

LaGuardia Community College
The City University of New York

HONORS PROGRAM JOURNAL

SPRING 2015



HSAC



LaGuardia
Community College

HONORS PROGRAM JOURNAL

SPRING 2015

Presented by

**The Honors Student
Advisory Committee**



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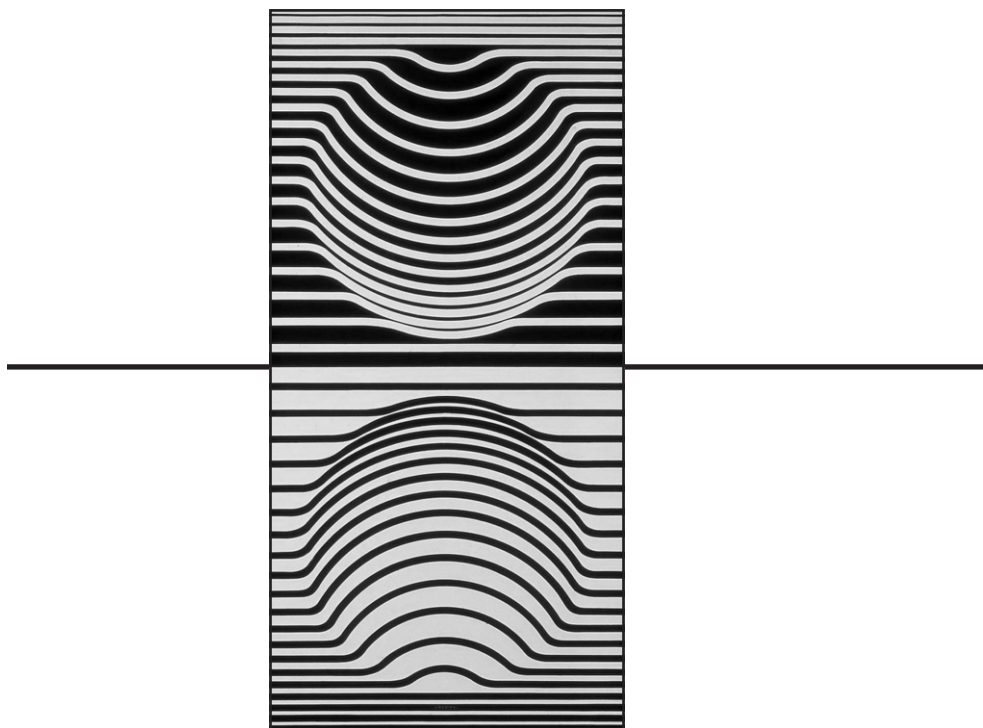
The Honors Student Advisory Committee

LaGuardia Honors Faculty

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Letter From The Editor

This first issue of LaGuardia's Honors Journal displays academic research conducted by Honors students. The scholarly articles found within this Journal are inspired by the work done in Honors classes, offered by the Honors Program at LaGuardia Community College. The LaGuardia Honors community hopes that this journal will act as an invaluable resource to foster interdisciplinary dialogues. It is meant to cultivate intellectual curiosity through publishing work from a myriad of disciplines. This publication is a major contribution not only to the LaGuardia community, but also to every burgeoning scholar seeking knowledge.

The Honors Journal is the product of dynamic student-faculty collaboration, a focus of the Honors Program. It supports students by providing academic and professional resources, as well as a thriving community of faculty and students. This academic atmosphere is felt the moment any student or faculty walk through the doors of the Honors Student Advisory Committee (HSAC) offices. HSAC is the student arm of the Honors Program. Personally, I have found endless support from within LaGuardia's flourishing Honors network.

The Honors Program is all-encompassing and enriching; it encourages all students to pursue scholarly endeavors outside of the classroom. In my experience, Dr. Karlyn Koh is the cornerstone of the Honors community at LaGuardia. She provides students access to an immense wealth of knowledge, experience, and expertise. Along with the right encouragement, it also provides the necessary resources to aid students in their paths toward success.

Speaking on behalf of the Honors Journal committee, we sincerely hope that you enjoy reading the wonderful articles within.

BEATRIZ RAMOS
EDITOR

U.S. – Peru Free Trade Agreement

BY MARISSA HERNANDEZ

The United States has painted itself as a country of great power through the implementation of programs designed to allow uninterrupted trade between itself and the other country involved. This picture however, fails to include its brutal history of oppressive colonization as well as discriminative behavior directed towards those being colonized by U.S. authorities. Throughout history, the United States has acted as a reinforcer for countries in need of assistance in areas including finance, economics, education, military etc.; their economies eventually become dependent on the U.S. and as a result are not able to thrive independently. It only acts as a helping hand for these other countries when its own interests need to be satisfied, such as a source for cheap labor. With the creation and implementation of the free trade agreement between the United States and Peru has more so benefited the US economy than the Peruvian economy by taking advantage of its resources. Has benefited the U.S. entirely, taking advantage of the

resources of Peru, instead of having a mutual. This can also be seen from a historical perspective when the United States abused the rights of Filipino sugar plantation workers in order to produce goods for cheap labor and increasing profits.

Present day relations between the United States and Peru have been cooperative and stable. The U.S. puts much of its efforts in trying to limit the cultivation and trafficking of drugs, specifically cocaine, in Peru. Especially since Peru has become the World's top producer and distributor of cocaine. The free trade agreement assists Peru in establishing bilateral programs (programs set up by the government help to work on a variety of missions) that support anti-narcotics efforts and minimize crime rates. These acts are all possible through the U.S.-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement (TPA) which was implemented in 2009. "García has issued a series of decrees required by the U.S.-Peru free trade agreement (FTA) to open up the Amazon to exploration and exploitation of its natural resources"

(Aiello "The Communist Threat"). The U.S. required access to a piece of land (as a part of its terms in the agreement) in order to create a constant flow and demand of raw materials to satisfy consumers on both sides of the agreement. The United States is using this trade agreement as a way to improve its own economy by using cheap labor in order to save money. In the process of exploiting resources found in the Amazon forest, the Garcia administration "has placed its free market ideology on a collision course with collective indigenous land and natural resource rights, which are protected under international law. But the plan backfired amid the government's response to opposition and its brutal repression of indigenous protestors" (Aiello "The Communist Threat"). The people of Peru have shown their disapproval and resistance (in relation to having their land and resources taken away in order to satisfy both parties included in the FTA) through relentless protest, and are either ignored or physically silenced by a

government fixated on expansion.

This trade agreement, apart from making access easier to goods and services, also encompasses policies relating to Peru's economy, labor, property, and the environment. Its main goal is to reduce the number of obstacles that may limit or try to eradicate the flow of trade between Peru and the US. This agreement has suffered a large amount of criticism ever since its implementation, beginning with labor rights "The ILO reports, as well as those of the State Department, document the failure of Peru's laws to comply with the five basic ILO standards (prohibitions on child labor and forced labor, non-discrimination, and the rights to associate and to bargain collectively) in five areas and expressed concern about four additional areas"(Levin "Remarks of Representative Levin"). Complaints filed with the ILO (International Labor Organization) in recent years highlight both the deficiencies in Peruvian laws as well as the failure to enforce the laws that do exist. Even though the United States

is aware of the laws being broken, it is more concerned with making sure resources and products are still able to be reached and collected. It is in the United States best interest to keep the flow of trade open and to prevent obstacles from blocking the flow between the US and Peru, which includes overlooking discrepancies in the workplace (child labor, low wages, dangerous working conditions etc.). "In reality any worker who chooses to exercise his or her right to join a union is easily thwarted by the employer, who simply does not renew the temporary contract or the sub-contracting agreement" (Levin "Remarks of Representative Levin"). Although workers file complaints to their superiors of mistreatment they are facing in the workplace, they go unheard and ignored. These examples of labor rights being ignored show the lengths that companies are willing to go, just to have products made at a cheaper cost and have the United States benefit from the hardship faced by Peruvian workers.

A reoccurring problem with the International Labor Organization seems to be the filing of complaints by workers. In some industries it seems that compliance with their rules is looked over or just nonexistent, "As the United States continues to link free trade agreements with labor standards, it is increasingly important that these standards result in more than just lip service to international labor norms". In his article "Labor Rights In The Peru Agreement", Michael Cabin points out that there is

always potential threat of labor rights being exploited when it comes to free trade agreements, which can be seen through the ILO's record of child and forced labor in Peru. Although rules and regulations are placed to create an all-around safe and well-functioning workplace, they are not all taken into consideration by managers in the workplace who are solely focused on making products at a fast rate, and not the conditions the workers making these products are placed under. Cabin highly recommends and encourages to turn these regulations from "lip service" into action.

Another group of people that are being overlooked in the free trade agreement would be indigenous people/protesters of Peru. The article "The Struggle For Laws Of Free, Prior, And Informed Consultation In Peru" focuses on the lack of attention paid to these people who first owned the land, and how they were not informed on the public policies made that would change their very standard of living, "lack of dialogue led to social conflict over the management of natural resources". There were many incidents of social conflicts that emerged after the United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement ("PTPA") was put into effect. These all incorporated violence and the fight for freedom in one way or another, which started well after the Garcia administration. The Indigenous people believed that PTPA aimed to sacrifice rainforest conservation for oil and mining exploitation. Through this perspective, "indigenous



Exploited immigrant "farm hands" tending to American crops

people grew frustrated and blocked a major highway. Such acts of violence resulted in deaths and injuries”.

These acts of rebellion and resistance had one thing in common; the right to protest against unjust issues. In this case it would be informed consultation or open dialogue when it comes to matters affecting the indigenous people and their standard of living. There were a number of demonstrations that resulted in many injured and dead. These demonstrations took place because there was precedence placed over the extraction of resources to satisfy demand instead of the safety of people, “However, the state’s promotion for the secure extraction of natural resources located in indigenous territories was a clear priority”. The opposition and rebellion shown by the indigenous people in Peru is a prime example of the effects faced with the exploitation of resources ever since the free trade agreement was put into effect.

Public health nutrition is also a large component of the free trade agreement that is overlooked. In the article “A New Generation of Trade Policy”, Sharon Friel focuses on the effects that trade poses on public health nutrition. She mainly focuses on the TPP (Trans Pacific Partnership), which is a trade agreement that involves several countries including Peru and the US. This agreement “would propose tariffs reductions, foreign investment liberalisation and intellectual property protection that extend beyond provisions in the multilateral World Trade Organization agreements”. This will ultimately put a strain on trade, and lead to no profits from either party involved in the agreement. The TPP is also likely to include strong investor protections, which would put a greater emphasis on industries to make more products and policy making that will satisfy the investors. The relationship found between trade agreements and diet-related health



Immigrant agricultural worker on
American fields in the South

all depend on the different sections from the TPP and the section they most heavily influence. Depending on what is covered by the Government Procurement chapter of the TPP, governments contracting for food services, such as in their schools, hospitals, and cafeteria, may have less control over the nutritional quality. This also takes into account the geographic locations.

Another area of the free trade agreement that has been heavily criticized would be the amount of resources that are diminishing due to deforestation. This continuous

depletion of both resources and indigenous land has stirred intense opposition towards the Garcia administration and the free trade agreement. "Animal rights groups have opposed this legislation due to the possibility of spreading factory farming practices through Latin America, increasing U.S. pork and poultry exports, and mining development that causes deforestation and habitat loss for animals" (Matheson "Protecting Corporate Investors"). Like most prior FTA's, the initial form of the Peru Trade Promotion Agreement called for small consideration in regards to environmental protection or labor standards. One of the key improvements in the June revision was an obligation for Peru and the United States to implement changes in order to enforce the CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species) Act, especially in regard to the illegal logging of protected Mahogany trees. Nonetheless, illegal mahogany was sold to the United States, which always seems to be benefitting from the misfortune of other countries. The rate of destruction of Peru's native forests is increasing each year. Peru's regulation of products which involves digging into resources that are non-renewable in order to keep up their end of the agreement seems to be an ongoing problem.

In addition to destroying Peru's environment, "promoting neoliberal economic development in Latin America, and funding war profiteers, projects like these also increase

our dependence on nonrenewable resources at the expense of the natural environment" (Matheson "Protecting Corporate Investors"). This all comes at the expense of not only the environment, but also the indigenous people and animals in the region. Their homeland and its resources are depleting and being used for the production of items for consumers to purchase in both Peru and the United States. An issue that is also stirring up much concern and only further adding on to the depletion of resources would be the expansion of factory farms. Since the poultry industry is expected to benefit the most from the implementation of the free trade agreement (Peru applies high tariffs to any foreign imports of poultry), the U.S. Grains Council, a strong supporter of the FTA, has agreed to several meetings with the Peruvian Poultry Association (APA) to promote egg consumption "with a goal to increase it by 40 percent over the next 10 years. Peru has agreed to provide a market for 800,000 metric tons of grain to supply their large poultry producers. It is in the best interests of the U.S. grain industry to expand factory farming in Peru in order to sell more of their grain to Peru as livestock feed" (Matheson "Protecting Corporate Investors"). The expansion of factory farms will only add on to the rate of destruction of native forests. This all comes at the cost of making sure there is enough supply for the increasing demand and increasing corporate profits. Most of the demand is being created

by the United States, "Consumption of cheap factory-farmed chicken from the U.S. will increase, replacing the consumption of locally raised free-range chickens" (Matheson "Protecting Corporate Investors"). The impact created will spread and Peru will keep having its resources taking advantage of to satisfy the needs of consumers.

Historically, the United States has always created new tactics and has been on the search for new ways to keep the flow of labor as cheap as possible. The expansion of factory farms previously mentioned is an example of a US tactic that requires little work on their side, and more work/loss of land for Peru. An example, where similarities can be seen, from the course reading would be *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946* written by Rick Baldoz. The first cluster of Filipino immigrants fell into three categories that consisted of college students, Filipino veterans, and plantation laborers. These laborers were recruited to work on sugar plantations in Hawaii, "Demand for agricultural commodities from this region grew precipitously, as did the need for laborers to bring these products to market" (Baldoz 48). The increasing demand for sugar in markets across the US drastically shifted Hawaii's economy. Their labor rights had been abused, as seen with Peruvian workers. They were the lowest paid group within the plantation system, and were not having their basic rights and protections being covered. The

goal of the US is to make products the cheapest way possible, which in the past consisted of paying its workers jaw dropping low wages. Since it is no longer able to do that, due to rules and regulation currently in place protecting the rights of workers, it has come up with new ways of finding cheap labor. This included forming a free trade agreement with Peru in order to have access to its resources and make products at cheap.

The free trade agreement between the United States and Peru is negatively affecting Peru's economy (labor rights and foreign investment) and environment (deforestation of native forest for resources to make products in order to satisfy US consumers). US consumers are being satisfied at the cost of Peruvian native forest depletion, which disrupts the life of the indigenous peoples and animals in the region, putting them at risk. It also comes at the cost of labor rights being overlooked and abused, which can be seen through the complaints filed with the International Labor Organization. ▢

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Paradox of Enlightenment: Bubble of Illusions or Flicker of Hope?

