



Bulletin of the:



PEACE STUDIES INSTITUTE AND
PROGRAM IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

2019



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Edited by: Zander Willoughby; Peace Studies Coordinator 2018-2019, Kelleen Cullison; Peace Studies Intern Fall 2018, and Dr. Katy Gray Brown, Director



Letter from the Director | Dr. Katy Gray Brown

“Dear Students of Peace Studies,” Gladdys Muir wrote in January 1952, “It has been a delight to read your messages as they found their way through the stormy blasts to Manchester.” In six typed pages (ending always with both a list of suggested readings and a personal handwritten note), Muir provided alumni with news of the program and updates on the activities of their classmates.

The work here on campus seems to be going along nicely. Our present peace majors have been meeting once a week to discuss common problems...There are several new projects on foot that are almost too new to be discussed: a peace fellowship that has been meeting on Monday evenings, a model UN Assembly to be held here in the spring, and a proposed all-community project for “adopting” a European town....

So many of our students abroad have pointed out that perhaps the most strategic area in which work for peace needs to be done is at home in America that I think all of us must feel a great sense of responsibility. We feel, at times, that we are such a small minority; but I am reminded of the words of [Quaker scholar] Rufus Jones in speaking of the enormous task of building a spiritual civilization:

This is a matter in which numbers are not the main thing. The vital question is whether this small [group] is a living organ of the Spirit or not? Is it possessed by a live idea? Is it in the way of life? Has it found a forward path to the new work that is to be built?

He points out that all of us who work for a cause are likely to know as much or more about disappointments and frustrations as successes and triumphs. To maintain courage and hope and inner peace under these circumstances is one of the surest ways of demonstrating that we are grounded in the Eternal.

Dr. Muir was committed to keeping in touch, and these regular letters provided a structure that nourished not only students’ relationships to their professor and mentor, but also a connection to our program. This



peace studies community, this 'living organ of the Spirit' that Gladdys sowed, still struggles with the same sense of responsibility and with our time's versions of disappointments and frustrations.

What a great gift, to be part of this peace studies community, this commonwealth of individuals committed to the 'forward path.' I remain deeply grateful for the privilege of my place among you, as a graduate of and now a faculty member in the program. May we all draw upon the courage, hope, and inner peace required for the work ahead.

Peace,

Katy

P.S. For future issues of the Bulletin, we hope to expand considerably the section with updates from graduates and friends of the program. Part of the delight of reading Gladdys Muir's letters is the opportunity to experience her throwing shade at graduates who fail to keep in touch:

I wish we had [redacted]'s views on the same subject, but you will have to wait for them until a later date.

I wish I knew what [redacted] has been doing in her work with the [redacted], but that will have to be postponed until I get more data.

To avoid similar gentle admonition, send your news and photos: klgraybrown@manchester.edu

2018-2019 at a Glance

September	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kenapoc Retreat • VIA Manchester in Action: Addressing Poverty • VIA The Meeting: A Play by Jeff Stetson with Introduction from UN Amb. Andrew Young
October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advanced Mediation Workshop • Amnesty International 2018 Midwest Regional Conference St. Louis, MO
November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on Faith Week • Rotary World Affairs Conference • VIA Unveiled with Rohina Malik • Standing Up for Racial Justice: Solidarity with Indigenous People training Indianapolis, IN
December	Winter Break
January	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eiteljorg Museum Indianapolis, IN • Polar Vortex Movie Day • Koinonia Reading Retreat
February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mediating Interpersonal Conflict Training • The Midwest Bisexual Lesbian Gay Transgender Asexual College Conference Wichita, KS • Discussion Day: Race in America; An Unfinished Project? • Productive Communication and Conflict Training
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amnesty International Annual General Meeting Chicago, IL • Annual Student - Alumni Trip National Memorial for Peace & Justice, Montgomery, AL • Notre Dame Student Peace Conference South Bend, IN • Peace Week
April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2019 International Conference on Conflict Resolution Education OSU, Columbus, OH • VIA Spartans Overseas • Children's Disaster Services Training
May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commencement!

Elton Skendaj, PhD — Gladdys Muir Endowed Chair

I am Elton Skendaj, the Gladdys Muir peace studies professor at Manchester University. I am going to briefly tell the journey that led me from Albania to northeast Indiana. I was born in Albania while it was a communist country, and I was always interested in exploring the world. When communism ended when I was 13, I was excited to use educational opportunities to

learn more about various countries. During my undergraduate education at the American University in Bulgaria, I experienced armed conflict when Albania fell apart in riots in 1997. I did not hear from my family for about a month, and I was very worried. When I went to visit my family, I was almost shot by gangs. It was then that I started to want to learn more about how to

build peace and solve conflicts at schools, within countries and between countries.

So I switched from economics to political science and international relations major at my university. The refugee crisis in Kosovo in 1999 also influenced the path of my studies. As many refugees returned back to their homes in Kosovo after the end of the war, I wondered whether

Kosovo would develop strong democratic institutions and responsible police force so that people would be treated with dignity and live in peace.



After working with several peace organizations in college, I went to attend the Kroc peace Institute at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, where I worked closely with several peace studies professors, such as George Lopez and John Paul Lederach. After I finished my Master's Degree at Notre Dame, I started a piece of education project in Albania, where I worked closely with the United Nations and Hague Appeal for Peace, an international NGO. Working with schools, community partners, and government officials, I helped

design and Implement a peace education project in several schools in Albania in districts that were still recovering from armed violence. After the peace education project was finished in 2005, I started my PhD in political science at Cornell University, where I focused on international relations and comparative politics and peace studies. I was also a fellow affiliated with the Peace Studies Institute at Cornell which focused more on security issues such as nuclear nonproliferation and ethnic conflict.

My dissertation at Cornell became my first book published with Cornell University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center for international scholars press. The book investigated the new institutions in post war Kosovo, such as police, courts, government, the customs service, as well as democratic institutions and how they were enabling or impeding peace processes. Following my PhD, I worked as an instructor in two universities in

Miami, Florida International University and the University of Miami. I taught various courses in political science that focused on Nonviolent Action, Ethnic Conflict, and Migrants and Refugees.

I first heard about Manchester when I met Katy Gray Brown at a peace conference at Juniata College in Pennsylvania. When the job for the endowed chair position in peace studies was open, I thought my profile fit very well and therefore I applied. During my visit, I noticed that there was a strong sense of community, and strong relations between faculty and students. I have been teaching in Manchester for the past year-and-a-half and my whole family has moved to North Manchester from Miami. Here, I am teaching various courses on Conflict Resolution, Nonviolent Action, Literature of Nonviolence, Migrants and Refugees, as well as the core course, Introduction to Peace Studies.

Peace Studies Coordinator Reflections | Zander Willoughby



From St. Louis to Montgomery, to Mediation Training, to Children's Disaster Services, this has been a great year for Peace Studies and an amazing year for me personally.

In the Fall, four of our students spoke at a VIA, "Manchester in Action:

Addressing Poverty," at Homecoming we dedicated a plaque for Fannie Lou Hamer in the Peace Garden and hosted "The Meeting: A Play by Jeff Stetson" with an introduction from former UN Ambassador Andrew Young, we traveled to St. Louis for the Amnesty International Midwest Regional Conference soon after we revived the MU Amnesty

International chapter, and so much more, including speakers such as Carissa Fralin '91, Tarek al-Zoughbi '15, and Rohina Malik. This Spring, we had a record number of participants at Mediating Interpersonal Conflict - including students from a dozen majors, staff and faculty from both campuses, and community members - four Peace Studies

students and I hosted a workshop at the Amnesty International Annual General Meeting in Chicago, four other students presented their research on migration and refugees at the Notre Dame Student Peace Research Conference, we hosted a Children's Disaster Services training with over 40 people from around the country - mostly MU students and Child Life Specialists - we took over 40 MU students and alumni to Montgomery, Alabama to visit the National Memorial for Peace & Justice and other Civil Rights sites, and so much more.



As the semester comes to a close, there has been a flurry of student activism in support of liberal arts education and against the way many institutional decisions have been made and implemented. I've been constantly amazed by our students and what

they've accomplished - I'm so grateful for the time I've been able to spend supporting them.



