogans calling for freedom and political pluralism and the realities of an older culture" where the military dominated political life and everyday society. However, from my rooftop view, it appears the Egyptian people are ready for a change. The youth that operate as the hands and feet of the movement will never again approve of a "formula that swaps democracy and freedoms for security and sustenance" (Okasha). The real question now, is if the rights and freedoms so many Egyptian have fought, and even died, for will finally be realized.

Tantawi will, if he is successful, enter Egyptian history as the first man to remove the military from Egyptian

politics. However, as their history has proven, the transition cannot come at the hands of popular revolution alone. It can only come about when the leaders at the top work with the revolutionary forces to meet the demands of the population. Attaining a democratic future will take time and patience. The Egyptian leadership must work with Tantawi in making the historic decision to remove the army from politics and establish a new relationship between the military and the Egyptian people, starting over and building from the ground up. The political handoff is the easy part. It will be the adjusting to its societal implications that is going to be a slow, gradual, and difficult process for many. The opportunity for a brighter, democratic future for Egypt has arisen, yet its realization depends on how the delicate work of removing the army from political life proceeds.

Ultimately, the question arises: is the Egyptian military leadership now ruling the nation even capable of transitioning to civilian rule? All of their history works against them on this point. In all of their previous regime changes, the military has ultimately produced a leader that has instated a dictatorship. It will be a rough history to overcome, particularly since few prominent and organized opposition leaders exist. There exist some hopeful observers, however. Among them is Major General Robert Scales of the US Army War College. He believes that as a result of many Egyptian officers passing through American war colleges, much of the Egyptian military has been suffused with "American values." In an interview with the *Economist*, he states "they learn our way of war...but they also learn our philosophies of civil-military relations." Many see Tantawi as different from previous military leaders. The *New York Times* reported him to be a "pragmatic leader" with few selfish ambitions, an ideal combination in such a situation. Turkish President Gul and British Prime Minister David Cameron have both visited Cairo since Mubarak's resignation and have issued statements of full confidence in a smooth transition. It will be a long, difficult journey for the Egyptian people. But, there has always been



U.S. Military aircrafts fly Egyptian refugees home. // <http://blogs.state.gov>

a price for freedom, a price the Egyptian people have proven they are prepared to pay. For now, all eyes are on Tantai. It'd be an inspiring progression, yet I'm holding my breath on this one with hopeful skepticism.

http://www.economist.com/research/articlesBySubject/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=18227542

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentPrint/4/0/6927/Opinion/0/Egypt-and-the-fifth-general.aspx>

<http://www.npr.org/2011/02/14/133740008/doubts-persist-egypt-army-will-turn-over-power>

A Hopeful Pakistan, A Hopeful America

Sanah Ladhani

College of Arts & Science

Class of 2012

Murder. Suicide bombs. Terrorism. Extremism. Militant Islam. Anti-American violence. C.I.A. drones. Slaughtered civilians. Blood money. Blasphemy laws. Political assassinations. The recent newspaper headlines and descriptions of Pakistan have instilled a strong and immediate fear among Americans. It is believed that our once-friends are on their way to becoming our most dangerous foes. While Pakistani leaders receive pressure from the U.S. to fight the Taliban and support the NATO mission in Afghanistan, they also face intense pressure from a Pakistani population that has become more hostile than ever towards the United States, especially because of the heightened violence caused by American drone strikes.