BY KRISHAN ROY

Reading any literary work of Franz Kafka and comprehending its meaning is often an unnerving task. Since he is the master of irony, a single parable evokes multiple interpretation at the same time. Often, through some conspicuous propositional statements, Kafka lures us to reach a firm conviction about the meaning of a specific literary work. Yet, he creates a situation – either by the gestures of the characters or by the whole story – that downplays the prior propositional statement. Therefore, by relying on some propositional statements enumerated in Kafka's "In the Penal Colony," we may fall short of grasping the meaning of this work in its entirety. Further, constructing a coherent explanation by demystifying the rather tortuous parables of Kafka often appears a daunting task; "In the Penal Colony" is not an exception. Different literary critics have taken different approaches to addressing those parables. Analyzing two different scholarly articles, this paper will try to show "In the Penal

Colony" as a text which criticizes the enlightenment that has given rise to colonialism; moreover, this paper will engage how the deliberate use of ambiguity, incoherence, ironic gestures, and imageries enables Kafka to point towards the dark side of the Enlightenment.

Why does "In the Penal Colony" by Kafka appear as a locus of paradoxes? The reason lies in Kafka's non-conformity to prevailing rules and regulation regarding the structure of a short story. Traditional short stories evoke coherent meanings at the end, whereas; often, Kafka's short stories remain unintelligible even at the conclusion. According to Joseph Strelka, Kafka's unique style is responsible for those paradoxes, which arouses "infinite ambivalence" (Strelka 436). In his essay titled "Kafkaesque Elements in Kafka's Novels and in Contemporary Narrative Prose" he states, "If Kafka's narratives are not examples of the simple form of classical parabolic fiction, they are nevertheless parabolic narratives of a more

complex and multifaceted nature which one could call 'symbolic' parables" (436). Although we might find similarities between the parables used in "In the Penal Colony" and in the Bible, particularly in the New Testament, Kafka's parables function differently than Biblical parables. Biblical parables are generally used to teach people a moral lesson. Kafka, however, uses parables to shake the whole narrative of morality based on the theory of the progress of civilization. How does he shake the traditional narratives of morality? To answer this question we need to discuss our traditional way of reading a short story and Kafka's radical break from that tradition. He does not create a difference by providing any radically new statement about our society. Rather, he attacks the tradition of coherence, which has been the prevalent goal of the earlier short stories.

How do we traditionally construct a coherent meaning of a short story? More often than not, short stories and novels construct their narratives

around particular coordinates of the time and the place. While reading, readers identify the specific time and the place hinted in the story or in the novel through vivid imageries or exact descriptions, and approach that short story or novel through their preconceptions about that particular time and place. Sometimes names of the characters relate them to a particular nationality during a particular time period. Instead of providing any hint about the names of the characters, Kafka limits himself by mentioning only their roles and positions: the officer, the explorer, the condemned man, the soldier. These roles are not singular or unique to individuals; on the contrary, they are universal in their nature and exist in most cultures. Therefore, it is not surprising that even after the acquittal, the condemned man holds his condemned status, as if, if one is condemned for once, she is condemned forever. However, does the condemned man not switch his role once acquitted so much so that he starts to assume the role

of the officer insofar as he eagerly participates in strapping the officer in the machine and wants to witness the latter's punishment? Perhaps, the point here is that in the acquittal, the role of the condemned remains; it is vacated by one character only to be filled by another.



Artist R. Crumb's rendering of the diabolical machine from Kafka's "In the Penal Colony"

Moreover, the title of the short story does not give us any clue about the exact location of the punishment. Thus, Kafka leaves his readers in temporal and spatial ambiguity. That is to say, the modern readers encounter graphic details of a barbaric punishment procedure; yet, find no clue about the time and the place of the event. The absence of coherent hints about the time and the place creates an unbearable pressure on the nerves of the reader. For instance, the officer's passionate

description of the excruciating punishment procedure stretches the boundary of our modern sense of civility. He describes enthusiastically, "So it keeps on writing deeper and deeper for the whole twelve hours. The first six hours the condemned man stays alive almost as before, he suffers only pain. After two hours the felt gag is taken away, for he has no longer strength to scream" (Kafka 172). After reading this particular excerpt of the story, sensitive readers start to feel the pain of that process across their own bodies, and tremble in anxiety thinking the insanity of a law enforcing officer, who gets immense pleasure making people suffer under brutal torture. The only easy way out of these fears and anxieties is to group the insane officer with the brutal medieval monarchs and to consider the whole story as a tale of long forgotten medieval past. Unfortunately, readers find no specific reference that can possibly link this story to a tale of brutal medieval monarchies. Furthermore, an intricate apparatus with complex functioning – supposedly symbolizing human progress and ingenuity – encompasses the whole story, and leads readers to situate the story in a historical period of thousands of years including their own time. Thus, through the structure of the story Kafka dislocates the vanity of the "modern" reader, who is habituated to perceive brutalities as pre-modern features. Consequently, Kafka forces his readers to bring into question their

presuppositions and high hopes on enlightenment – whether the enlightenment has brought them into a more humane society leaving behind the past barbarity, or it has revived the medieval barbarity with a disguise of modernity? Additionally, Kafka questions the whole model of measuring human progress through the scale of chronological calendar. Our later discussions will focus on how Kafka intertwines imbalance and incoherence throughout the story, and shakes the traditional linear narrative of the enlightenment which tells us that modernity is more “just” than pre-modern “savagery.”

The use of structural imbalance in “In the Penal Colony” is abundant. Firstly, the description of the intricate mechanism used for execution, and the description of the whole judicial process remain in a conspicuous imbalance. The narrator portrays the killing machine with painstaking details while ignoring to elaborate on the unjust juridical procedure which sends an innocent person to death row. Secondly, the narrator mentions earlier in the story that the officer speaks in French which is unknown to both the soldier and the condemned man (Kafka 167). But later in the story the officer says to the explorer, “...you are conditioned by European ways of thought, perhaps you object on principle to capital punishment in general and to such mechanical instruments of death in particular...” (Kafka 180). Here we encounter ambiguous statements about the nationality of

the officer, although it is not the end of the confusion. Later, the narrator observes that the officer says, “‘You are free,’ [.....] to the condemned man in the native tongue” (Kafka 185). If we try to converge all three above mentioned statements together, and construct the identity of the officer, the officer himself becomes an outsider, a French-European colonizer, who has helped the old commandant to colonize a foreign territory. And, he does not think that European “civilized” methods of punishment is needed in a colonized territory. Consequently, the condemned man seems to be the colonized, the soldier as the collaborator, and the penal colony as the territory of unbridled, brutal experimentation. Moreover, the use of the word “colony” is significant, since it alludes to a territory which is under immediate control of foreign state. Here, the conflict between the colonizer and the colonized complicates the discussion of justice and injustice; the hypocrisy and the double standard of the power become sharp.

In the above aspect, the points of Andreas Gailus seems pertinent. In his essay titled “Lessons of the Cryptograph: Revelation and the Mechanical in Kafka’s “In the Penal Colony,” Gailus argues, “The meaning of justice is not, as the fantasy wants us to believe, instantiated in a transfigured body; rather, it is the product of a mechanical ritual that stages the sacrifice of the body as a scene of transfiguration” (Gailus

300). According to Gailus, the power structure, in our modern society legitimizes itself by creating the illusion of transcendental justice. Whereas, ironically, it collapses when it seeks to inscribe "Be Just" on the body of the officer (Kafka 189). That is to say, the power structure sustains itself through intricate webs of fantasies and hides its illegitimacy. For instance, uncanny details of the punishment procedure captivates us throughout the story, and make us oblivious to the obvious question about who gives the old commandant and his successors the right to judge who is guilty and who is not. Who legitimizes their position on the top of the power structure as benevolent judges of their subjects? However, Kafka's deliberate indifference towards those obvious questions, paradoxically, generates a void inside readers, and opens up the space for the emergence of those questions. That is to say, Kafka does not criticize the power structure through any formal statement against them, but structures the story that automatically leads a reader to condemn the power structure. Indeed, those questions unmask the illegitimacy and hypocrisy of the prevailing power structure. The power structure, which pretends to be just in the land of enlightenment, the very same structure acts exactly the opposite in a colonized territory. Yet, this reading leads us to another question – whether it is appropriate to relate this particular story with colonizer- colonized dichotomy?

Although Kafka was not alive to see the acute colonizer-colonized conflict in Asia and Africa during and after the Second World War, he was not unaware of what was taking place during his time, for example Belgian brutality in the Congo (Peters). However, as this particular story does not bear coherent indication of the time and the place, contemporary readers enjoy subjective freedom to relate this story to any event ranging from the ancient time to the contemporary time. In fact, by refraining from indicating legible time-place coordinate, Kafka makes this story universal and open to "infinite ambivalence." Besides, Kafka thinks that enlightenment has not overcome pre-historic barbarity; rather, the former keeps the latter alive; they co-exist through a violent relationship. How does "In the Penal Colony" reflect Kafka's position? In his essay, Gailus extends on this topic further.

According to Gailus, the penal colony is the spatial reification of a topological dimension engrained to Enlightenment law (Gailus 301). That is to say, the very creation of modern, civilized laws opens up spaces for their violations. If the major contributions of Enlightenment are the dominance of reason and justice, the penal colony begins with the violation of those primal commitments, specifically the fair justice system. However, such a colony where basic norms of the civilization are abandoned, is not anomalous or contradictory to

the Enlightened territory; on the contrary, it is an inevitable extension of the Enlightened territory. It is, as if the Enlightenment is incomplete without creating its darker outcast. However, this penal colony – if it is perceived as a physical territory – can either be an occupied colony located at the periphery of the enlightened territory, or it can be at the very heart of the enlightened territory. Gailus' use of the word "engrained" is important here. For Gailus, the creation of a penal colony, where all civilized norms are abandoned, is not an exception; rather, it is a necessary consequence of the Enlightenment. That is to say, this Enlightenment has not freed our soul from subjugation: neither from the subjugation of another man, nor from the subjugation under the power structure. Additionally, Gailus argues, "It [the penal colony] is the territory of the exception, a space in which the extralegal – and hence meaningless – violence of the law is rendered both visible and material" (301). If we bring these ideas together we get the reason behind the eruption of violence: the demolition of the machine and the brutal death of the officer. Generally, violence erupts when the normal state of something is altered. The power structure can perform any totalitarian oppressive command, but an egalitarian humane order. For instance, the apparatus mentioned in the story can inscribe any totalitarian symbolic order like "Honor Thy Superior," but crumbles down when

it is ordered to inscribe "Be Just." It is only possible when the given inscription goes against the primary principle of the apparatus; that is to say, "Be Just" inscription violates the primary violation of enlightened Laws, and makes the contraption to collapse. Since the two attitudes – egalitarianism and totalitarianism – are ultimately incompatible, the task of their unification is impossible. Any endeavor to achieve this unification results in a debilitating deadlock whose consequence can only be the outburst of violence – the collapse of the apparatus, the brutal death of the officer.

Likewise, Kafka is not very optimistic about providing any provocative solution at the end, nor does he provide a clear picture of the enemy in front of us. According to Joseph Strelka, it would be a mistake to perceive Kafka's narratives at their literal meaning (Strelka 436). For instance, if we were to take the statement of officer about the condemned man, "He has had no chance of putting up a defense" (Kafka 170), and try to analyze it through our common sense perspective saying Kafka seeks to criticize our criminal justice system that leaves no room for the convicted to defend herself, we would be far from grasping the total picture. Since a statement produces meaning through its interrelation with other statements in a broader constellation, taking one statement separately and coming to an understanding would inevitably risk the chance of hasty generalization.

Injustice cannot be identified in any specific regime, or person. Injustice is rather more abstract, if not beyond our perception. Often, statements or visual representations are not enough to articulate injustice, since they constrict the idea of injustice to particular places and time periods. For the same reason, the YouTube short film based on the story of "In the Penal Colony" is problematic since it relates this insane process of punishment particularly to Nazi Germany through the attires of the officer and the soldier. The reason behind this problem is not that Kafka was unaware about the rise of German totalitarianism when he published this short story in 1919. The reason behind the failure of this particular adaptation lies in its truncated representation of the story. The short film fails to perceive that injustice or brutality cannot be expressed through a particular phenomenon in history – namely Nazi Germany. Indeed, it fails to understand why Kafka purposefully enshrouds particular details about the exact location and time about the event. What if this particular short story resists any visual representation? What if the short story, with all its incoherence and loopholes, undermines the power structure better than a coherent short story? What if the officer's absurd reasoning and the rhetoric of revelations was deliberate to portray him more ridiculous in front of the reader?

Although the officer, one of the representatives of the power structures, tries to persuade the explorer about the legitimacy of suffering, his ridiculous reasoning undermines him to the reader. Kafka is not unaware about the absurdity of the officer, but Kafka is unwilling to express the absurdity through formal statements. That is to say, Kafka undermines the power structure not through propositional statements, but through the masterful use of ironic imageries and ludicrous gestures. For instance, the narrator of the story describes the condemned man as stupid looking, wide mouthed creature with bewildered hair and face, who acts like a submissive dog and lacks enough motivation to flee from the execution ground. Even if he does, "whistling alone is enough to bring him back" (Kafka 165). If we were to take these statements literally without considering surrounding ironies, we might derive some naïve propositions, such as, Kafka seeks to blame the convicted people for their submissiveness in front of the power structure. Rather, we should read these sentences in more ambiguous ways. We should ask why the authority (the soldier and the officer) needs the heavy chain to control such a submissive creature who has no intention to flee.

Does Kafka seek to show the imbecility of the authority who adopts grotesque pre-cautions with a doglike creature? Although the narrator describes the condemned man as submissive dog, the ludicrous

gestures of the officer in front of the machine rather portrays the officer as a submissive dog. The narrator notes, "He [the officer] looked uncommonly limp, breathed with his mouth wide open, and had tucked two fine ladies' handkerchiefs under the collar of his uniform" (166). The explicit comic details of the officer are not redundant. Without making any blatant statement, those details distance the officer from the traditional image of an authoritative figure. Although the officer chains the condemned man like a submissive dog, his body language barely reflects his mastery over the chained man. That is to say, statements are conspicuously made all over story, but without the understanding of irony, we will not be able to perceive how a statement can both state and downplay the statement simultaneously. I think Kafka's deliberate juxtaposition of strong statements on the one hand, and concomitant imageries and gestures on the other, evoke contradictory explanations of a situation that cannot be articulated through lucid propositional statements. Lucid propositional statements fail to grasp the complexity of parables.

In summary, the whole story from the perspective of colonial-colonized dichotomy is one of the many possible ways to approach this particular short story. This approach is subjective and varies from one reader to another. However, after analyzing particular aspects of the short story, we can construe that identifying oppressive

power structure is a complex task, since it cannot be identified in or articulated through lucid narratives, nor it can be found in particular regimes. That is to say, the solution is rather subjective. Although "In the Penal Colony" does not give us any clear, concise solution at the end, this very absence of the solution impels the reader to decide subjectively – whether enlightenment is a bubble of illusions, or it is a flicker of hope. ▢

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New York City's Ethical Dilemma of Deportation

BY LAVERNE SUMMERS

Deportation is a serious moral dilemma that adversely affects New York and America in general, the deported individuals and their families, as well as the countries to which they are forcibly returned. The fallout from deporting parents, destroying families and unnecessarily subjecting many children to foster care will lead to serious and cumulative damage both now and in the future. My case studies are America and Jamaica, and will focus on legal permanent residents particularly military veterans. I dearly love both countries as I have equally vested interests in them. I am a citizen of both, so is my father, as was his late father, and paternal grandmother. Deportation is an immoral and systemic form of institutionalized discrimination, the disproportionate magnitude of which hurts families, society and countries. The practice is barbaric, and mirrors the dehumanization

of chattel slavery; deportation also takes the legal authority from the judicial system, imposes martial law and flagrantly violates the Human Rights of families and children.