Peace Studies has grown this year. Our most recent counts say that we have 47 majors and minors - 17 of whom being majors. Almost all of our Peace Studies majors have other majors as well: Political Science, Philosophy, Communications, Public Relations, Environmental Studies, Social Work, Education, etc. We also have students from various disciplines in our community who spend time in the Peace Studies Lounge or at Monday night Kenapocomoco Peace Coalition meetings: Global Health, Bio-Chem, History, Sociology, Digital Media, and Physics.

Personally, I've cherished every second of this job. Every morning, night, and weekend (which is almost every weekend and most nights) that I head to work, it's always with excitement about what the next project or challenge will be. Sometimes that

means driving the people mover straight to Saint Louis, tracking down the most comfortable chairs for a UN ambassador, or shivering out on the mall at midnight setting up crosses, rarely do I get a boring day this year. Serving on the Board of Directors for Education for Conflict Resolution has been an honor. This year, I've been able to participate in six court-ordered mediations - an opportunity I never imagined having. It has also been great to be able to be an advisor to the Kenapocomoco Peace Coalition, Amnesty International, and the Campus Interfaith Board. All three student organizations have accomplished so much this year. It seems like every few weeks, we're in the paper for a Refugees Welcome resolution, Event of the Year, and more. Our students have accomplished amazing things this year and I am so grateful to have been a part of it.



Recent Graduates Updates

AmeriCorps Volunteer In Service To America for Ohio Recovery Housing | Katie Jo Breidenbach-Wooding, '18

Next week, I begin my position as an AmeriCorps VISTA, working in Columbus, OH for Ohio Recovery Housing. AmeriCorps is a national network of service programs working in a variety of ways to address community needs. Essentially, think of AmeriCorps as a domestic Peace Corps. AmeriCorps VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America, spend one year in service at a nonprofit organization that works to alleviate poverty.



I have been placed at Ohio Recovery Housing, a state affiliate of the National

Alliance for Recovery Residences (NARR). Ohio Recovery Housing is an alliance that serves to provide recovery houses across Ohio, along with information and resources to help maintain their houses to the best benefit of both the residents and the housing operators. My position will build capacity for recovery housing by raising awareness, addressing stigma and providing accurate information on the importance of recovery housing in the continuum of services and

supports for those impacted by addiction.

Columbus is a great place to be and I'm excited to be working just one block away from the statehouse where I have the freedom to attend weekly protests and rallies for groups like the Ohio Poor People's Campaign and the Ohio American Civil Liberties Union.

Volunteer with Brethren Volunteer Services at the Asian Rural Institute in Nasushiobara, Japan | Caitlin O'Quinn '18



I am currently volunteering with the Brethren Volunteer Service for 2 years at the Asian Rural Institute in Nasushiobara, Japan. It is a chemical free farm that teaches rural community leaders how to live a sustainable life without using chemicals and by using the least amount of energy. My daily activities include being in charge of a dorm renovation as well as a women's conference that will be happening in 2019. I am also working with many of the visitors that come

from all over Japan and other countries. I spend time with them during the day and also participate in the farm work and lectures held here.

Christian Peacemaker Teams | Michael Himlie '17

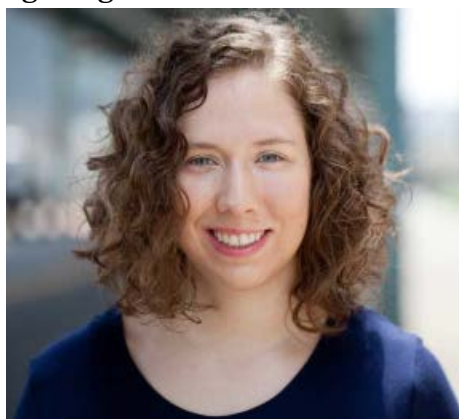
Hello Manchester community! I have spent the last year working with Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT), an organization that operates in war, conflict, and occupied zones around the world. Their aim is to transform violence and oppression alongside local communities who are resisting nonviolently in their fight for liberation and freedom. With the organization, I have been assigned to a kindergarten on a Greek island off the coast of Turkey where I worked with refugees from Northern Africa and the Middle East who are fleeing war torn lands and fighting for their rights as refugees in the European Union. I have worked in Hebron, Palestine, which is under Israeli military occupation, accompanying children to school through military checkpoints, and engaging in nonviolent direct action under the lead of the local community of whom we largely take direction from. I have also worked in Sulaymaniyah, Iraqi Kurdistan, accompanying local farmers and shepherds onto their lands, as Turkey, Iraq, and Iran bomb and shell their homes,

crops, and livestock. Spending precious time with these resilient and loving people, and documenting and sharing their stories with the world has been a grievous and joyous experience, and one that both Manchester and CPT has prepared me well for.

**Full-time student in the
 Global Social and
 Sustainable Enterprise MBA
 Program at CSU | Erin RW
 Cartwright, '11**

Erin Cartwright is currently a full-time student in the Global Social and Sustainable Enterprise MBA program at Colorado State University (Go Rams!). After graduating from Manchester University with a B.S. in Peace Studies in 2011, Erin served for two years in Public Allies Indianapolis, an AmeriCorps and non-profit apprenticeship program, in which she ran a food pantry and other hunger relief programs at Mary Rigg Neighborhood Center. After finishing AmeriCorps, Erin embarked on her Quarter-Life Sabbatical*--a self-designed year of exploration and learning. Erin's sabbatical consisted of a 5-week course on holistic sustainability at Dancing Rabbit Ecovillage in Missouri and consecutive farming apprenticeships in Wisconsin, Florida, and Maine respectively. After her sabbatical Erin relocated to Philadelphia, PA. In Philly, Erin worked for a community development corporation doing community organizing and food access work and then worked in

recycling education for a company called Recyclebank. Erin is now living in beautiful Fort Collins, CO, where she is pursuing her MBA (which is something she never thought she'd do) and is a Fellow at CSU's Institute for the Built Environment. Erin is interested in sustainability and social enterprise and still doesn't quite know what she wants to do exactly, but is getting closer to figuring it out.



*Erin highly recommends Quarter-Life Sabbaticals, and thinks they're especially helpful for Peace Studies folks who aren't sure what they want to do with their lives/careers. If you have questions or wanna chat with Erin about her QLS, send her an email: erinrwcartwright@gmail.com

**Assistant Professor of
 Communication at
 McPherson College | Julia
 Largent, '11**



I am entering my second year as an Assistant Professor of Communication at McPherson

College where I also serve as the faculty advisor for the student newspaper, The Spectator. I was awarded the Kenneth J. Harwood Distinguished Dissertation Award from Broadcast Education Association this past spring. I'm currently co-editing two different collections, a special journal issue on fan studies methodologies and an edited book collection on foodie fandoms. Both are due out in 2020.

Largent graduated with a double major in Peace Studies and Communication.

**Family Support Worker at
 Belfast & Lisburn Women's
 Aid in Northern Ireland |
 Samantha Carwile, '10**

I am Samantha Carwile, a 2010 Peace Studies graduate. While on campus, I helped coach the Mediation and Conciliation course, co-coordinated Manchester College Reconciliation Services (MCRS), and was involved in the Education for Conflict Resolution (ECR) centre in N. Manchester. I was the Peace Studies Institute's Peace Studies Coordinator from September 2010-May 2011, as well as continued my involvement with the Mediation course, MCRS, and ECR.



After my internship with the Peace Studies Institute, I volunteered with Brethren Volunteer Service (BVS) internationally for two years at Quaker Cottage in Belfast, Northern Ireland. I worked on the Childcare Team with 0-17 year olds at this unique cross-community family centre. During my time in Belfast, I met my now husband, Christopher Magennis, and we were married in 2014. For about 3 years, I worked with other organizations in the early years sector in Belfast. I currently live in Northern Ireland with my husband. Currently, I work as a Family Support Worker at Belfast & Lisburn Women's Aid, a UK/Republic of Ireland women's organization providing support, information, and emergency accommodation for women and children affected by domestic violence.

As a Manchester alumna, I was instilled with "ability and conviction," but even more so as a Peace Studies graduate. I was inspired to travel, serve, and broaden my horizons. Peace

Studies shaped my path in bringing me to Northern Ireland, and is still shaping me as I continue to work in a setting of gender-based violence and interpersonal conflict. No doubt there are bright prospects of where this path will take me from here!