In a February issue of *The Economist*, Banyan portrays Pakistan in the opposite light. He describes the people of Pakistan as “pleasant,” “helpful,” “hospitable,” “well-informed, articulate and enlightened,” “tolerant,” “flexible,” and “far more resilient than [they] are often given credit for.” Writing about the decline of Pakistan, Banyan stresses that “the roots of extremism lie not just in the war in Afghanistan and the ‘Islamisation’ of public life introduced by General Zia ul-Haq a generation ago, but in economic hardship and lack of opportunity” (1). Indeed, after sixty years of nationhood, Pakistan is still an impoverished and underdevel-

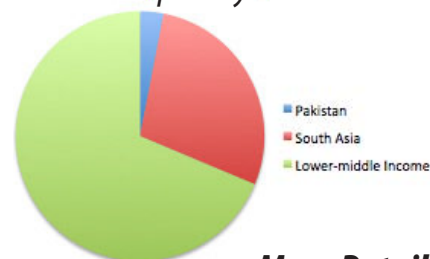
oped country with political disputes and little economic mobility. According to the CIA World Factbook, the inflation rate in Pakistan rose from 7.7% in 2007 to 13% in 2010. In addition, since 2007, the Pakistani rupee has depreciated due to political and economic instability. The unemployment rate in Pakistan is 15%, double that of the U.S., and over 24% of its population lies below the poverty line. The literacy rate is less than 50%, the life expectancy is fewer than 66 years, over 30% of children are malnourished; the list goes on and on. Adding to the instability, the floods in July and August of 2010 lowered agricultural output significantly, killing 1,600 people, destroying nearly 2 million homes, drowning more than 200,000 livestock, and spurring 1.5 million cases of diarrhea. All in all, the floods are estimated to have affected over 20 million people and cost Pakistan at least \$43 billion - a figure that represents over 10% of Pakistan's GDP (2). Vulnerable to infrequent democracy and an overall lack of development, Pakistan's people agree that basic reforms are needed. Strife between political parties, however, has created economic deadlock. The country's economy and its consequent political relations both within the country and with the U.S. are thought by many to be headed for disaster.

How should the U.S. react? Our diplomatic relations with Pakistan and our influence on anti-terrorist sentiment within the government of Pakistan are more than fragile. Many Americans believe we should maintain our rigid support of the anti-terrorist movement in Pakistan, ignoring the growing anti-American sentiment within the country, and push for whatever measures are necessary to contain the Taliban's influence within Pakistan.

Instead of attempting such an aggressive solution, however, the U.S. should perhaps consider following a more humanitarian route. In a country like the U.S. where foreign aid continues to be a priority, humanitarian efforts focusing on the lack of development within foreign countries will become a key step forward in our political relations with Pakistan and other Islamic nations.

The students and staff at Vanderbilt

The Breakdown A look at poverty in Pakistan



//devdata.worldbank.org

More Details:

Pakistan	
Urban (% population in urban areas).....	37.0%
Life expectancy at birth.....	67 yr's
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births).....	71
Access to an improved water source (% of population).....	90.0%
Literacy (% of population age 15+).....	54.0%

South Asia	
Urban (% population in urban areas).....	30.0%
Life expectancy at birth.....	64 yr's
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births).....	55
Access to an improved water source (% of population).....	61.0%
Literacy (% of population age 15+).....	87.0%

Lower-Middle Income	
Urban (% population in urban areas).....	41.0%
Life expectancy at birth.....	68 yr's
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births).....	43
Access to an improved water source (% of population).....	87.0%
Literacy (% of population age 15+).....	80.0%

University have provided commendable examples of this humanitarianism. The Vanderbilt Institute for Global Health (VIGH), for example, has spent years collaborating with physicians in Pakistan to provide access to adequate healthcare and to fight viruses and diseases. Both the VIGH and the Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program of Peabody College have reached out to Pakistani students, offering intensive graduate and post-graduate training. In response to the devastating floods, a coalition of Vanderbilt student organizations came together this past year to form Dores for Pakistan, an awareness and fundraising movement which culminated in a fundraiser that raised \$5,000 for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Finally, in fall of 2010, Vanderbilt University invited Greg Mortenson to speak on behalf of the Central Asia Institute, a non-profit organization that has supported the building of 131 schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan and especially stressed the importance of educating young girls. According to Mortenson, “by educating young women, knowledge is more readily passed down to the next generation, local communities are strengthened, and

the ignorance and poverty that fuels extremism are reduced” (3). David Oliver Relin, co-author of *Three Cups of Tea*, advises the rest of the country to use Mortenson as an example: “If we Americans are to learn from our mistakes, from the flailing, ineffective way we, as a nation, conducted the war on terror after the attacks of 9/11, and from the way we have failed to make our case to the great moderate mass of peace-loving people at the heart of the Muslim world, we need to listen to Greg Mortenson” (4).