Having had several clergy visits in a number of detention facilities, I have personal experiential knowledge about the dehumanizing manner in which persons deemed deportable are treated. Among these facilities are Essex County and Market Street Correctional in New Jersey, Fishkill, Wende, and Buffalo Facilities in New York. May 2004 I was at Market Street/Passaic Facility, and Homeland Security brought in one hundred-ten men; they had rounded them up and herded them in like cattle. The hundred-ten men came in shackled together in chains, each with a sheet holding his belongings and government-issue plastic covered mattress. Some were very dignified, well educated men. According to one Corrections officer, there were

two in the group with PhDs. I asked about them, and why they had been rounded up. The Corrections officer said that they were the victims of a sting operation to deter terrorism. None of the men fit the profile of terrorists, as there were no records of those men having ever engaged in anti-government activity of any kind. In fact, their patriotism and allegiance were with their country of residence, the one they love—America. They were husbands, sons, fathers, brothers and uncles, guilty of daring to dream and wanting a better life in the United States. The then resident chaplain, Rev. Dr. James Kuykendall reiterated what I already knew, that they were denied bail, and when some of their wives found out and came to see them, they were deprived of visitation. Unlike their other fellow inmates these men were not given the rights and privileges accorded to legal residents and citizens. Although Essex County

is a state facility, the inmates in the ICE division have a special Federal designation. They are not allowed to go in the yard like other prisoners, hence they are denied being able to breathe fresh air, and are daily subjected to twenty-four hours confinement. They are also denied contact visits from families and loved ones. Only clergy and lawyers are allowed to meet with them in rooms without glass partitions, but this is not where the nightmare ends.

After they were humiliated they were to be packed on a plane, bound at their hands, feet, and waists. This practice is synonymous with the enslaved Africans being herded and loaded onto the Dutch frigates that brought them to the West and especially to America in the early 1600's. At that time enslaved Africans were being brought to America to provide free labor on the plantations where they were exploited, brutalized, and dehumanized. Dr. Nathaniel

Samuel Murrell of the University of North Carolina Wilmington, reports: “Jamaican immigrants had lived in the US as free persons prior to the arrival of enslaved Africans in North America” (Murrell n. p.). It is a sad commentary that a set of people who bear an allegiance to America, a country of immigrants and a people with a lengthy history of having lived in America, are treated with such impunity. In his article, Dr. Murrell attests:

The documented history of black emigration from Jamaica and other Caribbean Islands into the United States dates back to 1619 when 20 voluntary indentured workers arrived in Jamestown, Virginia on a Dutch frigate. They lived and worked as “free persons” even when a Portuguese vessel arrived with the first shipload of blacks enslaved in 1629 (sic). Since Jamaica was a clearing house for slaves’ enroute to North America, the history of Jamaican immigration in United States is inseparably tied to slavery and post-emancipation migration. (Murrell n.p.).

Although this article, which first appeared in “Friends for Jamaica” does have some discrepancy with the dates when the Dutch ship transporting the Africans arrived, the shared significance lies in the fact that the dehumanization of Africans that began in the 1600’s with the chattel slave trade has continued into the twenty-first century, with the deportation of innocent immigrants.¹

The case of the hundred-ten men who were brought in to Passaic Market Street is not an isolated incident. This is confirmed by *The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Dangerous Doctrine: The Attorney General’s Unfounded Claim of Unlimited Authority to Arrest and Deport Aliens in Secret*, A Joint Report by Committee on Immigration & Nationality Law and Committee on Communications & Media Law.² In its introductory paragraph, in assessment of the American government’s post September 11th stance, states thus:

The United States Department of Justice (“DOJ”) moved swiftly to question thousands of immigrants, and in the process arrested and detained hundreds of Muslims for routine visa violations. In a brazen claim of executive branch power, the Attorney General then asserted

¹ I called Dr. Murrell at the University of North Carolina Wilmington on 12/11/2014 to confer with him and get clarification on the date. He admitted that a publisher had contacted him some time ago concerning the matter, and that the article is to be updated.

² Sections of this report are drawn from a broader analysis of public access to administrative proceedings completed earlier by the Committee on Communications & Media Law. “If it Walks, Talks, and Squawks... First Amendment Right of Access to Administrative Adjudications: A Position Paper” (June 2004).

the authority to deport or remove immigrants completely in secret, denying any right of the public to know what was being done and any power of the court to limit his exercise of authority (Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 2004, 1).

The document further states that, “In the meantime, two local papers in New Jersey, has been trying to obtain information about a large number of aliens who were arrested in the State after 9/11. Unable to learn anything about the status of these aliens, the papers filed a facial challenge to the Creppy Memo requiring all ‘special interest’ proceeding to be secret” (9, 10). Whereas this document speaks specifically of Muslims, I would like to add that many in the minority communities, especially persons of color have been affected. The Palgrave Journal Latino Studies article, by two professors, from Universities in California, substantiates what I have known, gained from many years of volunteer clergy immigration advocacy experience. It is identified in the abstract of “Latino immigrant men and the deportation crisis: A gendered racial removal program” that:

Drawing from secondary sources, surveys conducted in Mexico, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security published statistics, and interviews with deportees conducted by the first author in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic,

Brazil and Jamaica, we argue that: (1) deportations have taken on a new course in the aftermath of 9/11 and in the wake of the global economic crisis – involving a shift towards interior enforcement; (2) deportation has become a gendered and racial removal project of the state; and (3) deportations will have lasting consequences with gendered and raced effects here in the United States (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013, 1).

There is a correlation between the men of color who are consistently targeted for removal which depicts an established pattern of racism designed to keep some people economically disadvantaged.

Racialized slavery was enforced in the seventeenth century; however today in the twenty-first century Jamaicans come to America for educational and career opportunities. Many persons who have the ambition, academic acuity, and interest to pursue higher education cannot do so in Jamaica. The numbers of institutions are very limited and they are extremely expensive, with very stringent matriculation policies. The citadel of tertiary education, the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus lists its “2014/2015 Tuition Fees for Undergraduate Graduate Programmes” (For comparison I will quote the US\$ equivalency using the fx-rate as of 03/31/2015) to attend the University of the West Indies as

follows:

- Humanities/ Education degree cost per credit JM\$8,663.00 = US\$75.48, per annum JM\$259,901.00 = US\$2263.64
- Bachelor's of Law has a price tag of JM\$281,478.00 = US\$2452.65
- Miscellaneous costs for a full time student living on campus are JM\$21,248.00 = US\$185.14 These do not include school supplies, transportation fees, laundry supplies or other basic necessities.
- Off-campus resident, the cost is JM\$14,748.00 = US\$128.51.
- Identification card and renewal fees incur a recurring cost of JM\$500.00 = US\$4.36 and a replacement card is JM\$570.00 = US\$4.97

(University of the West Indies 2014) (fx-rates.net 2015).

Bearing in mind that the minimum wage is JM\$5,600.00 = US\$48.80 per week. According to the Jamaica Observer newspaper this was recently increased from JM\$5000.00 as of January 6, 2014 (Kellier 2013). The socioeconomic status of many simply precludes them from affording exorbitant enrollment fees.

Socioeconomic status or the lack thereof, is what propels immigrants to come to America. A people who nonetheless still have ambition, hopes and aspirations, come to America to make a life and realize

the quintessential American dream. These same people are deported. Jamaicans are hardworking, driven people. Nevertheless, the US immigration policies seem designed to keep out Jamaicans. Typically, when Jamaicans gain legal status in America, their first priority is to go to school. This leads to many becoming nurses, as evidenced by the number of Jamaicans in the nursing field. Here is an example taken from an article published in Health Economics:

Foreign Born Nurses in the U.S.
Labor Market

Country	Percentage
Philippines	33.5
Canada	12.6
India	6.3
Jamaica	4.0
England	3.1
Mexico	2.9

All wage and salary workers

Country	Percentage
Mexico	15.4
El Salvador	4.2
India	3.8
Philippines	3.7
China	3.1
Canada	2.5

(Schumacher 362-378).

This particular study was done in San Antonio, Texas. Had it been conducted in an area where Jamaicans have a higher concentration such as New York, Georgia, California or Florida, the percentage would have been even higher.

The tragic reality is that many Jamaicans who have been deported are lawfully admitted permanent residents, such as these three veterans: Howard Dean Bailey of the United States Navy, Rohan Coombs of the United States Marine Corps, and Sidney Robertson of the United States Army. These men all served in the military for a country they love and consider home—America.



From Left: Howard Dean Bailey and Rohan Coombs

They were considered good enough to put their lives on the line and go to war for America, but were later stripped of their citizenship rights and permanent residency status. They were banished to a Jamaica they had left behind, and where many no longer have family or a support system. Focusing on these three veterans, all of whom were lawful permanent residents, I will quote Maddali, “*Padilla v. Kentucky: A New Chapter in Supreme Court Jurisprudence on Whether Deportation Constitutes Punishment for Lawful Permanent Residents?*” (Maddali, 1.). The author articulates the following definition of permanent residents according to law:

Lawful permanent residents constitute a distinct category for the following reasons. First, lawful permanent residents have been admitted

permanently into the United States. As such they have a heightened immigration status compared with other classes of noncitizens, 207 which should in turn provide heightened constitutional protections during removal proceedings. Second, there is no on-going immigration violation to be cured, since lawful permanent residents are here lawfully. (Maddali, 31.).

Maddali’s court precedent of “*Padilla v. Kentucky*” substantiates the fact that lawful, permanent residents who were legally admitted should not be deported.

To proceed, I will use Kant’s and Bentham’s utilitarian theories in my analysis of the ethical dilemma of deportation. More specifically, I will apply Kant’s categorical imperative, ethical absolutism, and relativism along with Bentham’s utilitarianism theories. The Kantian perspective, in short, calls for people to treat others with respect. (Chaffee, 507). What is right and good stands on the foundation of truth. The categorical imperative would indeed adhere to the letter and spirit of the law which clearly states that these men had been granted legal status and that status should be respected. The previously granted legal residence status should be upheld. Obviously, the United States Department of Homeland Security operates on a hypothetical imperative, which simply says that there is no value or worth in the

“laws,” as they may be randomly changed to prescribe current whims and fancies, and subscribe to fear and propaganda. Based on the American government’s treatment toward the Jamaican veterans who happen to be people of African descent, it is clear that according to Chaffee, Ethical absolutism should be applied in accordance with the notion that some moral values are universal (445.). In the *Philosopher’s Way* Chaffee describes the tenets of Bentham’s utilitarian theory, “the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people” (Chaffee, 507.). Ideally, Bentham’s theory would solve the epidemic of unethical deportation. This makes sense and at least the human rights of these lawful veterans should be upheld. This would greatly ease the burden and devastation caused by deportation to individuals, families, and countries.

It is ironic that the American government is deporting Jamaicans, because Europeans stole America from the Native man – who Columbus mistook for Asian Indians. New York’s hallmark, Manhattan, was bought for a proverbial \$24.00 and Wall Street, the flagship of American capitalism was built on slave labor. Yet, the immigrant still loves America in spite of these paradoxes.

Jamaicans, in particular, contributed to making America great. What would the Harlem Renaissance be without the militant sonnets of Claude McKay? What would Bill Clinton’s presidency be

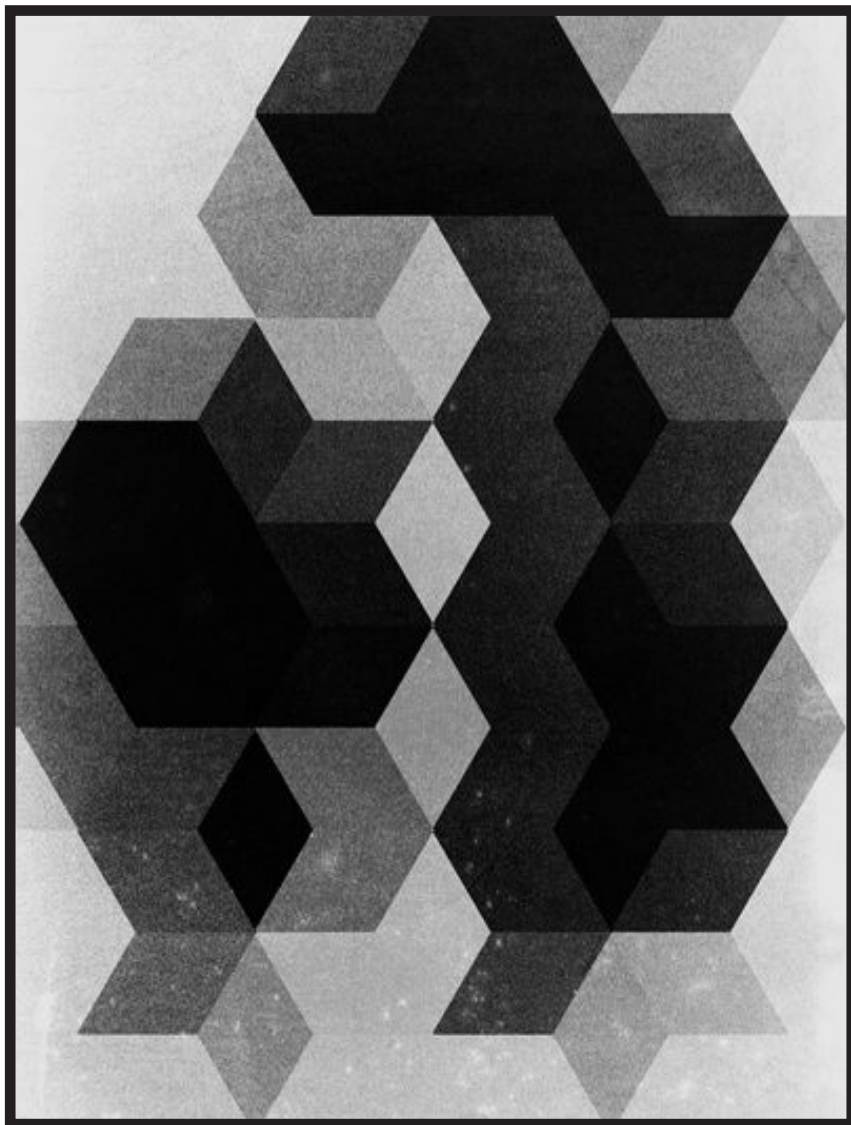
without Secretary of State General Colin Powell? In the sports arena Patrick Ewing was synonymous with the New York Knicks. America, wake up and abide by the laws and the constitution by treating Jamaicans as human beings deserving of dignity. Deportation is a huge blemish on New York’s and America’s ethical compass. ▢

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Dunbar's Dialectical Masquerade

BY LUKE ROLLINS

Historians and literary critics have handed Paul Laurence Dunbar, somewhat backhandedly, the gilded crown of poet laureate of the “nadir” in American race relations, or the age between the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of World War I (Daigle). Dunbar’s life fits neatly in this epoch: born in 1872 and dead of tuberculosis in 1906, he was and reacted against the vengeful vestiges of American Slavery, the redoubled racism spawned of the South, north and westerly migratory, that seeped into every epistemological crevice of the country and created a cage of claustrophobic oppression from sea to shining sea.