**Small Business Owner
 growing Local Ecotype Native
 Plants in Nebraska and
 Kansas | Laura Dell-Haro '09**

Just months ago, nine years post-Peace Studies, life has peaked with the registration of our super-small business: Little Beaver Nursery & Gardens. We grow local ecotype native forbs, grasses, and shrubs for the southeast Nebraska and northeast Kansas region and also produce the seeds of selected species. When people ask where I got my botany degree, I blush a bit (because I really would like to have one, eventually), and explain that I studied conflict resolution, philosophy, political science, and anthropology. In rural Nebraska, this is met with the same worried stare that comes when I say that we grow thistles. Admission: Peace Studies isn't the most direct path to studying seed dormancy or the germination requirements of *Onosmodium molle*. But it did prepare me to work in an industry plagued by unethical practice, male chauvinism, destructive actors, blind idealism and environmental theft. Even dream jobs present conflicts of mind and heart and I'm keenly aware of how

the Peace Studies program helped shape my response: presence, listening, questioning, and persistence.

**Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
 in Marion County | Rebecca
 Hollenberg, '05**

Rebecca Hollenberg is an alumna from 2005. She double majored in Peace Studies and Spanish. She took two years off for Brethren Volunteer Services, working with refugees in California and learning about restorative justice in New York. She then went to law school and eventually ended up working with victims of domestic violence at the YWCA North Central Indiana for 3 1/2 years, up until the middle of this past August. She is currently working as a deputy prosecuting attorney in Marion County, Indiana.

**Teacher of History, Social
 Studies, and Theory of
 Knowledge at the
 International School in
 Kampala, Uganda | Allison
 Bryan '04**

Currently I am a teacher of history, social studies, and Theory of Knowledge, a course offered through the IB program. I live and work in Kampala, Uganda. Prior to working here at the International School of Uganda, I worked at international schools in Burkina Faso and China. Our school has kids from over 60 different countries, and my students are the children of aid and development workers,

ambassadors, and employees of the UN, CDC, WHO, and other international organizations. I never thought I'd be a classroom teacher, but I love my working with middle and high school students from such diverse backgrounds. Our school is global, international, and diverse in ways I never imagined possible as a kid growing up in Fort Wayne, Indiana. My husband (also a teacher) and I spend some of our summers working as mentor teachers at Brown University, where we both went to graduate school for our Masters in teaching. I am also a cooperating



teacher for teachers in training and a teaching coach.

When I was at Manchester, I often thought I'd like to work in one of the international organizations that I mentioned above or have a career in mediation. However, I chose my career of teaching with care, after 8 years of working in different national and international organizations. I love working with students from diverse backgrounds, integrating their knowledge and experiences into our lessons, and trying to make history and geography relevant and exciting for students. I also love learning in depth about the countries I've lived in. Experience is the best teacher, after all. This past January, my

husband, Eric, and I had a baby boy who we've named Lucca. We are so excited to raise him in such a diverse setting. We love having visitors so if anyone is ever in Uganda, do let us know!

**Communications Director
for the Clean Water
Campaign for Michigan,
Musician, Farmer, and
Activist | Chris Good, '02**



Chris Good '02 is a musician, farmer, and activist living in Ann Arbor, MI. He recently launched a new music project, Friends with the Weather, with fellow MU graduate Seth

Hendricks '03 & MU adjunct professor, David Hupp. The band celebrated its debut album in September 2016 and is a member of the Earthwork Music Collective. Chris also serves as Communications Director for the Clean Water Campaign for Michigan, which aims to amplify the groundswell of support for clean water issues through storytelling and music.

**Social Worker, Nurse, Nurse
Practitioner in Lansing, MI |
Mary Boudreau, '84**



Mary Boudreau graduated from Manchester in 1984 with a double major in Peace Studies and Biology-Chemistry. In the years that followed, she has become a Social Worker, a nurse and ultimately a Nurse practitioner. In December, she will be completing her sixth college degree as she receives her doctorate in nursing at Michigan State University. She currently works at Sparrow Senior Health in Lansing, Michigan as well as in a rural clinic with people living with HIV. She has four adult children who are adopted. In her spare time, she volunteers with the local Democratic party, plays soccer, runs, bikes, and picks up trash (Plogging). She still believes we can all make the world a better place and that her background at Manchester is a great foundation.

**Philosophy & Religion
Teacher in Tucson, Bee-
keeper | Gerald Peters, '84**

Gerald "Bear" Peters '84, lives Northwest of Tucson, Arizona. He currently teaches Philosophy and Religion classes at Pima Community College in

Tucson. He also has a small business, caretaking beehives which produce honey and pollinate crops. He and his wife Sharon Brechbiel Peters '85) are also foster parents.

John Price Crozer Professor of Theology at Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School, Rochester, New York | Melanie Duguid-May '76

I am the John Price Crozer Professor of Theology at Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School, in Rochester, New York. This will be my 27th year here. The length of my tenure here is testimony to the ways in which this divinity school--where a theology for the social gospel was first articulated, and where the mission is "to equip leaders for transforming ministry that speaks truth to power and stands among 'the least of these'" — has welcomed the creativity and the commitments I bring to the classroom and to my scholarship. My creativity and my deepest commitments bear the marks of my Manchester Peace Studies formation. As a teacher and as a scholar, I am an activist. These roles and responsibilities are for me inextricably interwoven. Issues of power and privilege, of wealth and poverty, of violence and of peace born of justice and healing, are the warp and the woof of my syllabi and my writing, whatever the themes, such as; mysticism and revolutionary change, the global Kairos movement, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Christian Belief

Today, LGBTi Persons and Christian Faith, Women in Christianity, etc.



I first wrestled with these issues in seminars led by Peace Studies saints such as Ken Brown, and in late night impromptu sessions in the chapel lounge. At Manchester, it was confirmed for me that to engage in these conversations was to be called to action for justice and the healing of persons and nations. These are themes that have found their way into my publishing, into my decades of work in the worldwide ecumenical movement, in my advocacy and education work with Palestinians for justice and human rights, and into classrooms and lecture halls and pulpits and so on. These have been rich years, and I am grateful and honored to name the Peace Studies program at Manchester as formative of who I am and what I have tried to do on the road by which I have traveled.

Brethren Service Office and Brethren Volunteer Services European Coordinator in Geneva, Switzerland | Kristin Flory, '78

Kristin Flory has been working in Geneva, Switzerland as the Brethren Service Office and Brethren Volunteer Services



European coordinator for 31 years. Following her time as a Peace Studies and German major at Manchester, she spent six years with Brethren Volunteer Services volunteering with three different German-speaking peace organizations. She attributes her time and studies at Manchester as the reason for her being there today, and highly recommends taking the opportunity to do a Brethren Volunteer Services opportunity following graduation from Manchester.

Peace Post from 2018-2019

Growing Acquainted with Prof. Ken Brown | Kelleen Cullison '20



I recently acquired a position editing the journals and manuscripts of the late Peace Studies Prof. Kenneth

Brown as they are being entered into Manchester's digital archive. I jumped at the opportunity because it was my ideal intersection of interests: the work itself would give me experience in the field of my choice, and the works to be edited on my preferred subject of choice, social justice. What I expected was to learn a thing or two while gaining exposure to the job of editing (and making some side money along the way). What has thrown me completely off guard has been the unexpected emotional connection I find myself having with his words.

Prof. Brown was wonderfully articulate in his writings; both in his accounts of anecdotal events he'd witnessed and in his accompanying philosophical reasonings. He was well researched without his writing becoming tedious and found the evasive balance between emotional and factual in the recounting of his personal experience. Even while reading

the manuscripts of some of his sermons, I did not feel as though I was being preached too. The way he wrote about and viewed what he believed to be true Christianity paired with my own conception of the faith in a way no one had been able to articulate to me before. It made me consider picking up my childhood faith again for the first time since my exposure to rampant American Evangelism pushed me to not want to go anywhere near Christianity with a 10-foot pole. When I am reading his works, I often have to sit back in my chair and take a moment to digest the profound truth of his words. I've taken up the habit of writing down some of his quotes on scraps of paper to contemplate later, such as in a manuscript that spoke of prophetic realism that read, "Jesus calls us to fight with love, a weaponry so advanced we barely understand it." Or his reflection on the armed state of affairs during the Cold War where



he quoted philosopher Hannah Arendt when she said, "the presence of violence indicates the absence of true power." His way of explaining hard and simple

philosophical truths, for me, has been perception altering and belief-affirming.