America’s actions in the coming months will determine tremendously its future relationship with Pakistan. We must collaborate with Pakistani leaders to find a path toward economic opportunity and political stability. When cooperation and humanitarian efforts initiate development and opportunity, the people of Pakistan will be able to stabilize their culture, their economy, and their nation, and U.S.-Pakistani relations can flourish into a mutual partnership.

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Make no mistake, folks: when Tim Pawlenty talks politics, it’s God who’s in charge.

That’s right. “God’s in charge,” exclaimed the former Minnesota Governor as he reassured his CPAC audience that he would uphold Christian doctrines if elected to the highest office in the land—Commander and now Minister in Chief. More than eleven thousand conservative activists and party leaders attended this year’s Conservative Political Action Conference in February, and according to the *New York Times*, Pawlenty’s pious words “drew a wave of applause” from

the attending crowd.¹

Speaking of the hard times our country faces right now, Pawlenty asked his fellow Americans to remember “the motto of our country: in God we trust”²—a slogan which was, incidentally, adopted in 1956 during a bout of anti-communist sentiment rather than spiritual revival. It seems worth noting that Theodore Roosevelt long opposed the practice of minting currency with that slogan, deeming it sacrilege to stamp the Lord’s name on the veritable root of all evil.³

Anticipating objections to his decidedly conservative stance, Pawlenty further denounced all “politically correct” standpoints as mere “hogwash,” since religious values were “enshrined in the founding documents and perspective of our country.”⁴ Pawlenty recalled the words Thomas Jefferson penned for the Declaration of Independence: “we are endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights.” Our Creator, Pawlenty stressed—“not Washington, D.C.,” not “bureaucrats,” and not “state governments.”

Hearing this, I can’t help but feel that Jefferson—a Unitarian deist who described the New Testament as “so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture”—would have been a little more careful with his rhetorical flourishes had he known they could encourage future theocrats like Pawlenty.⁵ As anyone familiar with Jefferson would know, the “Creator” mentioned in the Declaration of Independence is none other than “Nature’s God,” a pantheistic Enlightenment-era metaphor: an impersonal, cosmological First Cause. On that note, perhaps in the future T-Paw should be more careful when deciding whom to quote: it was Jefferson, after all, who first described that infamous “wall of separation between church and State” in a letter to the Danbury Baptists.⁶

But Pawlenty’s revisionism does not end with Jefferson, of course. Any philosophy student knows that if Pawlenty truly seeks the origins of our political system, he should look to Montesquieu and Locke, not Matthew and Luke. Despite the Declaration’s talk of the “Creator,” the only “sacred” text the federal government must abide by is the Consti-



Graphic by Eric Lyons

tion, which derives its authority from no higher power than “We the People.” Our Founding Fathers did not shy away from this fact. Consider the Treaty with Tripoli signed by John Adams on June 10th, 1797. Unanimously approved by the Senate, the treaty stated unequivocally that “the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian Religion.”⁷

There it is, straight from the Founders’ collective mouth. Who am I to disagree? And yet, even in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the retconned vision of our Founding Fathers as purveyors of “Judeo-Christian values” has gained a lot of popularity in the past few decades among types like Pawlenty, and it gets lot of air-time at polarizing events like CPAC.

Perhaps the most notable attendees at CPAC were members of GOProud—a conservative gay rights organization. With the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” it’s tempting to think the U.S. is becoming more accepting of its LGBT

citizens. Perhaps the inclusion of gay pride activists at a conservative conference would confirm such a shift in America's moral Zeitgeist?