Dunbar’s literary career, a span of about 15 years from his graduation from high school in June 1891, to his death in February 1906, is so fraught with the fault lines of race battles that no critical consensus has succeeded in settling over his work. Since his death, Dunbar has been a mirror to which the prevailing currents in Black thought have recurred,

and each generation we find a new Dunbar, here accommodationist, there an ironist, then a hack, now exquisite (Robinson). His inscrutability, his inexhaustibility to readers, his resistance to being a *forme fixe*, are the result of his engagement with the toxic culture of *fin-de-siècle* America.

Dunbar was never fully Dunbar for any one audience or any one expectation. In his essay “Dunbar’s Mask of Dialect,” John Keeling suggests the mask is the key to a successful interpretation of Dunbar, and, in “[locating] the limits of its construction,” arriving at a deeper understanding of his poetry (Keeling 27). However, as a black man and professional writer, in the quotidian course of procuring his daily bread, Dunbar faced “myriad subtleties” of interpretation from the myriad expectations of myriad audiences. The “limit of construction” of one mask is merely the embarkation point for another. He played all against each other in a dialectical masquerade, dancing from dialect song to somber,

sober standards, negotiating a cultural minefield with his arsenal of multiplicity.

Dunbar's consciousness was not double but disassembled, and every act of reconstitution was a dissemblance. Dunbar's most obvious mask was his dialect poetry, in which he affected the orality of a pre-literate Black consciousness. These poems played to rapturous reception from white audiences, who saw in its supposed barbarity a black apology for the all-pervasive racist pseudo-science of American institutions. Critic Matthew Wilson notes the problem of a Dunbar dialect poem such as "The Deserted Plantation," where, "White readers would have found confirmation of their racial assumptions... [and] ... evidence to support the progressive fin de siècle disenfranchisement of African Americans." (Wilson) The leading (white) literary critic of The Nadir, William Dean Howells, infamously praised Dunbar's plantation dialect poems as his "real strength," revealing

the "primitive human nature in his race." (Braxton xvi) Dunbar, for his part, saw the "irrevocable harm [done to him] in the dictum he laid down regarding [his] dialect verse." (Braxton xvii)

And yet, these dialect poems have a hold on the black imagination, and not as nostalgia. Dunbar's "When Malindy Sings" is a transcendent verse of manifold power, and has been set to music and sung, not least of all by Oscar Brown, Jr., and Abbey Lincoln, respectively (Nielsen). Given these dissonant approaches and interpretations, where do we find the poet in such a poem? How does Dunbar impregnate his dialect poetry with "suffering and frustration, so evident in his standard English poetry"? (Keeling 27)

The opening couplet of "When Malindy Sings" introduces the reader to two antipodes: the speaker and Miss Lucy, and orality and literacy. The speaker, an African American of plantation dialect, tells Miss Lucy, in all likelihood a white woman, if not the

speaker's mistress, to "put dat music book away," (2) before beginning his paean to the honey-sweet voice of Malindy, a black woman with a voice untouched by "de lines an' dots" (18), whose music is "sweetah dan de music/Of an edicated band." (57-58) Here is Dunbar's first sleight: exalting orality over literacy. The speaker invokes biological determinism, suggesting that Miss Lucy "ain't got de nachel o'gans/Fu' to make de soun' come right," (9-10) and that literacy is an inadequate compensation. He pays tribute to his parents' tradition, inverts the white value system, and posits a superior intelligence inaccessible to whites according to the rules of a racist scientism.

Dunbar's dialect mask is finely wrought, and beautiful, and with enough time, the vernacular representations of speech transform themselves into a melody, into the lines, bars, and notes of music. Here is Dunbar's second sleight: he's peddling an idea of orality through literacy, inevitably inauthentic, always already at a remove. Dunbar achieves the formal beauty of "Malindy" through meticulous construction, considering texture and content in every syllable. The ability to translate into visual symbols the patterns and intonations of the oral vernacular indicate the depth of Dunbar's book learning.

Dunbar's poetic virtuosity does not upend the implications of orality, but it does put them into context. In a gesture, Dunbar schools whites in the beauty and complexity of orality, while demonstrating to a black

audience the power of literacy to transform and reevaluate their past, and therein their future.

However, Dunbar has another sleight: we never hear Malindy sing, and neither does Miss Lucy. The speaker's exaltation of Malindy turns hyperbolic, especially after Miss Lucy implicitly denies having heard Malindy sing in line 25. Dunbar is unmasking the mask-crafting, letting those with eyes for it see how the veil is spun. The speaker fills Miss Lucy's ignorance with his projections, using her eyes to see Malindy as he might wish her to seem. The last stanza holds a clue to this mask: now, having exhausted his litany of praise, the speaker strains to hear Malindy's music:

Let me listen, I can hyeah it,
 Th'oo de bresh of angels' wings,
 Sof' an' sweet, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,"
 Ez Malindy sings. (69-72)

This is the mask the speaker wears in front of himself: a mask meant to ameliorate Malindy's absence, a palliative image of divine deliverance in the words of an old slave spiritual, carried earthward on the backs of celestial beings.

Dunbar famously addressed his dissembling in his poem "We Wear The Mask." Formally, it, at first sight, might seem antithetical to a dialect poem like "Malindy": written in standard English, it takes the form of a *rondeau*, a French poetic form "characterized by the repeating lines of the *rentrement*, or refrain, and



Paul Lawrence Dunbar c. 1890

the two rhyme sounds throughout.” (Poets.Org) The poem almost begs us to invoke the dialect-as-mask, standard-English-as-Dunbar trope. This is a dissembling.

No less difficult a man to pin down was Friedrich Nietzsche, who in *Beyond Good and Evil* wrote, “Every profound spirit needs a mask: even more, around every profound spirit a mask is growing continually, owing to the constantly false, namely shallow, interpretation of every word, every step, every sign of life he gives.” (Nietzsche 241) Seen in this light, “We Wear The Mask” brims with interpretative possibility, offering insight into Dunbar’s method even as it conceals something of the poet.

The poem begins in ambiguity: who is “We”? Is it African-Americans, is it poets, is it all the artistically inclined, or is Dunbar aiming for a human universal of masks and

masking? The best masks not only hide what is beneath, but they hide themselves; the best mask presents itself as the thing itself. Dunbar is both particular and universal. He addresses the problem of black selfhood during The Nadir by integrating it into the fraternity of dissemblers throughout history, unreal recognizing unreal.

The “debt we pay to human guile” (3) continues Dunbar’s ambiguous trajectory. Is the “debt” a sense of indebtedness, as one is indebted to a benefactor, as one conscious of the agency conferred by this benefactor? Is this gratitude? Or is it the debtor’s prison? Is the mask a penance, an atonement, to be undergone and subsequently lifted? Raising these questions, Dunbar pushes forward with a reactionary pragmatism: “Why should the world be over-wise?” (6) He knows there’s a profit in the mask, that the effacement of “tears and sighs” (7) puts him and his kind at an advantage.

The medieval rondeau took most often as its subject courtship, romance, and the changing of seasons, but when melancholic, the tone “turned to a cheerful *c’est la vie* in the final stanza.” (Poets.Org) It’s hard to imagine that with Dunbar’s skill in the old forms he would have been ignorant of this. The final stanza’s first four lines see the speaker oppose internal suffering at its most dramatic, invoking Christ-ward cries, “tortured souls”, vile clay, and long miles, with external acts of smiling and singing. This straightforward quartet regains ambiguity from the

turn in the final couplet. Set off by a semi-colon, the first word of the penultimate line is “but,” already introducing a counter element. The penultimate line introduces a tonal shift, from lamentation to resignation and resilience – “let the world dream otherwise” suggests the world is in a state of illusion, of somnambulance, while the final line delivers an emphatic manifesto of alert ambiguity: “We wear the mask!”

Dunbar the poet is a radical deferment, a product and denial of two antagonistic and illusory cultures: white, pseudo-scientific racism and the limited black consciousness white institutions strained to enforce. Even in a poem like “The Poet”, an ostensible song of himself, his Self ends up fractured, and the reader is left with more questions than answers:

He sang of life, serenely sweet,
With, now and then, a deeper note.
From some high peak, nigh yet remote,
He voiced the world's absorbing beat.

He sang of love when earth was young,
And Love, itself, was in his lays.
But ah, the world, it turned to praise
A jingle in a broken tongue.

Typically, the poem is read as a lament for the misunderstanding of Dunbar's dialect poems, his “serenely sweet” songs misconstrued as “jingle in a broken tongue.” Who, then, is the speaker, if Dunbar is the object of the speaker's voice and eye? Is Dunbar turning on himself to wallow in self-pity, or is there something more

acerbic lurking beneath the queer, if manicured, surface? After considering “Malindy” and “We Wear The Mask,” knowing the speaker from the poet, Dunbar from any of his myriad personae, is a fool's errand.

The poem's construction is deliberately awkward. Two quatrains share an ABBA rhyme scheme. The sequential couplets form meaning conventionally, but rhyme, assonance and repetition disrupt the poem's semantic momentum. It has none of the melody of “Malindy,” nor does it have the innovative, yet classical integrity of “We Wear The Mask”. Meaning and form are set against one another: where one seeks the message, one is derailed by the oblique form, and if one focuses on the rhythm and rhyme, the meaning recedes.

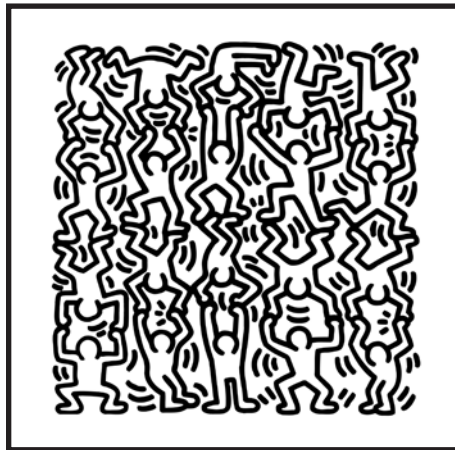
Dunbar, too, recedes, the more fervently one tries to corner him. So skilled is his sleight of hand and so masterful is his misdirection that even his nakedness is a mask. He is the performer par excellence, deeply attuned to the desires of his audience, and calibrating his performance accordingly. Dunbar's an erratic molecule bouncing in the space between what you want to hear, and what you need to hear.

In the movement of Black culture away from slavery and illiteracy toward an independence of mind and body, Dunbar was a Janus figure, two-faced, a gateway confronting both the past and the future in a single gesture. The multiplicity of his voices and his ability to nail two pitches simultaneously as if overtone

singing, make him a protean figure in American poetry, while as an embodiment of the contradictions of his time – the seedling generation of The American Century – he became an event in world literature. Born into specious science, racist vigilantism and legal, constitutional condescension, the dialectic masquerade of Paul Laurence Dunbar was like water that filled the cracks between truth and lies, knowledge and ignorance; it was a water that froze, became ice, mirrored ourselves in its sheer pane of glass, and then melted away, leaving where there were once cracks, an abyss. ▢

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Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Soil Samples Around New York City

BY MIRA DAOUD, ERIC CHAN, & OBIE ISLAM

Abstract

Soil is extremely important for for plant and animal life. Soil is composed of many different elements and compounds. In this experiment, soil from different areas of New York City were collected, and tested for pH, K, P, and N, along with other elements and compounds. Based on the results obtained, it can be confirmed that different areas in New York City contain different concentrations of elements and compounds in their soil. For example, sample #1 had a pH value for 7 while sample #3 had a pH value of 4.

Introduction

Soil is the foundation of earthly life. It is the result of the transformation of the surface layer of the bedrock, which is itself the superficial layer of the crust. Indeed, soil is created as the bedrock grinds and is enriched of organic matter generated by

countless different living processes. For numerous living organisms, soil is a shelter and living environment. One gram of soil may harbor up to 100 million microorganisms. These microorganisms are essential to soil as some participate in its formation.

A final project was conducted this semester and the goal was to become more aware of the elements present in soil. The idea of this project was to collect different soil samples around New York City and to establish a chemical profile for each sample. Upon establishing the chemical profiles, the results were compared and interpreted. The samples were tested for a number of elements and variables, including phosphorus, pH, nitrogen and potassium.

Phosphorus in soil typically takes the form of the phosphate ion (PO_4^{3-}). It occurs naturally as the mineral apatite, which releases water soluble phosphate ions when eroded. Once released into soil, it is a nutrient used by plants and animals. It also plays an important role in forming

the backbone of DNA, RNA and ATP. The decay of these plants as well as the waste products of animals will be broken down by bacteria and subsequently recycled back into the environment ^[2]. This process is known as the P Cycle. Human influences on the P cycle include introducing more phosphate into the soil as a fertilizer. To do this, apatite or animal wastes are often used. This process can lead to problems, as the excess phosphate can precipitate into nearby water sources causing excess plant growth such as in algae blooms ^[2].

The pH of soil is one of the most important variables, as it directly determines the availability of nutrients for plants and microorganisms. The pH of soil is affected by a large variety of factors such as soil composition, climate, erosion, and plant activity. The optimal pH for most plants is between 6.0 and 7.0. However, there are plants that have adapted to thrive outside of this range. For most plants,

growing in soils outside the range will result in nutrient deficiencies or toxicity due to an excess of certain soil components. The pH of soil can be modified by adding Lime (CaCO_3 or MgCO_3) to increase pH. To decrease pH, anhydrous ammonia in the form of nitrogen fertilizers are utilized ^[1].

Nitrogen is one of the most important nutrients for plants, and a great quantity of it exists in the atmosphere. However, most atmospheric nitrogen brings no gain to plants. This is explained by the fact that in soils, nitrogen is present in different organic and inorganic forms. The organic forms cannot be directly assimilated by plants ^[4]. Some plants have the ability to convert the atmospheric nitrogen into an inorganic form, which can then be used. But still, the majority of the plants would only absorb the inorganic forms of nitrogen from their roots cells to then distribute throughout the entire plant. Most of the inorganic forms of nitrogen

present in the soil are due to the decomposition of organic matter and of the addition of fertilizers [3]. Because it is an important component of necessary compounds such as amino acids or enzymes, nitrogen is essential to sustain flora and fauna. Nitrogen promotes leafy crops and accelerates crop maturity. It also helps getting favorably sized fruits. Yet, if used in excess, it can induce opposite effects such as deferring crop maturity or even provoking health perils for animals as a result of nitrogen accumulation in food crops [3].

Potassium is the most present nutrient in soils except in light, sandy soils because it is a very soluble cation and is easily leached. But then again, because most of the potassium is bound in primary minerals or fixed to clay minerals, it is not accessible to plants. Clay soils formed from the decomposition of these primary minerals are very rich in potassium. Soil potassium exists in three forms: first in the interlayer between the clay layers, second in an exchangeable form that is absorbed by colloids on the surface of soil, and lastly in soil solution form [3]. Because the potassium amount in the soil solution form is lowered by the consumption of plants, the exchangeable form is released to replace the consumed potassium. For the interlayer form, it contributes very little to the soil potassium supply, since it is not in a directly available form. Soils that are too sandy and do not have enough clay need potassium applications

to grow fair crops, which can be done through fertilizers. Unlike nitrogen, potassium is not involved in the structural formation of plants. However, it is essential for physical and biochemical functions of plants such as the activation of enzymes or the enhancement of diseases resistance [3].

The other elements tested were: carbonates, nitrates, sulfates, phosphates, ammonium, magnesium, calcium and iron.

It was wondered if a prediction on the present elements could have been made based on the environment and surroundings of the locations where the samples were collected. And also, if there would be radical variations in the amount of soil elements throughout the city. Based on the location from where the third sample was taken, a very well maintained area in the city, it was hypothesized that it would be rich in nutrients, due to the addition of fertilizers, as well as having a pH ideal for plant growth. It was also hypothesized that the amount values for N, P, K of the third sample would be greater than those of the other samples.