I encourage you, in truth I encourage anyone, to inquire about Prof. Brown's manuscripts once they are available in the digital archives. If you are a peacemaker, his words will bring you affirmation and empowerment as you work for social justice. If you are a believer in America's position on "peace through strength", his words may give you other options to consider. And if you are a skeptic, such as myself, his words might very well make you consider again the peaceful premise of true Christianity. Take it from an English major, who knows what it means to be moved by the words of others: Prof. Brown's words are worth considering, and his ideas, although sometimes swathed in harsh realities, are worth facing.

Barb Anguiano Stresses the Importance of "Tension" in Journalism | Chloe Leckrone '22



On Tuesday, April 2, Peace Week presented "Storytelling and Journalism," a VIA featuring keynote speaker Barb Anguiano, an audio journalist for the

WBOI News Team in Fort Wayne.

Anguiano addressed students, faculty, and community members about not only the importance of detailed, meticulous journalism but also gave some insight into how to go about reporting the issues of our society today. The VIA was informative for those interested in journalism as well as anyone who wants to stay informed during a time when the news is more important than ever.

One of Anguiano's main points that she made sure to emphasize was the need for tension in reporting. Tension grabs attention and keeps people engaged. She compared news stories to any other form of entertainment. Movies, television, and books all require tension, conflict. Creating a "good guys versus bad guys" narrative in news stories helps draw people in. To tie the VIA back to Peace Week, while listening to Anguiano speak about tension, I was reminded of MLK's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." In the letter, King claims that the reason he came to Birmingham was to create a "constructive tension." King believed that his time in Birmingham would ultimately lead to negotiation, but before that could happen there needed to be tension to make people aware of what was happening. Anguiano essentially argued the same thing. We may be uncomfortable with reading about conflict, but we need it in order to understand the conflicting world around us.

Build Bridges Not Walls | Zoe Willoughby '22



On Monday, November 5th President Donald Trump hosted a rally in Fort Wayne, Indiana. I, and other

Manchester University students, attended the rally to protest the President. We were unable to enter the venue as it was completely full so they weren't letting anyone in. We went with the next best plan and pulled out our signs saying things such as "Build Bridges Not Walls" and "Make America Safe Again" while standing silently. We immediately were screamed at being called losers and told to leave by the people around us.



Four security guards came and told us we needed to leave because they had been instructed to remove anyone from the property that had signs with anti-Trump rhetoric. They then told us we needed to go to the "designated area" across the street. Our group started to walk away and I turned around and saw that all four of them were following us to make sure that we

actually left the property. While walking we struck up a conversation with the guards and one of the guards said that he doesn't understand protesting because we could just write to our senators.

When I pointed out that segregation ended because of protest he told me that he feels he is "segregated" personally because he is short. After trying to explain that that is not at all what segregation means our group went to the designated protest area. People were singing and chanting about love while cars drove by either honking in support or flipping us off. I was called several awful things by young men as they walked by. Overall it was a lot like any protest however the key difference was the people supporting Trump and how they treated everyone around them with little to no respect. Anyone interested in peace and justice should attend a Trump protest and see for themselves what it is like. We should all stand together for the rights and equal treatment of those around us and continue to fight for such in any way we can.

Manchester Professors Encourage Political Engagement and Civic Discourse | Kelleen Cullison '20

Tuesday night, a collection of Manchester students, staff, and faculty gathered in Haist Commons to view the upcoming midterm election results.

Professors Leonard Williams and Mary Lahman included the watch party in their class time for the courses American National Politics and Discourse in Political Campaigns and Social Movements respectively. Over refreshments of apple cider and popcorn, students watched the race results with mixed reactions, particularly the clinching of the Indiana Senate race by Republican Mike Braun early on.

Even on a diverse campus like Manchester, it is difficult to have people on opposite sides of the political aisle together to talk about contemporary politics. Students like Maddy Mineheart from Dr. William's class think events such as this are important for overcoming that discomfort which keeps us from such discussions. "Having students together to watch the continuous results incited conversation and discourse," Mineheart said. Although not everyone treated the event as an opportunity, those that did benefited from the party. For students of Dr. Williams' American National Politics class, the race was the conclusion of a weeks-long study. "It's cool how this tied into our senate race assignment," said Harley Ramsey. Students chose a senate race to follow, analyzing ads, polls, and controversies leading up to the election and finally making a prediction of the results based on their findings.

The viewing lasted about three hours, with students coming and going as they pleased, before

finally clearing out around 10 pm. "It was great of Dr. Williams and Dr. Lahman to put this together," Mineheart said as I left for the night.

I agree with her wholeheartedly. The watch party created a space where students could engage with politics as a part of their curriculum, inserting political involvement into their daily lives. Right now is a time of widespread political engagement, and historically speaking, young people have been the least participative. By combining the involvement of students with their lectures on politics, Manchester professors are pushing Manchester students to rise above that standard, reaffirming Manchester's commitment to graduate students of ability and conviction who will lead principled and productive lives. Such hands-on experiences overcome barriers of discomfort which can hinder involvement in political discourse, and reassert Manchester graduates as citizens who aspire to be change makers.

Coffee Hour with Gimbiya Kettering | Kelleen Cullison '20

Gimbiya Kettering, Director of Intercultural Ministries for the Church of the Brethren, met briefly with students for a coffee hour during Focus on the Faith week. Although not a graduate of Manchester herself, her father graduated from here in 1965 and her grandmother was a

Manchester graduate before that. She explained the broad scope of intercultural ministries to the congregated students, but explained her special focus on "loving to talk about why intercultural ministry is important."

She surprised her audience by focusing, not on religion itself, but on the real world implications of intercultural understanding. Kettering split those present in the Peace Studies Lounge into groups of three and proposed to them a scenario in which they had to decide the fate of the World through a thought experiment. "Oil is on the decline and energy is in crisis, we are facing an environmental crisis, and there is less clean water than at any time in history." She proposed a scenario where an alien race offers us a toolkit to reverse the effects of fossil fuels and turn to clean energy for the next eon, but in exchange, we have to give them all of the Black Americans.

None present took the deal, but six in ten believed that our current administration would make the exchange. Kettering warrants that, through the lens of history, "this is a deal we've already made." She emphasized her point by pointing to the disproportionate mass incarceration of Black men in America, and the widespread acceptance of the practice. Kettering said, "We think all our problems would be solved if these people didn't exist." Alluding to colonists and slavery, she

compared white Europeans to the aliens in her scenario, showing up in Africa, using captured slaves to solve the West's energy crisis, ie. using them for labor, energy to till the Earth.

This is why Kettering is interested in intercultural ministry. She wants people to consider the deals that we are being offered and why we agree to them. Enjoying opening people up to the discomfort of such discussions, Kettering asks, "Why do we not believe what we already know?"

Access to Behavioral Health Services: A Matter of Social Justice | Kelleen Cullison '20



Manchester graduate of psychology and peace studies Carissa Fralin '91 returned to Manchester on Tuesday, October 2 to present her VIA convocation "Access to Behavioral Health Services: A Matter of Social Justice", which addressed the cost of neglecting behavioral health in primary care and what SIM, the State Innovation Model office at which she works, does to integrate physical and behavioral health across the state of Colorado.

With her master's degree in Social Work, Fralin and 15 other workers, many with masters in public health, are funded by

Medicaid to look at the whole person with regard to their health. "What are all the other pieces of a person's life that are going on right now that are impacting their health?" Fralin explained to the audience. What the data showed was that behavioral health was going unnoticed by physicians as reasons why patients cannot follow through with treatment. SIM addresses this issue by putting money into local clinics, practices, behavioral centers, and the like, to change the way doctors are paid in their practices. Instead of being paid by fees, doctors within a practice are paid for the quality of the care they provide. This proves to be an incentive for clinics to look into hiring behavioral specialists into their practice, to address the social determinants of health (access to care, housing, food, money, transportation, etc) which prevent people from being able to follow a treatment plan.



These social determinants are where access to behavioral health care becomes a social justice issue. As Fralin stated, "When you're a single mother trying to figure out where your two children's next meal is going to come from, you aren't thinking about your health." It is in this way that those with mental or

physical health issues in low-income situations often go unnoticed. However, studies show that 80% of people with behavioral health issues go to see an annual physician. By training primary care physicians to spot the signs of behavioral health issues and providing them with the resources to offer immediate assistance, these people do not go unnoticed simply because they do not have time for another appointment. From here, behavioral specialists can help them find a treatment plan that fits their lifestyle.