No such luck: the American Family Association, the Heritage Foundation, and the Family Research Council all boycotted the conference, as did Mike Huckabee and Senator Jim DeMint. The American Principles Project organized the boycott under the pretense that GOProud stands in "diametrical opposition" to conservative principles.⁸ Anyone who's kept up with the GOP lately may be inclined to agree, given that Republican leaders have been using the Bible as their playbook in recent years. In the same room with the good folks from GOProud, former Senator Rick Santorum proclaimed that the Judiciary cannot "redefine" marriage, because "America belongs to God."⁹

Of course, it is true that most Americans identify themselves as Christians. Sociologist Jürgen Habermas thinks the "civil religion rooted in the majority culture" of America has served as a replacement for the ethno-nationalism of European countries.¹⁰ However, at the same time, America's relatively homogenous religious atmosphere has left her under the thumb of Tocqueville's dreaded "tyranny of the majority" for much of her history.

Even if Pawlenty's rhetoric boils down to nothing but a pathetic grab for votes, it's hardly innocuous. Allegedly, former President Bush, Sr., told journalist Robert Sherman that atheists should not be considered citizens or patriots since "[t]his is one nation under God."¹¹ The former President's sentiments only echo those of the public at large: a 2007 Gallup Poll found that 45% of Americans would refuse to vote for a well-qualified atheist for president.¹² And for 2012 prospective Newt Gingrich, any non-Christian America just wouldn't do. On March 28th, Gingrich spoke at Cornerstone Church in ominous tones, warning the crowd that "if we [who? conservatives or Christians?] do not decisively win the struggle over the nature of America," in a few decades ours will be "a secular atheist country, potentially one dominated by radical Islamists" with "no understand-

ing of what it once meant to be an American."¹³ I can't decide which is more disturbing: that Newt doesn't know the difference between atheists and Muslims or that he believes they're incapable of knowing what it means to "be an American." Not surprisingly, the existence of the "separation of church and State" has been repeatedly called into question by other Republican leaders, from Tom DeLay to Mike Huckabee, and most recently by Christine O'Donnell—Delaware's Tea Party princess/witch. Until as recently as 1961, states upheld constitutional requirements barring atheists from public office, and in seven states, of which Tennessee is one, these statutes remain on the books to this day, though they're no longer enforced.

But even still, my home state is not without sin, as zealous legislators keep throwing stones. Tennessee Representative Tony Shipley has criticized same-sex adoption on the grounds that the proliferation of LGBT rights would incur God's divine wrath.¹⁴ Last election cycle, amidst growing fears that (gasp!) a mosque might be constructed in Murfreesboro, Lieutenant Governor Ron Ramsey made national news by questioning whether Islam is even a religion protected under the First Amendment.¹⁵ Last month, Senator Bill Ketron (R) introduced legislation from the Tennessee Eagle Forum that would ostensibly ban the observance of Sharia Law.¹⁶ At least twelve other states are considering similar bills, and Newt Gingrich has even gone so far as to advocate a nationwide ban.¹⁷ When I asked Bobbie Patray, President of the Eagle Forum, about the bill's goal, she explained that it would "cut off material support of identified terrorist Jihad groups." She offered no comment when I asked why she sought to effectively turn the practice of Islam into a felony punishable by up to 15 years in prison.

Is this an America you want to live in?