Experimental Methods/ Materials

Soil samples were collected from different areas in New York City. The soil samples were then dried for a few days. Once dried, the samples were added to Ziploc bags and given to the lab instructor for further preparations.

Two kits were used for the testing: LaMotte and VWR. LaMotte is a quantitative test that was used to determine the presence and the approximate amount of phosphorus, pH, nitrogen and potassium. VWR only tested qualitatively for carbonates, nitrates, sulfates, phosphates, ammonium, magnesium, calcium and iron. The procedures for each LaMotte kit test were first to mix some soil with the appropriate indicator and then to add to it the respective test solution. Then charts were used as a guide for reading the color change and the observations recorded.

DATA AND CALCULATIONS

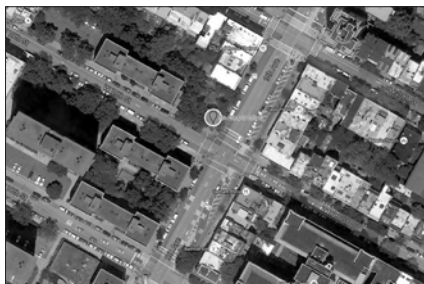
MAP OF SAMPLES



Sample #1 - Brooklyn Salt Marsh



Sample #2 - Pelham PKW S & Barnes Ave



Sample #3 - Corner of 9th Ave and 19th St



Sample #4 - 33-17 Greenpoint Ave



Sample #5 - 33-15 Greenpoint Ave



Sample #6 - 22 Ash St - Central Islip

DATA TABLE

Nutrient	Sample #1	Sample #2	Sample #3	Sample #4	Sample #5	Sample #6
pH (Lamotte)	7.0	6.0	4.0	7.0	8.0	7.0
N (Lamotte)	Low	Low	High	Low	Low	Low
P (Lamotte)	Medium	Low	High	High	Low	Low
K (Lamotte)	Very High	Very High	Med. High	Very High	High	High
Carbonates	None	None	None	None	None	None
Nitrates	None	None	Nitrates+Nitrites	None	None	None
Phosphates	Low	Medium	High	High	Low	Low
Sulfates	Medium	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Ammonium	None	None	None	None	None	None
Magnesium	Low	Low	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Calcium	None	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Iron	None	None	None	None	None	None

Discussion

Soil testing is conducted to determine properties such as pH as well as the amounts or presence of certain elements and nutrients. By doing so, conclusions can be drawn about a soil's suitability for plant growth. Soil testing can also be used to determine the presence of fertilizers or pollutants in the soil. For this lab the procedure involved testing different soil samples to determine their pH as well as the amounts of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium they contain. In addition qualitative tests were conducted in order to find the presence of carbonates, nitrates, nitrites, phosphates, sulfates, ammonium, magnesium, calcium and iron. Based on the initial hypothesis, the expectation was that sample #3 would be particularly rich in nutrients due to its location, where it would likely have had fert-

ilizers added to it.

The first series of procedures involved using the LaMotte test kit to determine the pH of each soil sample, as well as the quantity of Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium. The results of the test revealed that the pH of the samples were 7.0, 6.0, 4.0, 7.0, 8.0, and 7.0 for samples 1-6 respectively. The results were mostly expected, as a neutral to slightly acidic pH tends to be optimal for plant growth. The results for sample #3, however, were unexpected, as a 4.0 pH is very acidic and falls outside of the optimal range for most plants. The results partly disproved the hypothesis regarding sample #3 and were attributed to pollution, a factor that was not accounted for. The results of the nitrogen test revealed that all of the samples were low in nitrogen except for sample #3, which was high in nitrogen. This result was expected and proved the hypothesis

at least partly correct. The presence of nitrogen is essential for plant growth and so the relatively high amount of it in sample #3 relative to the other samples indicated that nitrogen rich fertilizers had been added to it at some point. The results of the phosphorus test revealed that samples 1-6 had medium, low, high, high, low, and low amounts of phosphorus. Again, as P is essential for plant growth, the high amount of phosphorus in sample #3 was expected and at least partially proved the hypothesis. Phosphorus, much like nitrogen, is commonly added to soil as a fertilizer and so its abundance in sample #3 was attributed to this. Lastly the results of the potassium test indicated that the potassium amounts for samples 1-6 were very high, very high, medium high, very high, high, and high respectively. These results were expected, as Potassium is one of the most abundant elements in soil naturally. Relative to the other samples however, sample #3 was less abundant in potassium, which again, was contrary to our hypothesis. This result however is likely related to the acidic pH, as the pH of a soil sample will dictate the availability of nutrients.

The second set of procedures involved testing for the amounts of phosphates, sulfates, and magnesium, as well as determining the presence of carbonates, nitrates, nitrites, ammonium, magnesium, calcium and iron. For the carbonate tests all samples tested negative. This

was expected for all of the samples except for sample #5 as carbonates typically occur in only alkali soils. All of the samples were either neutral or acidic except for sample #5, which had a pH of 8.0 indicating alkalinity. For the nitrate and nitrite tests, all of the samples tested negative for the presence of nitrates except for sample #3, which tested positive for both nitrates and nitrites. This result was expected as sample #3 had tested for very high amounts of nitrogen. The results of the phosphate test indicated that the samples 1-6 had phosphate amounts of low, medium, high, high, low and low. These results were expected as they corresponded to the phosphorus quantitative test previously conducted. The results of the sulfate test revealed that all of the samples had trace amounts of it aside from sample #1, which tested for medium amounts. This result was expected as sample #1 was taken from a salt marsh and sulfates typically occur in waterlogged conditions. None of the soil samples tested positive for the presence of ammonium. This result was interesting as ammonium, along with nitrates and nitrites, are the three forms that nitrogen typically takes in soils. Thus while the result was expected for all of the samples that tested low for nitrogen, the lack of ammonium in sample #3 indicates that all of the nitrogen in it takes the form of nitrates and nitrites. The results of the magnesium test indicated that all of the samples contained only trace amounts of

it except for sample #4, which contained a medium amount. For the calcium test, all of the samples tested positive for the presence of calcium except for sample #1. This result was somewhat expected as calcium is an essential nutrient in plant growth and is commonly added to soil. Sample #1 however, was taken from a relatively isolated location and thus likely had never had calcium added to it. Lastly the soil samples were tested for the presence of iron, which all of the samples tested negative.

With some exceptions, many of the samples were taken from gardens or parks and were thus similar in their properties and compositions. All of the samples tested negative for trace elements such as iron, ammonium, and carbonates while containing moderate to high amounts of Potassium. Some of the samples however had unique properties due to their locations. Sample #1 was unique in that it tested positive for sulfates while testing negative for calcium. These unique results were likely due to the location from where it was taken as sulfates occur in waterlogged conditions and calcium had never been added to it. Similarly due to its location it was hypothesized that soil sample #3 would be rich in nutrients due to the addition of fertilizers. This hypothesis only proved partly correct. While the soil sample did indeed contain high amounts of nitrogen and phosphorus relative to the other samples; it also had the most acidic pH at 4.0. The hypothesis had failed to account for

pollution, which was the likely cause of the sample's low pH. The only thing that should have been done differently is that soil samples should have been collected from more diverse regions, so that more diverse results would have been obtained.

Conclusion

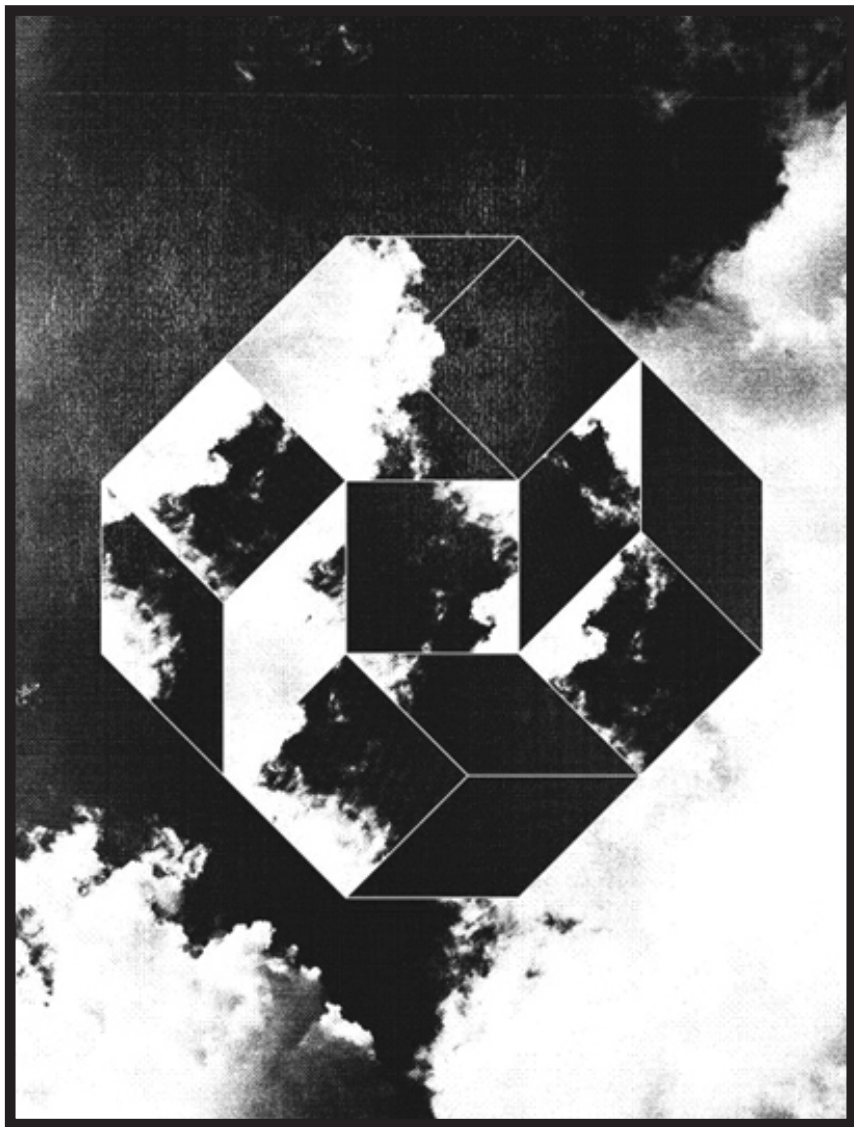
There were a large number of similarities between the soil samples as many of them were taken from similar locations such as parks and lawns. Sample #1 was unique due to the fact that it was taken from a salt marsh and thus tested positive for sulfates, while testing negative for calcium. The hypothesis for sample #3 only proved partially correct as while it contained high amounts of nitrogen and phosphorus relative to the other samples, it had a very acidic pH of 4.0. □

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Respect and Deception

BY JOSHUA ROTBERT

In these contemporary times, most Americans take the notion of freedom for granted. The concept of liberty is considered an inextricable part of the American identity. Its existence is ostensibly linked to our being, and is considered an indispensable part of life. However, in the era of American Slavery, oppression and subjugation defined African-Americans' lives, shaping their own vision of themselves. Two renowned authors, Harriet Jacobs and Frederick Douglass, use their eloquent autobiographical narratives to depict perilous journeys through slavery. These are stories of self-transformation and identity reconstruction. Examples of physical and psychic resistance to white slave-holding society create a renewed sense of self for both writers. Through active resistance, subversion, and apparent submission to slavery, comes the creation of a new identity. These newfound identities forged through their experiences are synonymous with freedom; they reflect the authors'

commitment towards escaping the bondage of slavery. Although freedom is the antithesis of slavery, only the formation of complex identities described in each author's work brings about its realization in everyday life.

The concept of respect is one facet that defines African-American self-hood in the era of American slavery. It is also a powerful method of resistance utilized to struggle with the mechanisms of oppression and control. Frederick Douglass displays his own notion of self-respect throughout his autobiographical novel, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. He illustrates a particularly defining event of his adolescence, his violent encounter with a ruthless "snake-like" slave owner, Covey. This event displays aspects of Douglass' emerging identity in relation to freedom, through a direct physical opposition towards the cause of his suffering. Vince Brewton discusses the dynamics of identity formation in his essay, *Bold Defiance Took*

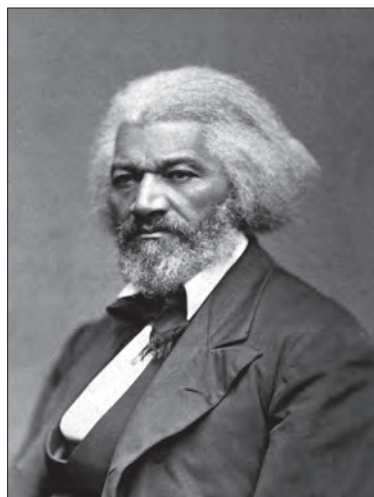
Its Place. He describes that the establishment of "an array of acts and conditions which are not to be tolerated no matter the risk" (711) are what form the concept of self-respect. Brewton also explains that physical violence and abuse are the ultimate transgressions of respect, as they violate the most basic territory of self, the body; that the inability to respond to such disrespect defines the life of a slave (707-708). Yet, Douglass takes the first step towards the self-actualization of a new identity in freedom through a dramatic display of physical resistance to Covey in defense of self-respect. Describing his thoughts in the aftermath of his fight with Covey, Douglass states, "It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again with a determination to be free" (45). The product of his physical resistance is an identity reborn, able to look towards the future anew in the light of freedom. Through the fight,

Douglass demonstrates that he will not tolerate certain transgressions against his being. He defines a set of acts and conditions that he will not tolerate, no matter the risk, in order to preserve his self-respect. Douglass obtains this new sense of self-hood in relation to the antagonistic forces that define his life, one of freedom, resistance, and self-confidence.

Another method of defining African-American self-hood in a time of injustice and cruelty is the tactful use of deception. In her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Harriet Jacobs uses this mechanism of resistance in the development of her own sense of self. During the nineteenth century, "The Cult of True Womanhood" was a widely held set of beliefs about what traits constitute the ideal and virtuous woman. As a slave, Jacobs was deprived of any claim to such virtue, and was thus stripped of the protection provided by the principles of "true womanhood." She is consigned to the stereotype that women of color



Harriet Jacobs c. 1894



Frederick Douglass c. 1874

are promiscuous, and thus rape and sexual abuse are justifiable. Jennifer Larson denotes the various facets of “true womanhood” in her essay, *Converting Passive Womanhood to Active Sisterhood: Agency, Power, and Subversion*. Larson explains, “Purity was essential to a young woman, its absence [is] unnatural and unfeminine” (741). However, Jacobs had no hope of ever fitting into these expectations; she had already lost her purity at the hands of vicious sexual predators. The inability to adhere to these principles, in part, define her journey towards discovering her own identity. She uses any power she has left as a tool to try and escape the oppression of life in the service of the Norcom family. In *Incidents*, Jacobs admits that she accepts a suitor named Sand’s advances for her hand in marriage, as a “deliberate calculation” (54-56) in the hope

of acquiring her freedom. Jacobs hopes that the purity and sanctity of the marriage will liberate her from Norcom’s abuse. This ultimately fails, and in order to escape the sexual abuse of her tormentor, Jacobs then commits herself to hide in her grandmother’s attic. This decision represents a direct subversion of the system that enslaved her. Although Jacobs feels “deprived of light and air...for nearly seven years,” (148) she has consciously chosen imprisonment above the very location of her enslavement. This psychic opposition to slavery defines her sense of self, as it is where Jacobs begins to compose letters to Norcom, leading him to believe she is safely in the North. These various modes of resistance all lead her to dedicate herself anew towards achieving freedom in the North. Through cunning deception, Jacobs resists the

corrupting influences of slavery; it is in her rejection of imposed values and the reliance on her own shrewd nature, that she forges a new identity in the light of freedom.

Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs shed light on how their new sense of self formed through their experiences in bondage. Using physical and psychic resistance, subversion, and intelligence, Douglass and Jacobs form new visions of themselves that have not been corrupted by the imposed values of slavery. The white slave-holding class of America strips slaves of any modicum of respect. Douglass was acutely aware of this when he stood in open physical defiance to disrespect, as did Jacobs when she began her self-imposed imprisonment to avoid sexual abuse. She constructed a set of conditions that, when transgressed, set her on a path to ensure her respect was never violated again, just as Douglass had done. Jacobs fought against her oppression using her intellect, manufacturing her own deceptions to gain a measure of freedom in her life. Douglass was also acutely conscious of the effect his resistance would have on his future treatment. He knew that once he made a stand against Covey, the slave master's shame at being bested by a fifteen year-old slave boy would keep him from telling anyone. Through their uncanny intelligence, and by becoming literate intellectuals, both writers have gained a well-deserved advantage over their would-be oppressors.

Their grandest opposition and most forceful resistance was their ability to construct provoking literature describing their stories. In an era of American Slavery, oppression and subjugation defined the early lives of two young African Americans. However, despite this, Harriet Jacobs and Frederick Douglass use their stories to illustrate how self-transformation can occur in the life of a slave. Through active resistance, subversion, and apparent submission to slavery, comes the creation of a new identity. These newfound identities are focused ahead, toward a life of freedom forged by continual resistance to oppression. In escaping the inherent circumstances of their birth, and early life, Douglass and Jacobs formed new identities free from the physical and psychological bonds of slavery. ▢

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The Ethics of Drones

BY BEATRIZ RAMOS

The United States' (US) proposed 2015 fiscal budget unveiled the allocation of 495.6 billion dollars towards the Department of Defense (DOD). Reiterated in various sections of the DOD's objectives is the funding of emerging weapon systems. Emerging weapon systems, as proclaimed by the DOD and United Nations (UN), include armed unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) or armed remote piloted vehicles (RPV). The US's focus on developing UAVs/RPVs for combat is raising questions within the international community. Is the use of drones exacerbating the degree of inhumanity behind war? Deontology and utilitarianism are both philosophical theories through which the use of RPVs and UAVs may be effectively analyzed.

The United States government funds the development of UAVs/RPVs. The US fiscal budget, however, boldly states that it will ardently defend its own "allies, friends, and interests" (59). UAVs/RPVs as combat weapons are becoming commonplace on the battlefield when US interests

are involved. Several nations do not have the resources to develop and build UAVs/RPVs, thus the international community is alarmed by the US's use of UAVs/RPVs. International law has yet to create uniform policies on the use of emerging war technologies. Alongside the lack of armed UAV/RPV regulations, there is no mandatory system of accountability for the casualties UAV/RPV strikes incur. Independent non-governmental organizations have published unofficial information on the amount of casualties and destruction US UAV/RPV strikes cause, while the US insists that its strikes are always justified and rarely result in casualties. The US vigorously defends its use of UAVs/RPVs, yet it withholds detailed information and estimated casualty counts.

The categorical imperative falls under deontology, the theory of which includes maxims. Immanuel Kant explains that a person must "act as if the maxim of thy action were to become thy will a Universal Law of Nature" (Kant 49). Kant demands that

individuals act not out of self-interest, but out of duty. The duty is to act “on the principle of volition” with a good will (Kant 24). A good will is good in itself and does not derive its goodness out of its ends. Maxims invite people to act as universal moral lawmakers. This means if everyone were to perform the action, it would fall within the ethical standing. If everyone were to follow the categorical imperative, the world would be a moral place. As the ultimate decider of morality, it is everyone’s responsibility to be moral actors at all times. This does not allow people to see themselves as exceptions to moral laws.

Amnesty International, a non-governmental organization that advocates for human rights, publishes various civilian accounts of armed RPV/UAV strikes. In northwest Pakistan, the Rehman family told the story of seeing their grandmother blown to pieces by a US UAV strike. The grandmother was simply gathering vegetables in her own garden. After the killing of an innocent woman and traumatizing her family, the US never

accounted for her death, nor was the family ever contacted by the US following the grandmother’s demise. Applying the categorical imperative to this story demonstrates that the US is justifying any nation’s ability to kill innocent people without any acknowledgment. This line of reasoning would justify the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Is this the kind of world that is safe and healthy for all nations? No. RPVs/UAVs do not have a standard system of accountability in place. People such as the above-mentioned family will never have closure and will continue to live with the fear of another looming strike. All they are left with is fear and anger. This, of course, increases international hostility.

When the categorical imperative is applied to the use of UAVs/RPVs, the morality of the US falls short. If the US continues to attack other nations over “suspicions” of terrorist activities, it would justify other nations attacking the US over similarly deviant behavior. If other nations constantly attacked each other with armed UAVs/

RPVs, there would be a high number of casualties worldwide, and peace would remain a distant and elusive ideal. UN report A/68/382 states, “as a general rule, human rights treaties state that any deprivation of life must be non-arbitrary” (8). International humanitarian law asserts that depriving the lives of people must be intentional. This means that attackers must have a clear target and not negatively affect other lives while pursuing targets. If the US were to stop all UAV/RPV attacks, as other nations do not attack the US’s homeland and are acting as the universal law makers, the number of casualties from UAV/RPV strikes would decrease. Moreover, hostility towards the US would lessen. When applied to the idealistic theory that the DOD includes in its objectives, armed UAV/RPV are used solely to protect a nation’s citizens. The principle of self-preservation falls under the moral guidelines of deontology. It is a duty to live.

The US claims that the use of RPVs/UAVs will benefit soldiers. Rather than have soldiers at risk on the battlefield they will be safe in some remote area from where they will operate the RPVs/UAVs. This, in theory, would decrease the rate of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and improve the lives of returning veterans. Not only that, but the improved lives of veterans’ would benefit the larger American community. A decrease in pain does not directly improve happiness, but the use of UAVs/RPVs as a means to decrease PTSD does fall under the principle of utility. It is

reducing pain. Utilitarianism accounts for the number of people’s lives.

Utilitarianism is another philosophical theory that may be applied to the use of RPVs and UAVs. Bentham argues that moral actions should “augment the happiness of the community” (510). This, however, leaves the question of conflicting interests. UAVs and RPVs will cause happiness to a greater number of Americans, leaving those who have to endure UAV/RPV strikes traumatized. According to Bentham, the community is counted as “the party whose interest is considered” (Bentham 2). There are several communities to be considered, and they have conflicting interests. A young man, sharing the story of a UAV strike, explains that his community fears blue skies and the US. Pakistan has a population of 182.1 million people. The United States has a population of 316.1 million. Based solely on numbers, more people would be affected by UAV strikes in the United States than in Pakistan. This, however, should not justify UAV strikes.

Drones significantly diminish a community’s quality of life. A community, as seen by the accounts of the Rehman family, is decimated and filled with grief, fear, and hatred due to the use of UAV strikes. Is the American community truly benefitting from the use of armed UAVs? Rates of PTSD are expected to decrease among returning veterans, but these veterans are being robbed of their ability to be mindfully compassionate towards members of other communities. Not only this, but these veterans are

potentially committing war crimes because the international community is unable to analyze and create updated regulations due to the US' silence and refusal to share their justification for an estimated three hundred seventy-four strikes in Pakistan over the past twelve years.

Applying Bentham's theory of utilitarianism to the critique of armed UAV/RPV strikes dictates that an individual must act out of utility. An individual's pain is reduced because s/he is not at immediate risk of injury or death from behind a screen, but upon being exposed to the consequences and reality of UAV strikes. Soldiers would certainly feel remorse. Pleasure is not directly increased with the decrease of pain. Despite not being engaged in combat, soldiers are still put in high-stake situations, be it on the battlefield or behind a screen. When examining the larger community, the US and its citizens are largely unaware of the travesties being committed and the pain being imposed on individuals belonging to other communities. Bentham states, "the interest of the community then is, what?-- the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it" (Bentham 3). Whose interests are served first? In a system of global capitalism, the nation with the most resources is served first. Is this moral? The US overlooks the interests of the community it strikes. Is an action moral simply because a greater number of people are benefit from it?

When utilitarianism and deontology are applied to the use of armed RPVs/UAVs, both theories reveal the

shortcomings in justifying the use of these weapons. UAV/RPV strikes do not benefit a large enough community to rationalize their use against other communities. Additionally, UAV/RPV strikes would create a more turbulent world if the US supported their morality by acting as a ethical lawmaker. A solution to this problem would be the cessation of all UAV/RPV strikes. This is somewhat unrealistic due to UAV/RPV's popularity within the US military. The international community must quickly draft a comprehensive set of guidelines for nations to abide by when employing UAVs and RPVs. □

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Socratic Dialogue: Genocide in Croatia

BY PETRA LJUBICIC

An Issue I Would Be Willing to Die For: Throughout history people of high moral character have faced punishment, imprisonment and even death rather than forsake their guiding principles. In Socrates's case, he was unwilling to renounce his commitment to searching for wisdom, examining himself and others, and exhorting others to live virtuously and attend to their souls. Other people have been unwilling to renounce their religious beliefs; surrender their commitment to personal and political freedom; behave in a way that they considered to be immoral.

Think about your deepest convictions that you would be willing to face imprisonment or death for. Imagine yourself in a court setting, similar to Socrates, in which you have one final chance to persuade your accusers that you do not deserve to die, even though you are unwilling to renounce your beliefs. Then compose a Socratic dialogue between you and your accusers in which you

use penetrating questioning and compelling logic to make your case. Members of the class will act as your jury, deciding whether you have made a strong enough case for yourself to survive, or whether you will be condemned.

From the years 1929-1945, the Ustashe swept across the nation of Yugoslavia killing hundreds of thousands of Jews, Romani, and Serbians, for a racially pure Croatia. The Ustashe were a terrorist organization, indoctrinating Croatian youth from an early age into blind nationalism, and took many of its influences and ideologies from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Members believed that Roman Catholicism and Islam were the ideal religions. Many Serbs and Jews converted to Roman Catholicism to avoid persecution; however this did not stop the Ustashe from massacring thousands.

The Jasenovac concentration camp was created during World War II to exterminate and control Serbians,

Jews, Romani, Communists, and anti-fascists (even if they were pure-blooded Croat). The actual numbers of how many victims perished within the camp is unknown, it is estimated that 100,000 people were killed during Jasenovac's operation.

I would put myself in the shoes of someone who would fight to protect the lives of these victims of the Ustashe. I was born a Roman Catholic, and I am Croatian; however, I could never abide by the laws and ideologies for a "purer," Aryan country. It stands against everything I believe in, and the Ustashe have breached the highest forms of human rights with execution and forced conversions of Serbs, Jews, and Romani. I present a scene, wherein I have helped numerous Serbs, Jews, Romani, and anti-fascist Croats escape their villages and towns before the Ustashe militia descended upon them. I am branded a traitor and a dissident of Croatia, and face extreme punishment, perhaps even execution.

At this point, in the mid-1940s, Croatia recognizes itself as its own state: the Federal State of Croatia, however it was still a constituent of Yugoslavia. This scene will not take into account the 1991-1995 War of Independence between the Croatians and Serbians.

Petra: I come before you today, to plead for an end to the persecution of the Serbian, Jewish, and Romani peoples. I am here to seek justice for those that have been slaughtered like sheep, for the children who have been snatched from their beds and put to hard labor, and to see to the end of this disrespect of human rights.

Court: These people have threatened the sanctity and purity of Croatia and its citizens; anti-fascists such as you only encourage them.

Petra: What makes a Croatian? Who decides what is a person's wrong and right nationality? Isn't the point of

nationalism a bit outdated? Being proud of one's nationality has nothing to do with skill, talent, or education, but simply having the good luck to be born in a country that reveres your nationality! The court cannot say it's justified in these murders. Croatia has always had a steady population of Serbians, Jews, and Romani within it's borders, and these people have all contributed to our society, our economy, our politics. They have married other Croatians, and have created mixed Croatian families. Is this so bad? Are these people deserving of death, simply to be born at the wrong place at the wrong time?

Court: Yes. It does not follow the doctrines of Ante Starčević; Croatia is only as strong as its people, and it must be centered in Catholicism and the Islamic faith. If we have people of other faiths and nationalities infiltrate our lands, we are no longer Croats, and this is not Croatia.

Petra: Is the identity of a country so truly important that children must be killed over it? You talk of Ante Starčević, whose mother was an Orthodox Serbian, and he believed in secularism and was openly against the Roman Catholic clergy. How can you follow the doctrines of a dead man who preached that certain groups of humans were a lower "breed" than that of Croats, or Bosnians? Breeds are assigned to dogs, not humans. Ante's teachings are cemented in 19th century superstitions and bad science, while we are in the 20th century and



Croatia's location in Eastern Europe

must further ourselves into a brighter future, where anyone and everyone could live under the Croatian sun and flag without fear of hatred, or racism, or anti-Semitism. That is what I believe Croatia – and certainly, other nations – has the potential to be.

Court: Croatia is nothing without its pure race of Croatians. It is an idealized notion, to be sure, but it is just that: a daydream. Serbians, Jews, and gypsies are different from Croats by nature. They are of a separate class from Croats; perhaps not a lower breed, but different.

Petra: Don't you see Croatia has become puppets of Nazi Germany, which you have made no secret of finding inspiration from? Again, the notion of a nationality, of ethnicity, is nothing but a human social construct. We have decided, as humans, to create language; in these languages, we started assigning color to our skins, and names to where we were born, and titles to our lands; at the root of

it all is language. This language-Who is Croatian and who isn't? Who is Jewish and who isn't? - Is the reason people are killed. I cannot abide by that, that some words have power to end one's life.

Court: We do not always offer death. Many people can be exiled from the country or have their child taken to learn pure Aryan teachings.

Petra: How is that a better alternative? They will still forever be branded as something other than Croatian or Roman Catholic, for the rest of their lives. They will be monitored by the militia and glared at suspiciously by the citizens; there will be no comfort in being an ex-Serb, or ex-Jew, in the lands of fascist Croatia. To many people death of their identity and heritage is as same as the death of their body. How would you feel if you were stripped of your Croatian heritage, this thing that you so proudly cling onto? What would you have done if Serbia, or Bosnia, or Slovenia, created the Ustashe regime and slaughtered thousands of innocents, simply for being Croatian?

Court: Precisely why we must strike first: perhaps the situation you describe is not so far-fetched. Who knows what the future will bring from the other Slavic countries?

Petra: You are not taking my question into account. You are not thinking about the consequences of being a Croatian in an anti-Croat world.

I've asked the question because it is exactly as the Serbians, Jews, and Romani are living right now. This is fear, put plainly and simply. The fact that you must create this military government and kill innocents is based on a few uncertainties about the futures and whether this will happen, or that will happen. You have created new weapons such as the Serb cutter to cut the throats of Serbs more efficiently, on the basis that they may make Croatia "impure" down the line. Whatever that means.