These are the three steps of integration: coordinating efforts among health care workers, co-locating these different specialists in the same place, and integrating an awareness of behavioral health into primary care practices. As program implementation manager for SIM, Fralin ensures that practices are addressing the three levels of integration, and furthermore, she ensures that practices are looking into new ways to lower the stigma surrounding mental health. Such an example was a small clinic stationed on the main street of a small rural town. By integrating the local practitioner, behaviorist, several nurses, and another healthcare provider, someone pulling up to the curb in the small town would not automatically be outed as seeking mental health treatment. This coordinated and co-located effort encourages small-town residents to seek

mental health attention without stigmatizing them.

As Fralin said, SIM's main goal was to create access for communities to seek behavioral health treatment, and she encouraged students going into the medical field to continue to pursue the idea. "Keep talking about the social determinants of health to your professors," she said. "And find an integrated clinic to complete your residency at."



She concluded with a word about the state of Colorado. As of 2016, Colorado was 9th on the list ranking states with the most suicides. With SIM, Fralin is hoping to get her state out of the top 10.

Homecoming Plaque Dedication 2018 - Celebrating Fannie Lou Hamer and 70 Years of MU Peace Studies | Kelleen Cullison '20



At the annual Peace Plaque dedication during Homecoming weekend, students, faculty and

alumni came together in the Peace Garden to celebrate the life of Fanny Lou Hamer, a civil rights leader who passed away in 1977.

Born in the East Mississippi Delta in 1917, Hamer was the 20th child of two sharecroppers. In 1962, she joined a group which intended to register to vote, and it was on the bus ride that she first became known for singing to the group to help them focus, and prepare for whatever they should face. Denied their right, the group returned home, but Hamer found herself and her family kicked off their land for her protest. She would continue to support them on the \$10 a week stipend SNCC paid her as a field organizer. She was a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which formed in response to the ban on people of color joining the Democratic party, and was with the group when they challenged the Democrats at their own convention. Hamer notably asked, "Is this America?" with regards to the all-white policy of the party.



It is this statement which Professor of Peace Studies Katy Gray Brown says makes the choice of Hamer for this year's dedication apt. Recently, we've

had to ask ourselves yet again if this is America, and in doing so, Prof. Brown says the phrase, and Hamer, "inspires us in the work we feel we must do together."

She, Professor Elton Skendaj and Peace Coordinator Zander Willoughby briefly addressed how Manchester is striving to do that work, and the student speakers that followed proved to be strong examples.



Senior Caraline Fearheller praised the work ethic peace studies instilled in her when working for a greater cause, such as during her summer with the



Poor People's Campaign, and attributes the program for teaching her, "what

community looks like and feels like." Senior Amy Weeks and Junior Jesse Langdon aim to expand the reach of the Peace Studies Department by teaming up with other departments and clubs on campus, starting with Campus Interfaith Board and the Environmental Studies Department.

In this moment, when celebrating the work of a past peacemaker, it was fitting to shine a spotlight on the efforts of those

who are the future. It is during societal abnormalities such as now that those who want to make a difference can do the most work.

As Professor Skendaj said of the current times, “people are reclaiming a participatory democratic place,” and the Peace program continues to prepare people to act in such places. As the ceremony came to a close, and Fanny Lou Hamer’s rendition of “I’m Gonna Let it Shine” played over the speaker, guest Diane Porter led the congregated alumni and students of peace in singing along, together.

A Summer of Action | Kelleen Cullison '20

Service. Compassion. Respect for the worth of every individual. Improving the human condition. These are the staple values of Manchester, and they are values four Manchester students spent their summer enacting as they undertook internships with the Shepherd Higher Education Consortium on Poverty.



A nonprofit committed to promoting poverty studies programs, the Shepherd internship program pairs students with programs across the country,

taking into consideration students’ personal areas of interest in the placement process.

The internships of these Manchester students was the focus of a VIA titled, “Manchester in Action: Addressing Poverty,” which took place on September 11th. To contextualize the pressing issue of poverty for students in attendance, Professor Katy Gray Brown prefaced the event with the sobering facts of poverty in America, setting the stage for Virginia Rendler to share her experience with Career Collaborative in Boston, Massachusetts.

Career Collaborative helps unemployed and underemployed



adults in Boston find full-time employment that will provide them with benefits. Their clientele mainly consists of refugees, immigrants, and ex-cons who struggle with English or lack an understanding of the hiring process in America. As one of four interns, Rendler helped clients write resumes and fill out job applications. “I was interested in having direct contact with people, so the job fit,” said Rendler in her presentation. She was also given the opportunity to write a grant for a refugee initiative program, giving her the opportunity to work with her direct group of interest.

Also working with refugees in her internship, Daisy Byers



spent her summer in Georgia with American Pathways, an organization dedicated to

the resettlement and transition of refugees in the United States. During her time onstage, Byers stressed the American Pathways’ focus on safety, self-sufficiency, success and service. Not only does American Pathways resettle refugees in American communities by finding adults jobs and getting children into school, but they also focus on making their clients feel comfortable. Once they’ve transitioned, Pathways also provides refugees with opportunities to volunteer in the community into which they’ve moved. Byers spoke to the audience about her time writing grants, resumes, and cover letters, as well as traveling with clients to their job interviews. For her, it was a very personal experience, “since I myself was like a refugee once,” Byers said.

Far from the East Coast, MacKenzie Weadick spent her summer with the YWCA of Greater Austin, Texas, which strives towards “eliminating racism, empowering women.” During her time in the sanctuary city, Weadick worked in reception doing intake, scheduling low-cost counseling appointments for women. She also had the opportunity to serve as a substitute counselor, fundraise for

Women Veterans at the capitol building, attend a Families Belong Together Rally, and lead a Turkish marbling class at the YWCA. She admitted that she made a few mistakes in the beginning that were emotionally taxing, like when she left a routine voicemail to remind a client of their appointment only to find out that client was seeking counseling for domestic abuse. The small margin of error made every mistake increasingly stressful for Weadick, but that she made sure to learn from them. “The people we were helping needed me a lot more than I needed to call my mom and cry,” she joked on stage but shared what she learned about the importance of self-care in the social justice sector. In the end, she managed to completely redesign the social media accounts of the YWCA and single-handedly scheduled over \$8,000 worth of funds in Texas by organizing for Ride|Austin, a rideshare organization in the city which allows passengers to automatically round up their fare total to donate to a local charity of their choice.



Back in the Midwest, Caroline Fearheller spent her

summer with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, “combating an environment of fear,” she told the audience. Kentuckians for the Commonwealth is a 37-year-old social justice initiative working from the ground up to empower the disenfranchised. In Louisville, Kentucky, Fearheller helped organize a grassroots fundraiser in the historically black neighborhood of Smoketown. Working with local residents, she with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, fundraised for #SmokeTownGetDown, joining community meetings, contacting local vendors, and advertising the event on social media. She also



found herself working alongside the Poor People’s Campaign, returning to the Kentucky courthouse, again and again, to petition for economic injustice, even after the governor instituted a rule of “only two people in the courthouse at a time” to target the campaign. She reported that, with live streaming and dedication, the Poor People’s Campaign is now allowed back inside the courthouse, only to face politicians locking the doors to their offices. She also joined the

displaced peoples of Camp Compassion, facing armed police officers, “who were facing us, and not the white nationalists behind them,” Fearheller reported. Wedged between police, ICE officers, and nationalists, Fearheller also faced tension among social justice groups when the directors of the Commonwealth decided their members could not use #abolishICE on social media and faced other present groups questioning their solidarity.

Most of all, Fearheller emphasized the power of peoples’ stories, and how they moved her at Camp Compassion and everywhere she was placed this summer. This sentiment was echoed by Center of Service Opportunities Director Ali Goetcheus in her closing comments, urging people to continue sharing their stories and seeking out the stories of others.

For more information about the Shepherd Higher Education Consortium on Poverty internship program, see their website or contact Ali Goetcheus at the Center for Service Opportunities in Calvin Ulrey.

Student Movement in Support of the Liberal Arts

NORTH MANCHESTER, INDIANA — More than 100 students, staff, and faculty gathered Friday afternoon to mourn the upcoming program and faculty cuts to core Liberal Arts programs | Chloe Leckrone



“The justification for cutting these majors is that we need to adjust to the market,” said Senior Religious Studies major Madalyn

Minehart. “But there is no better way to adjust to the market than a young person who can speak another language, understand his neighbor’s religion, has a fundamental understanding of economics, politics, sociology, and psychology . . . Who better to do anything than a liberal arts graduate?”