Republicans can no longer pretend to stand for individual liberty while these zealots and Bible belt Islamophobes and homophobes take us down such a dangerous path. When religion takes control of politicians, everyone suffers—believer and non-believer alike. In 1966, noted Christian apologist C.S. Lewis wrote

that, the higher the pretensions of such power, the more dangerous I think it both to rulers and to the subjects. Hence Theocracy is the worst of all governments. If we must have a tyrant, a robber baron is far better than an inquisitor ... who mistakes his own cruelty and lust of power and fear for the voice of Heaven ... because he torments us with the approval of his own conscience and his better impulses appear to him as temptations.¹⁸

Of course, whether Pawlenty believes in God is of no matter to me—as Jefferson would say, "it neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."¹⁹ But when Presidential candidates, party leaders, or state legislatures put faith ahead of reason, the survival of our cherished freedoms is at stake. With characteristic prescience, Sinclair Lewis hit the nail on the head back in 1935 with his prediction that, "When fascism comes to America, it will be wrapped in the flag and carrying a cross."²⁰ These days, it seems increasingly clear that Republicans like Pawlenty and Huckabee want to put us on the road to theocracy.

These days, it seems like, in many respects, we're already there.

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The Libyan No-Fly Zone: A New Paradigm for Humanitarian Intervention and Reinforcing Democracy

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Since the January 14 overthrow of Tunisian strongman Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the subsequent February 11 toppling of Egyptian autocrat Hosni Mubarak via campaigns of mass civil disobedience, the socio-political landscape of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has been dramatically (and likely permanently) altered. Among the

smoldering remains of the Ben Ali and Mubarak regimes lie shattered neo-Orientalist preconceptions of Arab masses as only being capable of being governed by foreign-supported dictatorships or theocracies, or being inherently submissive, complacent, apolitical, or simply apathetic to their internal conditions. On the contrary, the masses of Arab citizenry (and especially the youth who form a huge segment of the population across the MENA) have collectively braved tear gas, boiling water cannons, rubber-coated steel bullets, and even live ammunition in order to uphold their right to have a voice; in order to simply share with the world their hopes, dreams and aspirations for their nation's future.

While the pro-democracy struggle in Libya also began as a popular campaign of nonviolent resistance against the 42 year old rule of Muammar Gaddafi, the regime's unprecedented brutal crackdown on the opposition soon inspired an armed revolutionary struggle between supporters of Gaddafi's old guard and a broad coalition of Libyan citizenry seeking to replace the entire regime. After enjoying two weeks of steady gains, the revolution suffered a series of losses as Gaddafi's well-equipped legions of mercenaries, heavy armor, aircraft, and naval ships have launched a brutal two-pronged counter-offensive which recaptured almost the entire western half of the country while simultaneously threatening the heart of the revolution in the eastern city of Benghazi at the expense of hundreds if not thousands of civilian

casualties. In the face of these staggering obstacles, the Libyan people have looked to the international community to translate their international condemnation of Gaddafi as an "illegitimate ruler" into concrete actions with a tangible, meaningful impact on the ground. Speaking towards that hope, one of the leading figures amongst the opposition, Abdul Fatah Younis has called for the imposition of an international no-fly zone as well as a naval blockade in order to "level the playing field."

After weeks of deliberation following a concerted international call for action (including diplomatically crucial support from the Arab League for a no-fly zone), the UN Security Council finally voted 10-0 (with the 5 abstentions including China and Russia) in support of a no-fly zone with a mandate to use all measures short of an invasion to "protect civilians and civilian-populated areas." Expressing the US's support for Resolution 1973, UN ambassador Susan Rice declared:

"This resolution should send a strong message to Colonel Gaddafi and his regime that the violence must stop, the killing must stop and the people of Libya must be protected and have the opportunity to express themselves freely."

This is certainly a considerable departure from the positions of the Obama administration, which had previously been extremely wary of being mired into yet another conflict in a Muslim country. Indeed there have already been many analogies made comparing any international interventions in Libya to the ongoing campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, such comparisons overlook several critical differences between the former and latter two cases. The war in both Afghanistan and Iraq are asymmetric conflicts in which our enemies have no standing army, but instead consist of guerilla outfits blending in with the population in order to continue operating undetected. Under such tragic circumstances typical of asymmetric warfare, civilian casualties are virtually guaranteed. In contrast, Gaddafi possesses conventional ground, naval, and air forces along with fixed military infrastructure consisting of bases, radar and air defense installations, artillery sites, etc. Additionally in most



“This resolution should send a strong message...that the violence must stop, the killing must stop, and the people of Libya must be protected and have the opportunity to express themselves freely.”