Court: We need to protect ourselves. Nevertheless, your ideas are non-Croatian; and since they are non-Croatian, why do we, as pure Croats, need to heed these philosophies?

Petra: I do not need to be a Croatian to realize injustice. Besides, you yourselves garner influence from Italy and Germany, which are fascist and Nazi nations and completely disrespect the notion of human rights, yet you heed their philosophies. The fact that you cannot bear to listen to my philosophies because I am deemed a 'non-Croat', yet you eagerly seek guidance from non-Croatian territories like Italy and Germany, is highly contradictory.

Court: Your ideas are non-Croat, which is the problem.

Petra: But the ideas of Mussolini and Hitler are very Croatian? Accepting the murder of innocents is what makes or breaks a Croat? A Croat is a Croat as long as he is born in the country,

or born from a Croatian lineage. Unless he completely dismisses the title himself, he will be a Croat until his death and no other human should have the power to take that away from him.

Court: All right, then. You have proven that you are Croatian, despite your anti-Croat views. And because you are Roman Catholic, you have immunity from the Ustashe. You could have lived your life quietly, yet you are determined to help Serbians, Jews, and the Romani escape persecution. Why is that?

Petra: Again, my “anti-Croat views” are labeled as such because you deemed it so. I do not think my views are anti-Croat; if anything, they are pro-Croat in the highest sense. This slaughtering of minorities should not be the future of our country. Our country is one that protects the people within its borders, Croatian or not. It is a country that should lead the world in enlightened paths to humanity and rights and justice, instead of being a follower to cruel doctrines that encourage murder and genocide. If we continue to employ the Ustashe military in killing Serbians and others, our country will fail. A fascist nation simply has no future. There will always be people unhappy with the regime, and this is how revolutions are created. So I beg of you, rethink your beliefs. Rethink your quickness to defend a movement that drags children out of their beds and puts them down like dogs. Is this the

future you believe Croatia is destined for? Do you believe it is a future that any nation could be prosperous in, to treat its people like cattle to be disposed of? History has revolutions, and its unsung heroes. A tyrannical government will always fail. It is a vile snake that tries to swallow its people whole and dies because there are too many people trapped within its gullet until it chokes, and the people burst forth from its throat into freedom. If what I say is “anti-Croatian,” then so be it. I will gladly renounce my nationality, if this is the dark future Croatia will succumb to. ▢

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Dismantling the “Model Minority” Myth

BY KIMBERLY MORALES

The historical role of Asians in the United States in the struggle against racism has yet to be fully explored. Presently, Asians are viewed as passive and compliant with white supremacy. Their role in the historical narrative of resistance against racism, if ever discussed at all, is limited to cooperativeness or submission. Their subsequent social and financial “success” has resulted in what some might call a model for other “minorities” to emulate. However, Asians in the U.S. have been active participants in resistance to racial oppression and are not any more or less passive than any other racial group in the U.S. A complete historical analysis is needed in order to understand what the role of Asians in the U.S. has been in the struggle against racism and to dismantle the “model minority” myth. This historical analysis should include a close look at the racial oppression of Asians in the U.S., the development of their general political consciousness and their activism and organizing

efforts against race-based oppression.

Asians in the U.S. have a history of being targets of racial persecution and have a stake in being active in resistance. Their struggle has not been insular and this is most apparent when one looks at the mass immigration of different Asians to the U.S. In “The Chinese Are Coming, How Can We Stop Them?” Erika Lee writes about the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first federally mandated restriction on immigration and the first to restrict a group of immigrants based on their race and nationality. Lee explains the legacy of this legislation and its affect on other immigrant groups.

Following the discovery of gold in 1848, came significant Chinese immigration to the United States, specifically to California. By the late 1800s, Chinese immigrants made up 50 to 75 percent of farm labor in California. This influx of Chinese immigration and labor was seen as the cause of low wages and job scarcity, resulting in prominent anti-Chinese sentiment. Chinese immigrants

became the targets of discriminatory laws and violence. Anti-Chinese leaders accused Chinese immigrants of facilitating the denigration of American labor. This persecution was rooted in what Lee writes was, "American Orientalist ideology that homogenized Asia as one indistinguishable entity." Lee goes on to say that this ideology "...positioned and defined the West and the East in diametrically opposite terms; using those distinctions to claim ...Anglo-American superiority." This racist ideology turned from rhetoric to action and with pressure from nativist lobbyists, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882. However, this new kind of legislation did not only affect the Chinese.

Following the passage of the Act, there was a new wave of Asian immigration along with a repeat of nativist vitriol. Lee writes, "The Japanese were especially feared because of their great success in agriculture...Similar charges that the Japanese were supposedly

unassimilable and exploitable cheap labor were made." Immigrants from India were regarded as being "dirty, diseased," and "the worst type of immigrant...entirely foreign to the people of the United States". (33) The Chinese Exclusion Act set a precedent for excluding and discriminating other kinds of immigrants. Lee writes, "The concepts of race that developed out of Chinese exclusion provided the ideological structure within which other immigrant groups were compared and racialized."

Chinese exclusion also had an affect on Filipinos as they entered the country to work on Hawaiian plantations. In "Transpacific Traffic: Migration, Labor, and Settlement" Rick Baldoz describes the conditions of work life and migrations of Filipinos in the early twentieth century in the U.S.

Landowners needed a steady supply of exploitable workers for Hawaii's sugar plantations because previous streams of labor from Asia were cut off by restrictive legislative initiatives

ON THE HOME FRONT

because Los Angeles is the city of distraction, Hollywood, TV, beaches, sunshine and smog, rock music, a nest of long-haired liberals, the antiwar movement has definitely been affected. Demonstrations have been more of a social gathering where long-haired young people come together on a Saturday to listen to rock music and an endless number of boring speeches. I have had a hard time relating to most demonstrations because nothing ever happened. It's usually been, march down Wilshire Blvd., then go to a park, sleep, play around, or just get bored. Instead of feeling the spirit of the people—you wonder where it is.

Probably the most spirit-raising and relevant demo for me was the Nisei Week action, in Lili Tokyo, even though we made some mistakes in how we communicated our ideas to the community. But it was a good feeling—being in an Asian community—leafletting, rapping to people about our common problems and just feeling that we were actually doing some concrete education, education that is sorely needed in our communities. There was unity, strength and a

feeling of spirit, too. But this is not to condemn the grass roots work of the white groups or not to totally credit militant street actions as the only form of demonstrating. But I am saying that demos should give concrete education (raise people's consciousness), unite people, and develop a strong spirit. Too often we have spent an afternoon listening to music, while the Vietnamese are fighting for freedom. Too often we have marched and chanted "Stop the Bombing" while another Vietnamese village is being destroyed by a U.S. B-52. We must find more effective ways of education and organizing in order to end this genocidal war and bring final victory to the Vietnamese.

"Why did you come to this demonstration?"

"Oh, well, I'm a tutor at Castelar Elementary School and some of my friends were talking about this and said it was going to be a different type of demonstration, so I came to see."

"Why are you here?"

Photo by Candace Murata, Visual Communications



Article about a demonstration against the re-development of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles

like the Chinese Exclusion Act. Filipinos were a perfect fit because the legislation did not apply to them. Landowners also sought to hire Filipinos because of the increasing militancy of the Japanese, who were the largest group in the plantation workforce. Filipinos could serve as an "ethnic buffer" to the Japanese and in the eyes of landowners, "Filipinos... did not object as much...to living perpetually under the shadow of a master." (Baldoz 48) As early as 1906, Filipino workers were transported and sent to work on the islands of Oahu, Maui, Kauai and Hawaii. They were assigned the most labor-intensive jobs in the field like planting, cane cutting, hoeing, fertilizing, hauling and fluming. However, Filipino workers were the lowest paid group

on the plantations, receiving eighteen dollars for twenty-six days of work per month. They were stereotyped as content and obedient workers. Furthermore, Filipino workers' lives outside the plantation were controlled by the landowners. There was constant surveillance of workers and they received a portion of their wages in the form of "free" medical care and housing. Later, landowners would see mobilization of both Filipino and Japanese workers.

As evidenced by the exclusion of Chinese immigrants in the late 1880s and the exploitation and abuse dealt to Filipino workers, Asians in the U.S. have a history of struggle. The racial oppression they've faced since their arrival to this country would serve as a base for future political development.

Considering their history of racial persecution, Asians in the U.S. have a stake in the liberation of all people of color. However, having a history of oppression is not enough, Asians had to go through a general political development that would lead them to mobilize and organize their communities and work with other racial groups. In her article, "Race, Place, Space and Political Development: Japanese-American Radicalism in the "Pre-Movement" 1960s" Diane C. Fujino examines how three main factors, racial oppression, proximity and historical context, played important roles in the re-emergence of Japanese-American radicalism in the U.S.

While Fujino focuses on Japanese-American radicalism, her breakdown of political development could be applied to other Asians in the U.S. While consistent and organized activism did not emerge in Asian communities until the 1960s, numerous protest activities occurred from the earliest days of Asian immigration to the U.S. These early activist efforts built up to the Asian-American Movement, the pan-Asian political movement in which Asians in the United States mobilized against economic, social and racial oppression. For example, Japanese and Filipino workers on Hawaiian plantations both organized to improve their work conditions. "By the early 1920s, the popular stereotypes of the docile and contended Filipino was tested by a series of disruptive strikes... The evolving class consciousness

of Filipino fieldworkers paralleled rising political militancy among their Japanese co-workers." (Baldoz 53) While plantation managers played Filipino and Japanese workers against each other, shared class interests and a disdain for plantation management helped establish solidarity among both groups. The divide-and-rule tactics of plantation management however led to the development of two separate organizations. The Filipino Labor Union and the Federation of Japanese Labor did not work closely until 1920, when Filipino and Japanese workers joined forces and waged the first large-scale interracial labor strike.

However, it is not until Asians both come together from previously "disidentified" ethnic groups and find themselves in close proximity with the concept of nationalistic self-determination promoted by Black communities, that they start a cohesive movement. The latter was pivotal to the development of what Fujino calls "oppositional consciousness" by which she means a set of subversive ideas and beliefs constructed and developed by an oppressed group. These ideas guide the struggle to undermine and dismantle a system of domination. Fujino says, "The development of an oppositional...consciousness [in Asians in the U.S.] resulted from generalized oppression..."

Fujino uses Yuri Kochiyama, a notable Japanese-American activist, as an example for political development. Kochiyama, along with

her family, was removed from her home in Los Angeles, California and incarcerated in a concentration camp in 1942 during World War II. There she experiences life in an all-Japanese environment, different from the mostly white neighborhood she had been taken away from. In the camp, Kochiyama meets an older internee, Maruyama, and her eyes are opened to racial discrimination she was not aware of before. Fujino quotes Kochiyama's diary that she kept in 1942,

"After listening to Maruyama, [I] just had to write of ... many things...it's true that the Japanese people from the time they came...tried to fight for equality in chances for good positions, but lost out because of racial prejudice...[This prejudice] told them that the school world and the work world were two different hemispheres; that what Caucasian teachers tried to instill in every student was only meant for the the Caucasians; the the black and orientals would be looked down upon; that obstacles would be many."

Maruyama challenges Kochiyama's colorblind philosophy, she is becoming aware of the historical legacy of anti-Japanese racism. Also, her aligning of Black and Asian people shows an understanding of connecting struggles. However, Kochiyama's claim that racism only exists in one sphere of society, the workforce

and not education, shows that her overall analysis of racism is not yet complete. Her awareness that racism was a real thing had been established yet her understanding was that it was a divergent thing in an otherwise equal society committed to freedom for all. Nonetheless, Kochiyama had gained a certain degree of oppositional consciousness which led to involvement in community service and would eventually propel her into the world of political movement.

After her release from the camp, Kochiyama moved to New York, She settled in Harlem and found herself surrounded by a large Black and Puerto Rican community. Her proximity to a Black working-class community and to the growing Black movement inspired her to be active. Kochiyama began working with the Harlem Parents Committee that worked for quality education for inner-city children. Here, Kochiyama gains what Fujino calls, "cognitive liberation", an understanding that what a participant in resistance is working towards is legitimate. With cognitive liberation a participant realizes that by working within a collective changes can be made. In October 1963, Kochiyama met Malcolm X, arguably one of the most influential Black political figures in U.S. history. He invited Kochiyama to attend his Organization of Afro-American Unity's Liberation School. She received lessons about European colonialism in Africa, was introduced to a political-economic analysis of African enslavement, and her consciousness expanded



Political cartoon about Japanese detention in concentration camps

economic oppression of Asians in the U.S. Events held by community-based groups with radical politics like the Yellow Brotherhood were constantly announced. Poems, political cartoons, artistic photographs, short stories, TV show reviews as well as reports on student and community demonstrations could be found in *Gidra*. (See figures 1-4) *Gidra* served only to inform but inspire people to mobilize. In the pages of *Gidra*, one is faced with evidence of Asians' active participation in the struggle to tear down white supremacy.

Judging from the existence of the "model minority" myth the history of Asian Americans in the fight against racism seems to be missing from popular knowledge of racial oppression in the U.S. Diane C. Fujino talks about how the political activism of Asian Americans is ignored on a scholarly level in her article. "The [Asian-American Movement] remains one of the most invisible social movements...scholars have barely begun a systematic study [and] have all but ignored the subject...virtually no scholarly attention has been paid to Asian-American organizing..."