On April 29, Manchester University President Dave McFadden announced plans to cut several programs and faculty positions that remain vital to

Manchester’s liberal arts education. This included the phasing out of the French and Physical Education majors as well as cutting faculty from the Philosophy and Economics Departments. The announcement caused students to react quickly and motivating many to take action.



At the mock funeral there was an atmosphere of grief. Professors who in a short time will be losing their jobs sat among students and alumni who mourned the loss of their legacy at Manchester. Attendees dressed in all black and, as they processed to President Dave McFadden’s house, carried signs with slogans including “MU Can Do Better” and “Where’s your humanity? It’s been cut!”

“It’s difficult to be a liberal arts student — but this education



is the most valuable thing I have,” said Senior Sociology and Religious Studies student Shannon Lee. “As I realized chemistry was not where my future lied, I had nowhere to turn except into the arms of the liberal arts. They were there for me, showing me things that excited me, challenged me, shocked me, and even some things that broke my heart, but they also showed me how to understand, engage with, and master those things. I found my humanity here.”



Manchester University is not alone in cutting liberal arts programs. In fact, slashing liberal arts programs in an attempt to remain financially sound is becoming a nationwide trend. Earlier this year the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point’s decision to cut thirteen majors, which would have damaged many of the school’s humanities programs, stirred much controversy, though the decision was later reversed. From here, students hope the administration will hear their concerns and create an opportunity to start a bigger conversation on how to protect Manchester University’s

sustainability while maintaining its Liberal Arts integrity.



“Liberal Arts has taught us to speak passionately for the world we want, and we hope the administration listens,” said First-Year

Education Major Cassidy Hicks. “There are different, and better ways to maintain institutional vitality that do not involve phasing out programs and firing faculty, so we are asking that the administration problem-solve with us instead of for us. We know this process will take time and today was just the first step in our long-term plan to protect the Liberal Arts.”

Building for the Future — Caraline Fearheller



I will be honest, before I came to Manchester I had no idea what liberal arts was. Quite frankly, I did not care to find out because

it was not a determining factor in my college decision-making process. I thought liberal arts was a fancy way of saying “I got a small school.” According to a quick google search, liberal arts is defined as “extending beyond academia and the workplace to give graduates the necessary qualities that can enable them to

adapt and thrive in the world, community with and understand other members of the community and have a broadened perspective.” Now, this definition is truly great, beautiful even. But it is not perfect. It is not nearly up to par with that Manchester University has made liberal arts to be. At Manchester University, the idea of liberal arts becomes a process in which your community co-authors your story of transformation.

In a couple of weeks I will graduate with a double major in Political Science and Peace studies. So, it would be entirely correct to say these two majors have provided me with the skills to navigate this complex world. However, college is a process of discovery and I discovered myself most at conferences, study tables, office hours, trainings, mentorships, internships, and so many more opportunities. In my story of transformation, it was liberal arts that was essential in teaching me not only how to be in community but how to create community wherever you go.

Nearly four years ago, I stepped into my first day of Elementary French class. On that first day, I had this expectation that what I had learned in high school would be enough to get me by. I figured the purpose of learning a language was to be able to write down an attractive skill for your resume, so all I had to do was get by. It became apparent very quickly that Dr. Janina Traxler would not merely let me

'get by' because every week was so full of presentations and essays that it was tough. But the beauty of all that struggle was the realization that the purpose of language learning was not for employability but for engaging in a community. There are an estimated 275 million French speakers in the world today. Before I stepped into that French class, those 275 million people with their stories and their knowledge of their community were completely inaccessible to me. Language learning, much like every aspect of liberal arts, is the ability to open oneself up to a whole new world of stories, ideas, and cultures. So, when I hear this administrative proposal to "continue to prepare students for good jobs and lives through our rich curriculum, infused with the liberal arts" I am afraid. When I read the statements released by the administration I cannot help but notice that good jobs comes before good lives. I am afraid infusion merely means the opportunity to learn French as long as its purposes extend to employability. I am afraid to think of what my story of transformation would have looked like if my institution followed the narrow lines drawn by the marketplace instead of allowing Dr. Janina Traxler to cultivate my confidence in the ability to speak and appreciate the French language.

I was not shocked by the announcements to cut the French and Physical Education Program

as well as reduce the number of faculty and staff in Philosophy and Economics. I am not asking for budget cuts to stop. Manchester University has become my second home, a place where I learned to grow so I recognize the importance of the vitality of this institution. I understand that we are trapped in an unfair situation in an unfair world with truly no good options. These institutional reviews and program cuts are nationwide trends and I know we are not the only institution to deal with it and we will surely not be the last. But, I am incredibly optimistic in the fact that Manchester is not like these other institutions. Manchester University has a history of innovation: the first peace studies program in the world, one of the first environmental studies, and pioneering one of the first pharmacogenomics programs. Manchester's innovation is a result of Manchester daring to be different. It is a result of Manchester trying something different and what I am asking for is that we do this once again.

I am asking that these next couple months are not spent as a discouraging countdown towards members of our community being let go. I am asking these next couple of months, or however long it takes, are spent going through every possible alternative. The creativity necessary for innovation is the same creativity necessary for problem solving and that is only

possible through the trust and support of a community. The Manchester University I know would refuse to accept a reality in which community is sacrificed so quickly. So, what I am asking for is a little more time and a little more fight to prevent these staff and faculty firings. I am asking for the sake of who we are now and for the sake of who our community could be because if we do not protect their jobs we will lose every important way they convey what liberal arts means. I am asking for a little more faith in us as students, professors, staff, and alumni to show up and provide for this community. There is more time and there is another way.

Let's pursue it.

**A Letter to President
McFadden, and Manchester
University Board of Trustees
and Administration —
Virginia Rendler**

When I first came to Manchester, and I mean quite literally my first week of classes, I was in Journalism 1 with Katharine Ings. My first assignment was to cover the women's volleyball game and I was terrified. Beyond having a hard time adjusting to living 10 hours from home in a small town knowing no one, I had never written a newspaper article before, much less watched a game of volleyball. I didn't know how to begin, I didn't know how to approach people for interviews, I was basically lost at sea. I got up

the nerve to go into the PERC for the first time, a place I assumed I would never be on campus. It was sweltering in the gym, I had my laptop set up, I was doing my best to write things that people would want to know about a volleyball game. I felt a tap on my shoulder from behind me, and it was President Dave. He was asking for my name because he wanted to tweet a photo of me working on my article. I told him, and he did tweet it. The photo was on the campus TV's where social media posts are shown, I retweeted it, I sent it to my mom. I felt so special. It was the first time I felt like I was going to be okay at Manchester, I felt like I was going to excel here. I was the one who had been noticed by the President, he tweeted about me. It even made me think about a journalism major for a while. Manchester, I thought, was the first place I'd been that stood behind their values. When they talked about respecting every individual, I had thought those were just empty words. But when I was recognized for doing something that was new and difficult for me, I began to think that their mission meant something. I don't think anyone (except for my mom, probably) knew how much that meant to me, how it made me feel okay.



Journalism didn't end up being something that was what I was meant to do in college. I knew I was meant to be a part of the Peace Studies program, and it brought me so much of my identity. I didn't know what people meant, really, about finding themselves in college, because I knew from the beginning that I was a Peace Studies major. It wasn't some amazing revelation, it was just who I was. I have written blogs for Manchester's social media about the amazing experiences that Peace Studies has afforded to me, and how I have developed as a person because of it. Honestly, I knew who I was and what I wanted to do.

And then I took a Philosophy class with Seth Mayer.

I had an interest in Philosophy before. I had taken Ethical Decision Making my first year, and I loved studying those theories. I didn't even really understand that this was a possibility for me, though, because I saw Philosophy as inaccessible and undefinable. In the midst of my second Philosophy course, 19th Century

Western Philosophy, after our first test, I immediately added a second major. It was like the world split open, and I know how lame that sounds. The way things connected, studying the ways people have thought and developed, made me feel like all of history was lying at my feet. In conversation, I began to notice theories that we studied in the phrases my friends said. I began to see the things we covered in that class show up in almost all of my other courses. I started thinking about things in a way that I never had before. It was quite literally like finding what I was meant for. I have always been good at school, not particularly excellent at any subject, but good enough at school as a whole. I thought of learning as a stage of life that ends when you get your 'real job'. But Philosophy isn't like that. It expands into every aspect of my relationships, my education, the ways I relate to the world.