(UN ambassador Susan Rice, in support for Resolution 1973)

theaters of the conflict, large concentrations of his forces are literally out in the open exposed amongst Libya’s desert landscape and can be attacked with virtually no innocent casualties.

Furthermore, there is an even more critical difference: The Afghan and Iraqi people have always been deeply divided in their opinions of ongoing US operations in their countries. In stark contrast, while the military-civil body of the Libyan Opposition remains opposed to a physical occupation, they have been virtually pleading for outside intervention in the form of a no fly zone, naval blockade, as well as humanitarian aid and material support. Certainly given Gaddafi’s alarming successes in both the western and eastern fronts as well as his threats of storming Benghazi and granting “no mercy to any traitors”, it may not be enough to simply enforce a no fly zone, but to also provide air cover for advancing revolutionary forces while simultaneously arming and training them to effectively defeat the remaining battalions of well-armed and well-trained mercenaries and elite loyalist army units. As Younis proudly declared in the same interview with Al Jazeera English, “The Libyan people are ready to fight for their own liberty and view it as an honor to shed their blood for their homeland. We simply need the tools to do the job.”

Finally, there is considerable consternation about potential casualties. While an open invasion could indeed be costly in terms of lives and resources, the enforcement of even an enhanced no fly zone designed to assist the revolutionaries in their campaign against Gaddafi’s regime can be accomplished with virtually no bloodshed. In 1986, the US Navy and Air Force executed a series of stun-



Refugees fleeing Libya board a U.S. Air Force KC-130J Aircraft. //http://blogs.state.gov

ning tactical strikes against the Gaddafi regime (including targeting Gaddafi’s headquarters in Tripoli) with the loss of a single aircraft. Since then, American military technology has vastly improved while Gaddafi’s Soviet-era warplanes and air defense equipment continue to rust. Indeed through its unparalleled UAV and missile capacity alone, the American military essentially has the ability to eradicate Gaddafi’s military capabilities without the loss of a single American life. If the US further bolstered the scope of its operations with support from NATO, the Arab League, and the UN, then the lives of millions of Libyans can be saved from Gaddafi’s wrath. The opposition has even declared that they would be happy to “pay for their own liberation” by giving preferential treatment to both governments and businesses supporting their cause in a post-Gaddafi Libya.

In President Obama’s last State of the Union Address, he urged the need for America to “win the future.” While he was primarily referring to solving domestic issues through the spirit of innovation, cooperation, and long-term vision, the same mantra can be applied to revamping the core nature of modern American foreign policy which has evolved very little from its realpolitik Cold War roots. Rather than relying on only one-dimensional schemas focusing only on stability and security (such as viewing the various countries of the Arab

and greater Muslim world as only vital security partners in the war on terror), the entire notion of what is in America’s national interest ought to be expanded to encompass a more holistic, proactive, and forward-thinking approach. Maintaining vibrant and lasting relations with countries starts with cultivating meaningful and dynamic connections with their citizenry. It means not simply relying on lofty yet hollow platitudes, but actively upholding the core principles of democracy and people power by encouraging and upholding their peoples’ inalienable democratic rights. The adoption of this paradigm in American foreign policy will hopefully begin with the active assistance of the Libyan people in their own struggle for liberation.

Who Failed Our Country’s Children?

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While the world economy struggles and Japan faces a potential nuclear meltdown, the most important issue of all smolders in the background. Although, as a nation, we often become occupied by our own objectives, we must eventually return to the fundamental issues

facing our society. Since Rousseau's *Émile*, doctrine of the democrat has been that better education creates better society—and by many measurements, the education system in the United States has perpetually failed to meet the levels of success that would be expected of such a wealthy nation and necessary for informed democracy.