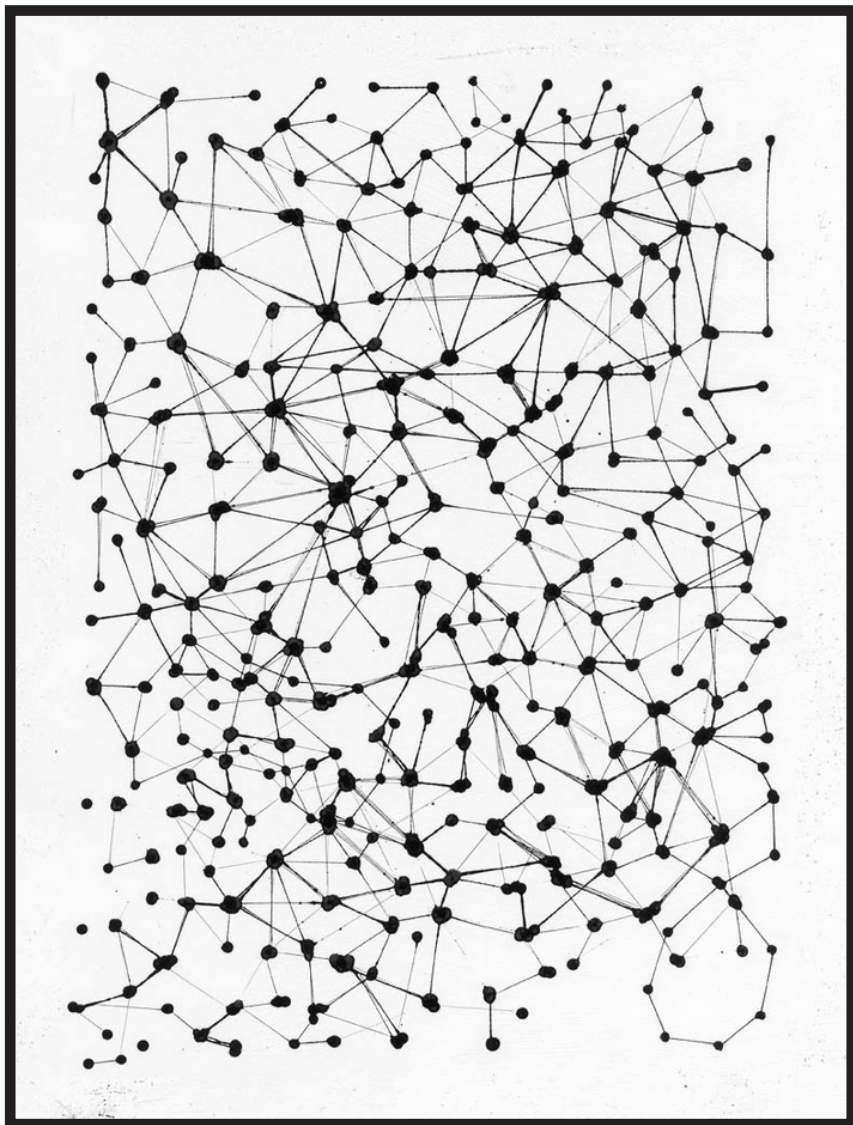
The "model minority" myth does not stand alone, it is rooted in an understanding of racial oppression in the U.S. While general stereotypes of Asians as passive do perpetuate the myth, more accessibility to analysis of the Asian American Movement could help dismantle it. Moreover, easier access to all outside of academia about resistance to racism in general would provide a better understanding of what roles Asians and other people of color played in the historical narrative of resistance. ▢

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The Politics of Climate Change Negotiations

BY ANA PONCE

Introduction

“Global warming is already here, human-caused and probably already dangerous.” Such is the tone of the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report that warns of the growing danger associated with a changing climate and its effects (Borenstein, 2014). Despite international scientific consensus, international negotiations to address the issue have reached a stalemate. Though individual countries have pledged to implement climate policies to lower their footprint on carbon emissions, action on a global scale remains stagnant. This lack of inaction can be solely attributed to the lack of political will, disproportionately from industrialized countries, and the role of special interests in their opposition to meaningful action to combat climate change.

Using a realist lens, I will focus on the 2009 climate change negotiations in Copenhagen and analyze how

the non-cooperation of several state actors, preceding and during, the climate talks negatively affected the outcome of the meetings. In order to understand the actions of world leaders in defense of their countries’ own interests I will be focusing on a central concept of realism, specifically the state’s goal to reach and maintain a considerable level of power and security through the self-help system (Lamy, 2008, p. 68).

Next, I will present a liberalistic approach as a possible solution to the problem. In the absence of international agreements individual states have drafted policies to address the immediate risks posed by climate change to their own populations. The lack of international action in setting a legally binding treaty has created the conditions that have forced small island nations, like Kiribati, to respond in the extreme nature that is has. Kiribati’s unilateral approach to adapt to rising sea levels, and those of other small pacific islands, has entered

the public consciousness. Taking an early European liberal approach, Kiribati is leading by example in the hopes that the international community will witness the future that awaits island nations, and highly populated industrialized coastal cities, and respond accordingly.

Central Concepts of Realism and Liberalism

Realism is a theoretical framework used to analyze current conflicts in international relations. Some of the earliest framers of realism include Thomas Hobbes who, in his famous political dissertation *Leviathan* argued that humans need a system that provides structure and order. The state constitutes this system. According to realist views, the state comprises the most important player in global affairs and maintains that a state's leader has an obligation to guard the security and interests of their own country in international dealings

with other heads of states. The realist approach places great emphasis on three main points: statism, survival, and self-help (Lamy, 2008, p. 68-69).

Statism recognizes that the main goal of the state is to organize and gather power domestically. Once that immediate threshold is met, the next step is to accumulate power on an international scale. Survival, on the other hand, is considered another crucial aspect that transcends all other goals of the state. For without the survival of the state, power and security couldn't follow. According to realist dogma, a state's survival constitutes priority even at the expense of the survival of its own citizenry and those of other states. The concept of "self-help" was first introduced by Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics* (1979), where he argued that in the absence of a global authority the state must advocate for its own security, while simultaneously fueling the insecurity of other states. Consequently, distrust

between states can lead to conflict and lack of cooperation. This manifests in the growing distrust between international players, including weakening of ally relationships, and thus negatively affecting climate change negotiations, where each state is advocating for their own interests (Lamy, 2008, p. 68-71).

Liberalism, on the other hand, is a principle that champions progressive change, international cooperation, and most importantly advocates for universal human rights. Early European liberal thought stressed the importance of implementing reform within one's own state in order to inspire change in international policy. At its core, liberal thought dictates that liberal states have an interest in engaging in a unified approach to solving problems of global significance. The institution of an organization like the United Nations demonstrates this willingness.

Role of Global Actors in Climate Negotiations

In sight of the latest IPCC report, the small gap to take significant action towards curbing greenhouse gas emissions and evading the stark predictions made by scientists is slowly closing. The 2 degree Celsius target set to limit the increase of Earth's global average surface temperature is no longer a viable option, as climate scientists have acknowledged that the world is already on track to warm beyond the 2 degree Celsius mark. In order to address the risks posed by

climate change, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was created in 1992 to serve as the platform for signatories to convene at the annual Conference of the Parties (COP) to negotiate international treaties, or protocols. The adoption of the Kyoto Protocol was a significant step towards demonstrating the willingness of nations to negotiate. This protocol established specific legally binding obligations for industrialized nations to follow in order to reduce their role in greenhouse gas emissions. In practice and effectiveness, however, the Kyoto Protocol fell short in actually producing substantial change. Part of the problem lay in the formation of the protocol itself. Specifically, the protocol allowed sufficient flexibility that allowed non-compliant nations to delay their commitments until a new treaty was set to replace the Kyoto Protocol in 2012 (Downie, 2013, p. 27).

Prior to the termination of the Kyoto Protocol in 2012, the UNFCCC proposed to negotiate towards a new legally binding agreement to be discussed at the COP 15 in Copenhagen in 2009. Copenhagen was seen as a crucial opportunity to renew and adjust the flaws that limited the effectiveness of the Kyoto Protocol. It was also a critical time in which to put pressure on world leaders, in particular those from industrialized nations, to make substantial commitments to lowering their greenhouse gas emissions. The hopes for introducing a new global

treaty to address climate change quickly faded as several countries voiced their unwillingness to participate in the negotiating process, while others played minimal or nearly absent roles in the summit (Smith, 2010, p. 34).

Gwendolyn Smith (2010) argues that the current lackluster state of climate talks can be largely explained by the conflicting interests that individual nations hold (p.34). Smith demonstrates this divide by classifying state actors into two separate categories. The Northern countries include the United States and the European Union, while the Southern countries consist of Group-77, which are mainly developing countries, and China. These two groups have conflicting interests and stakes in climate change. For instance, due to their geographical location Northern countries are expected to experience climate change on a milder scale than Southern countries. Therefore, Northern countries are mainly concerned with pursuing economic growth and prosperity (Carlarne, 2010, p. 121). The situation for Southern countries varies dramatically in contrast to their geographically blessed neighbors. Members of the Southern group consist of developing nations that are reliant on agricultural economies for the sustainability of their populations. As climate change worsens, these countries are expected to experience the impact of a physically changing environment and will be forced to address their ability to adapt to these changes. Under these

circumstances Southern countries' main goal in climate negotiations is to ensure compensation, in terms of funds and resources, from the North in order to overcome their shortcomings in addressing climate related destruction to their land and people (30).

Realism in Framing Climate Talks, Copenhagen 2009

Current climate negotiations warrant a realistic approach to explain the actions, or rather inactions of states in combating climate change. Nearly two decades since the formation of the UNFCCC, and in light of mounting scientific evidence that warns of irreversible effects on our climate system, it is difficult to comprehend this state of affairs using any other theoretical approach. Taken into context, the failure of climate talks can be solely attributed to lack of political will from member states. Both Northern and Southern countries share a common interest in the survival of their states. For their part, Northern countries are primarily concerned with the survival of their state in terms of securing economic security and power. On the other hand, southern countries only dream of reaching the economic superiority of their Northern counterparts. These Southern countries are primarily concerned with the survival of their states in terms of being able to adapt to a changing climate, and being able to secure the finances necessary to address climate related events such as

extreme weather and rising sea levels (Smith, 2010, p. 30).

In examining the reasons for the failure of the Copenhagen climate conference in 2009, Northern countries are hardly the only state actors to inhibit progress. Prior to the start of the conference, leaders of the Asian and Pacific countries voiced skepticism about the targets to be set at Copenhagen. In addition, a regional conference of the same countries failed to produce an agreement on a regional emission reduction target. Other voices emerged from perceived climate negotiation leaders such as those from the U.S., Brazil, and the EU who stressed the urgency of settling on an international treaty. However, rhetoric of this sort is ineffectual unless it is followed by significant and genuine participation in the negotiation process (Karlsson, 2011, p. 103). The role played by the United States in the negotiations at Copenhagen is one such example. The disengaged attitude taken by the U.S. in these climate talks is significant considering the fact that the U.S. is one the largest contributors of greenhouse gas emissions. When considering realist dogma, it is clear to see how the lack of transparency in climate negotiations has led to the deterioration of trust between states.

Kiribati: Unilateral Approach to Addressing Climate Change

In the absence of international treaties that are legally binding and force nations to take the necessary steps

to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, small island nations are now being forced to implement programs of relocation and adaptation in response to rising sea levels. The Republic of Kiribati consists of one island and 32 low-lying atolls (Tiimon, 2011, p. 25). Scientists have predicted that by mid-century this small island will be completely submerged underwater, and its 100,000 citizens will be forced to permanently relocate (Caramel, 2014). In response to annual rising sea levels, Kiribati's President Anote Tong has finalized the purchase of 20 sq km of land in nearby Fiji. In addition, he has also implemented the "migration with dignity" program to train I-Kiribati individuals in highly skilled roles for the prospect of entering a foreign workforce (Caramel, 2014). Kiribati's relationship with other nations also highlights the importance of cooperation on an international scale.

More broadly, however, Kiribati's circumstances will likely have a significant impact on demonstrating the urgency of reaching a conclusive and effective treaty while also putting pressure on non-cooperative countries.

Policy Recommendations and Conclusion

Climate change awareness in terms of globalization, has utilized the interconnectedness of nations and the exchange of ideas as a valuable tool to assemble representatives from all over the world for one common

purpose: to ensure the survival of not one individual state but the survival of one unique Earth. Globalization has effectively facilitated formal gatherings of world leaders, though the actual negotiating is still lacking in urgency and impact. In the absence of action taken by world leaders, globalization has helped mobilize ordinary citizens to demand action from their representatives on the global stage. This was clearly demonstrated in the People's Climate March in New York City in September 2014, which summoned over 400,000 people from all over the world including healthcare professionals, indigenous groups, and young students to put pressure on world leaders (Visser, 2014).

The discourse at present-day climate negotiations revolve around two important areas: adaptation necessary to address a changing climate and the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions. One crucial aspect of climate change is blindly left out. In order to alleviate the threat of climate change, the root cause of greenhouse gas emissions needs to receive adequate attention. Economic systems that are dependent on the burning of fossil fuels need to be considered in terms of their compatibility with a healthy climate system. In terms of climate negotiations, industrialized nations should be more engaged due to their role in higher greenhouse gas emissions. Drafts of proposed treaties and agreements should demonstrate transparency to rebuild trust between nations. Lastly, climate negotiations can only be successful once states look

beyond their own interests and focus on the preservation of human and other life forms. ▢

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Contributor Biographies

MARISSA HERNANDEZ will be attending Binghamton University this fall to major in human development. Although she pursues other avenues of inquiry in her college career, she still retains an affinity for animals. She currently works as a dog handler at a 'doggy daycare,' and owns a very charming and slightly overweight cat named Maury. To quote her mantra, "I feel that everyone should find an activity that gives peace of mind when life gets too overwhelming. Being alongside animals is mine, reading books can be used for others, but everyone should have one thing to call their own."

KRISHAN ROY is a LaGuardia student, from Bangladesh. He is currently a Liberal Arts major, but he will attend Hunter College in the fall, pursuing a major in Urban Studies. After finishing his bachelors, he also wants to complete Graduate studies. He enjoys studying, drawing, and painting, as well as, discussing history, philosophy, and literature. When it comes to these subjects, he says, "I often create a monologue rather than a dialogue, that is to say, I leave no room for anyone else to talk!"

LAVERNE SUMMERS is a Community Health Worker and Human Services major at LaGuardia Community College. She intends to transfer to Hunter to do an Interdisciplinary CUNY Baccalaureate Degree and then move on to pursue her Juris Doctorate. She is a self-declared advocate and Immigration is her passion. As a grassroots community leader, she desires to have a Public Interest Law degree to be effective in policy and decision making to help people in the various communities in which she is involved in.

LUKE ROLLINS is a veteran of the War in Afghanistan and a college dropout who got his act together at LaGuardia Community College. He now pursues a degree in Creative Writing and Linguistics through the CUNY Baccalaureate Program. He lives, not coincidentally, near LaGuardia Airport with his grandmother, his uncle, and his dog, Moses.

MIRA DAOUD is an international student at LaGuardia Community College, majoring in civil engineering. She would like to work in the construction field to improve people's way of life by providing them with strong infrastructure that does not harm the environment. It is very important to her to find the right balance between the environment and the infrastructure that human beings need. As a female she would also like to see women rise to become more prominent in these kinds of fields.

OLIVIA FEAL is a Liberal Arts and Social Sciences major at LaGuardia Community College. She is currently deciding on whether to attend Smith or Goucher Colleges to pursue a career in art history.

ERIC CHAN is currently majoring in Liberal Arts and expects to graduate at the end of the Spring semester. He plans on transferring to Hunter College in order to pursue his bachelor's degree in biology. His academic interests include entomology and conservation ecology.

OBIE ISLAM is currently a Math and Science major at Laguardia Community College. He is transferring to a senior college where he will be studying biology. Eventually, he desires to attend medical school and become a physician.

JOSHUA ROTBERT is a Liberal Arts major who restarted his academic career at LaGuardia Community College, after faltering in his younger years. He is currently deciding whether to accept offers of admission from Columbia University or Bard College for this coming fall. He would like to pursue a double major in Philosophy and Literature, and aims to complete graduate studies in Law.

BEATRIZ RAMOS is a student in the Honors Program at LaGuardia Community College. Upon graduation, she plans on pursuing a Bachelor's degree in political science. Her interest in political science and public policy blossomed when she participated in the Koch Scholars program.

PETRA LJUBCIC is a Psychology major and in her last semester of LaGuardia. Her passions lie in the forensic sciences, and she hopes to be moving to Scotland by August to study Forensic Anthropology at the University of Dundee. Once she completes her undergraduate degree, she says she will narrow her studies down to forensic osteology. Her personal connection to the dialogue "Genocide in Croatia" is that she is Croatian, and she wanted to write from a different perspective about defining events in Croatia's history.

KIMBERLY MORALES is a Liberal Arts major who plans to transfer to Hunter College to major in Creative Writing. She wants to teach, most likely English, and is interested in helping to make critical analysis more accessible to the people who would benefit from it the most.

ANA PONCE is in her last semester at LaGuardia Community College, where she is currently majoring in Liberal Arts. She plans on transferring to The City College of New York, where she will continue her studies in the area of international studies with a focus on international relations. Ultimately, her career aspirations involve working within a human rights organization.

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