I don't mean to paint myself as some philosophical protégé. Philosophy is hard. I struggle all the time, and if you asked me a specific question right now about some philosopher I guarantee you I wouldn't know the answer. But if you asked me to point to where Philosophy is relevant in my life, I wouldn't be able to stop talking.

Imagine if, in your junior year of college, you found it. You found something that maybe wouldn't be your career, but was something that made you excited

to go to class. Excited to learn and to do your readings and to participate in discussion. Something that motivated you beyond a grade. Then, imagine, later that year, that program is determined to be unnecessary for institutional vitality. That one thing that has shaped you in such a formative time of your life has been declared publicly irrelevant and not worth fighting for. I know that no one is saying that, but it's what I hear every time someone talks about institutional vitality. The thing that I love most, the biggest academic gift that this college has given me is not a priority. What will a degree in Philosophy from Manchester mean in a few years? Will it mean anything? How will I explain to someone that this long dead program was what made me who I am?

I feel this immanent, physical dread when I think about students who won't have the opportunity to experience the things that I have in this program. I thought I was just beginning, my course load for next semester is absolutely laden with upper level Philosophy courses that I am so excited for. I thought this was the start of a journey for me where I would discover the intersection of human rights and Philosophy, where I could develop my foundational worldview, something I knew I was supposed to do at this time in my life. I feel like I was just picking up speed, just about to run into something amazing, and someone threw a

roadblock in my way. That roadblock says “This place that you love, this place that has given you everything you have, is in the way. It is in the way of us meeting our financial goals and we do not know what this program has done for you, we do not care what this program has done for you. The numbers matter to us.”

People talk a lot about having the rug pulled out from under you, and I think that has happened to all of us at some point this year. And now we are left, lying on the floor with the wind knocked out of us, trying to recover that feeling we had when we were standing safely. If there are more Philosophy majors today, I have no doubt that it is because of the leadership of Seth and others that care passionately about this program.

If you had told me, when I first came to Manchester, that I would have this visceral feeling that the numbers take precedent over the individual students, I would have laughed in your face. Not in this place, I would have said. Not here! I know this place, I know it because I am it. This is not the same as any other institution. Now? Now I’m not so sure.

Last year I would have, without a doubt, recommended Manchester to any and every person. I think I wrote a blog about that for the social media

page as well, how formative, caring, respectful, and thoughtful Manchester is. Can I, in good faith, recommend an institution that has made me feel as Manchester has over these past few months? Tossed aside in favor of retention rates? I would have never thought about leaving this place before these incidents. A few of my very best friends transferred out of Manchester over the years, and their leaving felt like a personal betrayal. How could they abandon some place so amazing, a place that meant so much to me? Now, it feels like a betrayal in a different way. The intense focus on retention and recruitment has made me bitter towards people who have left, and has made me feel like I have to rank the programs that I love with every fibre of myself. I hate this year for making me feel that way. I hate the things that this year has done to my Manchester family, torn it apart and robbed me of the things that made this place special.

I am the third generation in my family to come to Manchester, and before this year, I could see that legacy continuing. I could have seen myself teaching children about Philosophy and encouraging them to come to Manchester and meet people like Seth, and Steve, and Katy, and Jonathan, and hoping that their worldview would be built by

incredible and compassionate people like mine was. Can I now, an individual whose ethics have been shaped by this very program, tell people that it’s worth it? Can I still try to convince my friends to stay here, give this place another chance? I don’t know if I can. I know what this institution has given me, and I know that it is not thanks to the administration. I know that it is because of the faculty that commute for hours, uproot their families, spend countless minutes with students in their offices, that make Manchester what it is. The thought of those things being slashed in favor of budgetary recommendations sickens me.

And I truly don’t have an alternative. I understand the necessity and the difficulty of trying to maintain a successful institution, and I would never claim to be an expert on how to run one. But I know, from the way people feel, that this is fundamentally wrong. This is not how things should be done. I, as a tuition paying student, should not be made to feel this way. And the people I look up to the most should not be clamoring to save my college experience because it has been put into jeopardy by disjointed communication, reckless decision making, and poor priorities. I never wanted to feel this way about this place.

The Unspoken Penalty | Caraline Feairheller '19

In the United States alone, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children have found themselves trapped in a cycle of imprisonment and sexual violence. In an era of mass incarceration, more people are being locked up and losing their freedom. As mass incarceration has led to overcrowding coupled with a lack of oversight, it seems that the government has failed to provide adequate protection for the incarcerated (Bruenig). As a result of these systematic forces, the issue of prison rape has become an epidemic. Policies created in response to the issue have done little to slow its spread. Not only do prisoners face inadequate structural policies, but face a dangerous cultural understanding that prison rape is deserved. If the prison rape epidemic is to be stopped, a complete systematic and cultural reshaping must take place. A failure to do so will leave individuals trapped in a cycle of physical and emotional abuse that

is the most basic violation of their human rights.

On April 1st, 2001 the Human Rights Watch released the groundbreaking report *No Escape: Male Rape in U.S. Prisons*. The report was based on over three years of research gathered by Joanne Mariner through a collection of inmate and prison authority figure surveys and interviews (Mariner 1). The report exposed the widespread occurrence of rape and sexual slavery that were taking place within United States prisons. For the first time, the issue of prison rape was on the public's mind despite the fact that currently and formerly incarcerated individuals had long known and suffered under the sexual abuse (MacFarlane and Lerner-Kinglake). However, the stigma of incarceration had long contributed to the silencing of

incarcerated voices which allowed for this injustice to continue. The report highlighted the reality that marginalized groups in the free-world faced further marginalization and were often targeted within the walls of the correctional facilities ("Rape Crisis in U.S. Prisons"). Of the conclusions drawn, the prison authorities were found to have minimized the prisoner - on - prisoner and were inadequate in handling reports of abuse properly. The stigma of victimization often discourages

inmates from reporting sexual abuse and when combined with inadequate or retaliation authority protection allowed this epidemic to persist. The Human Rights Watch report provided the catalyst needed to give the incarcerated with a voice and get people talking about the issue so that a framework could be created to end this disturbing reality.

The influential work of the Human Rights Watch inspired a conversation among the people and among the politicians. This, in 2003, the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) was unanimously passed by both house of Congress and signed by President George W. Bush (Fellner). PREA was created with the intention of addressing the problem of sexual abuse of persons in the custody of U.S. correction agencies (National PREA Resource Center). Also, the law mandated for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) to conduct surveys of prisoners on sexual abuse (McFarlane and Lerner-Kinglake). This was the first time prison data were collected and analyzed which allowed for a better understanding of the dynamics of prison rape and the role of correctional officers in its spread. The law was also essential in creating a standard definition of prison rape, which it defined as:

the carnal knowledge, oral sodomy, sexual assault with an

object, or sexual fondling of a person, a) forcibly or against that person's will; b) not forcibly or against the person's will, where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his or her youth or his or her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity; or c) achieved through the exploitation of the fear or threat of physical violence or bodily injury (Neal and Clements 5).

The implementation of this law called by an analysis on the issue and a proposal of standards to be created with the intention of ending prison rape. While the unanimous support for the law quickly led to its creation, the actual creation of standards and implementation took another nine years before they were officially written. In 2012, the Justice Department released their final ruling, which set national standards for protecting inmates against assault ("US: New Prison Rape Standards"). The standards revolved around three main goals: prevention, detection, and responding to sexual abuse ("Justice Department"). The standards around prevention involved creating zero-tolerance sexual abuse policies, training employees to recognize and respond to abuse, and restricted the use of solitary confinement as a means of protection (Department of Justice). The standards for detection involved informing inmates on how they can report abuse and allowed for third parties to report the abuse ("Justice Department"). The

responding standards required mental and health care for victims and for inmates to have to opportunity to file grievances ("Justice Department"). The creation of the standards was hailed by politicians and organizations alike as it provided them a way to hold correctional facilities accountable. The creation of PREA created an unprecedented number of tools and resources for the issue of prison rape to be studied and addressed, however the slow-moving implementation process combined with a lack of strict enforcement has allowed for the reality of prison rape to persist and for its far reaching consequences to shape the lives of former, current, and future of people in incarceration.