Both the problems with the educational system and solutions have been identified by various sources. "Venture philanthropists" and professional reformers have recently proposed new solutions which include increasing the use of charter schools, increased use of standardized testing and a more systematic approach to teacher accountability. Many also propose that the government is simply not doing enough: not paying teachers enough, not investing in students enough. The Gates Foundation, which spends 4.6 billion dollars annually, concurs with these positions and now hegemonically lobbies the government to identify these solutions. But these solutions will not work because they are not based on reality, nor on significant academic input. The reason why American education has fallen behind is growing poverty and inequality.

Some claim the standard public school model is at fault. This view is taken by the very popular documentary *Waiting for Superman*, but essentially all data flatly contradicts it. The US Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, and Center for Research on Education Outcomes (Stanford) have conducted studies analyzing the performance of charter schools versus public schools^[i], and the studies conclude that charter schools actually prepare students either worse or the same. There is little reason to think continuing to build charter schools would change the observed fact that they simply don't perform better. If you really believe the public school system is the problem, unfortunately there is no reason to assume charter schools will function any differently than the current standard model.

Likewise, we are spending a sufficient amount on our students—the US spends the most per child in the world, along with Switzerland: ~\$11,000/yr/child^[ii].

Annual teacher income is \$4,157 above the US median personal income^[iii]. Generally all this suggests that where and how we are spending the money within the education budget is likely the problem, not a general lack of funding.

Studies have found that teacher ability correlates significantly less with student achievement when compared to how strongly poverty level and racial segregation influence achievement. As Joanne Barkan writes in *Dissent* magazine:

Two of the three major [standardized] international tests...break down student scores according to the poverty rate in each school...The most recent results (2006) showed the following: students in U.S. schools where the poverty rate was less than 10 percent ranked first in reading, first in science, and third in math. When the poverty rate was 10 to 25 percent, U.S. students still ranked first in reading and science. But as the poverty rate rose still higher, students ranked lower and lower. Twenty percent of all U.S. schools have poverty rates over 75 percent.^[iv]

One in seven households in the United States make \$22,000 or less per year. With an average household size of 2.59, that means one in seven American households have \$4,159 per person to survive for a whole year. The media and political establishment rarely speak of how child poverty in the United States is the highest in the developed world, with the exception of Mexico. The average personal income in the US for whites is \$31,313 while for African Americans it is \$18,406 and for Hispanics it is \$15,674. Racial segregation, redlining, and the stigmatization of ethnic speech are the new face of racism in America: institutional discrimination has moved from the state to the culture, but it is still rampant.

Here we find the true reason for the low performance of the American education system. When a family is struggling to barely make ends meet, how can we expect children to focus at school, come home and do their homework? How can we possibly expect them to read inquisitively or practice mathematics when their parents are unemployed, unsupported, and without health care? How can we expect our kids to learn when they know

their talents will merely be ignored by a still-discriminatory society?

Our country has failed to make any real concessions from our pursuit of unending globalist capitalism to dedicate time, money, and effort to those that are struggling in our society. One does not have to be a communist or a socialist to support public libraries, public education, social security...maybe even government sponsored health care! So why has a large part of the country seemingly banded together in an insane and unending smear campaign against progressivism? Historically, America's central tendency has been progressivism!

The answer to the education dilemma is that education reform is not what is needed in spades: it's welfare reform. We have fallen behind our counterparts in the developed world in providing for the disenfranchised, and we have created an economy through governmental policies, like the vast quantities of military spending, which encourages inequality. America's Gini index, a measure of economic inequality, has generally been the highest in the post-industrial world since 1980 and has been rising faster than any comparable country since.

The schools and teachers haven't failed our country's children. We have—and it's time for us to begin lobbying our politicians to step up and fix the system.

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Exorcising the Boogeyman

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On February 9, 1950, Senator Joseph

INNOVATIONS IN FEARMONGERING



McCarthy delivered what would become an infamous proclamation to the Republican Women's Club of Wheeling, West Virginia. He solemnly declared that the United States Department of State was infested with Communists, and demanded that America stand up to the destructive presence of Communism in its government and society.

Although McCarthy's claims of Communist spies at the highest levels of American government were never substantiated and most likely a rhetorical device to attract media attention, his sensational claim nevertheless sparked a national frenzy over the issue of Communism and its perceived threat to American freedom. Whatever his intentions may have been, "McCarthyism" and the unmitigated fear of Communism that it inspired would impact American foreign policy more visibly than any other ideological value for the next forty years.

Undoubtedly, the biggest loser in aftermath of McCarthyism was a much older ideology in America: democracy. The rapid fear of Communism that directed our foreign policy made any remotely liberal or populist regime worldwide a potential threat, leading to countless coups, manipulated elections, and overthrows of democratically elected leaders in countries throughout Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. In Iran, for example, American apprehension over the election of the reformist Prime Minister Mossadeq led to a coup in which a CIA team instated the Shah back into power as an assured US ally. The Shah's

use of torture and the infamous SAVAK police force played a major role in the Iranian Revolution of 1979. In Africa, American worries over a Communist regime emerging from the former Belgian Congo led to our support of the dictator Mobutu, who created a now infamous authoritarian regime and raped his country of all its wealth for his family to the tune of \$5 billion. His tough anti-Communist stance, however, led to his warm reception by numerous US Presidents throughout his thirty year rule.

While this list of disastrously poor foreign policy choices in the Communist era could go on and on, what has been done in our international relations past is just that: done. Tragic though these past examples are, there is an arguably greater tragedy unfolding in American foreign policy today that is not unlike the mistakes of earlier generations. While the "Communist" boogeyman has been put to rest with the remnants of the Berlin Wall, the "Islamist" version of this wide-scale international threat appears to have taken its place as the guiding, blinding force behind major policy decisions.

The American public has learned over the last month the extent to which former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak abused and manipulated his people—all while pocketing millions in US "aid" every year—while studiously crushing any oppositional and democratic movements within his country. As long as he prevented the supposed "imminent" Islamist take-over of Egypt, however, the American government was satisfied to diplo-

matically and financially support his rule.

Today, Mubarak is gone. Contrary to our preconceptions, the people of Egypt are taking meaningful steps to building a legitimate democracy with Islamist ideology barely a presence at all. The much-touted take-over of the Muslim Brotherhood has not materialized, and in fact this organization did much to prevent violence in the streets even as pro-Mubarak forces beat and shot protestors of all stripes. In Egypt, if not elsewhere, it seems that the Islamist boogeyman has been a very convenient illusion to lend a degree of necessity and respectability to the brutality of a dictator. We now know that the Islamist tidal wave that Mubarak assured us he was preventing was a shade for his own avarice.

As Winston Churchill said, "All men make mistakes, but only wise men learn from their mistakes." It is time for the policy-makers of the United States to learn from past mistakes and create a solid foundation for our foreign policy in the coming decades. Egypt has brought the United States (and the world) to a cross-roads: either the veil of hypocrisy must be thrown off, or we will continue to suffer the long-term consequences of aiding and abetting tyranny based on exaggerated and unsubstantiated fears. We must learn to exorcise the boogeymen of our past and present, and focus on building policy based on reality and thorough understanding of the nations we intend to work with. Given our presently precarious international reputation, it is easy to see where leadership in fear has brought us. Instead, we must again assume leadership in courage; we must proudly carry the mantle of Churchill's generation, who fought a tyrant not because it was easy, but because his rhetoric of fear and lies threatened the values we once stood for. Put simply, it is time to be bold.

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The Nashville **INTERCOLLEGIATE** ACTIVISM CONFERENCE



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