The vulnerabilities marginalized groups, such as LGBTQ persons, the mentally ill, or the disabled, face in the free world are amplified within correctional facilities. Oftentimes, marginalized groups face higher rates of criminalization which places them in the hands of an institution that has historically failed to protect them, leading to higher rates of victimization. Of

these vulnerable groups, it has been transgender inmates who have faced series trauma within these correctional facilities. Despite the current administration's challenges to the Department of Justice (DOJ) policies, under PREA transgender prisoners are to be assigned to facilities on a case-by-case basis

where safety is the priority (Schwartzapfel). However, a majority of transgender prisoners are housed according to their gender at birth, which places them in serious danger as transgender prisoners are more than eight times as likely to be sexually assaulted in prison than their peers (Schwartzapfel). The criminal justice system recognizes that transgender and gender-non conforming prisoners face an increased risk and PREA standards have created trans-specific policies to eliminate the accounts of sexual assault. However, the failure of institutions to fully comply to the standards of PREA is a direct result of the policies weakness. States that decline to comply with PREA, such as Utah, only face a 5% loss of prison funding. So, in a state like Texas a 5% penalty is only \$810,996 of their multi-million-dollar budget (Gilna). There is the issue of auditors granting a pass to correctional facilities clearly in violation of the transgender housing standards (Schwartzapfel). While PREA has set a series of standards for correctional institutions to meet in order to reduce the occurrence of prison rape, the lack of enforcement and effective sanctions has only allowed for the most vulnerable to face repeated sexual abuse.

In examining the issue of prison rape culture, it is important to understand the culture of victimization that exists



within the prison walls and how it is shaped through power dynamics and is normalized. Prison culture is shaped by the characteristics inmates bring into the prison, the isolated society, and the policies and practices of the prison itself ("Understanding Rape in Prison"). So, the prison view on sexual assault is different than that on the outside. When researchers examine the components of prison rape culture, they often found that in male prison, rape is used as a tool of social control. Those who are victimized are seen as weak which perpetuates the notion of a victim-blaming philosophy. Also, the incarcerated face a fear of assault both from fellow inmates and prison staff. In male prisons, 1/5 of the victims were victimized by prison staff and these attacks are under-reported as prison culture has a negative view on reporting and there is a fear of retaliation ("Understanding Rape in Prison"). Prison survivors of sexual assault are also detained with their abuser, constantly exposing them to the traumas of the attack. As the perpetuates of prison rape rarely face consequences, the victims of the attacks are left with physical and mental traumas. Physically, they may be injured through cuts and bruises and face higher rates of acquiring a sexually transmitted disease (Neal and Clements 10). The stigma of sexual assault combined with the stigma of an STD is a serious barrier to inmates receiving treatment

which puts them at serious health risks and they may unknowingly spread it to future partners (Bruenig). Psychological, the consequences are long-lasting and can lead to higher risks for depression or symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Neal and Clements 11). This trauma has been found to inhibit an individual's ability to reintegrate into society (Bruenig). The reality of a prison rape culture is far reaching and have dangerous physical and emotional consequences.

The language of the free-worlds popular culture contributed to the normalization of a prison-rape culture. The "joke" of "don't drop the soap" has been echoed across school hallways and movie screens. The popularity of prison jokes is one way in which the epidemic of prison sexual assault is minimized (Thrasher). The widespread use of prison jokes exists as the culture laughs at the thought of bad people getting what is deserved. This notion that prisoners deserve it because of their location normalizes the notion that rape is a punishment and a punishment that has a right to exist in this world. Also, prison rape is exploited by the media as a tool of inducing fear in the public (Bruenig). Using the potential of rape as a deterrent to committing crimes is another effective way to minimize the epidemic that is occurring within correctional facilities

across the United States. The popular United States culture shapes the culture that exists within correctional facilities, and the failure to recognize this relationship has allowed for prisoner sexual exploitation to continue.

Almost ten years ago, Tarana Burke started the Me Too movement in hopes of spreading awareness of sexual assault and to give a voice to the survivors. In recent times the United States has seen a cultural shift, as a result of this movement, as survivors from all over are speaking out about their abuse. For the first time abusers, such as Bill Cosby, are facing the consequences. However, in the era of Me Too the voices of prison sexual assault survivors are still being left out. The persistent belief that prisoners deserve their abuse is still shaping the experiences of prisoners, allowing this epidemic to continue (Yurcaba). If the Me Too movement is to continue its work of reshaping the cultural narrative, it must challenge the notion that prisoners deserve what happens to them. The work required to provide prisoners with an avenue to speak about their abuse will not only require a cultural shift, but a systematic shift on how prison facilities function. This work is being done by groups such as Just Detention International or the American Civil Liberties Union. Just Detention International was founded in 1980 by a former prisoner and victim of prison

sexual assault (Just Detention International). Since its creation, JDI has been the only organization in the world to hold governments accountable and provide prisoners with services necessary to heal from their trauma. Other solutions offered by these organizations involve expanding the enforcement policies of PREA. The policies outlined in PREA are essential to addressing correctional facilities accountable, however there is little dedicated to enforcing these policies. The systematic and cultural shift required to end prison rape will be a time-consuming effort, but it is necessary in order to reduce the suffering an entire people group.

The consequences of prison rape are long-lasting and transcend across society. The creation of the Prison Rape Elimination Act was an incredible first step in addressing this epidemic, however without proper enforcement that act will remain useless. The survivors of sexual abuse face serious consequences and stigma both in and outside the correctional facilities walls. A failure to recognize the multi-faceted consequences that come from sexual assault will result in the failure of a society to truly address the issues entailed with rape culture. For decades' academics and activists alike have been researching and providing a voice to the voiceless, however a complete systematic and cultural shift is needed in order to

adequately eliminate the occurrence of prison rape.

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Presidential War powers in the Global War on Terror; An Analysis of the Corker-Kaine Draft Authorization for the Use of Military Force | Zander Willoughby '18



Introduction

The United States military is the largest fighting force the world has ever seen. It has the ability to fight multiple wars at once on multiple continents. A standing army of this nature is a relatively new phenomenon in American history and would be unrecognizable to the framers of the constitution who envisioned an army raised to match a perceived threat level and wane in times of peace. This was the case for the first 150 years of American history before World War II. The framers also intended for the Congress to own the American Armed Forces and to be controlled by the President with the consent of the American people via the Congress. This was also the case for much of American history, before World War II. Presidential war powers have evolved away from the

original cadre, putting more control of the largest fighting force the world has ever seen into the hands of one person.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the evolution of American war powers in the post-9/11 War on Terror and Authorizations for the Use of Military Force. In order to explore this evolution, it is necessary to understand the sources of presidential war powers, starting with the president's constitutional war powers, then the War Powers Resolution of 1973, and, lastly, authorizations for the use of military force, starting with the 2001 AUMF 104-40 "To Authorize The Use Of United States Armed Forces Against Those Responsible For The Recent Attacks Launched Against The United States," and concluding with an analysis of the 2018 Corker-Kaine proposed AUMF "To Authorize The Use Of Military Force Against The Taliban, Al Qaeda, The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, and Designated Associated Forces, and to Provide an Updated, Transparent, and Sustainable Statutory Basis for Counterterrorism Operations."

The Global War on Terror post-9/11

Since the attacks on the World Trade Center buildings on September 11, 2001, the United States has launched wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria as well as carried out military operations in various other countries around the world. Per the Encyclopædia Britannica "The war on terrorism was a multidimensional campaign of almost limitless scope. Its military dimension involved major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military-assistance programs for cooperative regimes, and major increases in military spending." The attacks of September 11, 2001 represent a turning point in global terrorism. From 1970 to September 10, 2011, the top four attacked countries and territories were Colombia, Peru, El Salvador, and Northern Ireland. After the 9/11 attacks until 2008, the top four were Iraq, India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan with 25.8% of terrorist attacks being in Iraq.

The result has been somewhere between 181,437 and 203,539 documented civilian deaths from violence in Iraq from 2003-2018, an estimated 405,000 excess deaths attributable to U.S.

involvement in the war from 2003-2011, and the death of approximately 3,642 Americans killed by al-Qaeda from 2002-2016. The Iraq War had an estimated cost of \$1.7 trillion with \$490 billion in additional benefits owed to war veterans estimates have shown that this number could grow upwards of \$6 trillion in the next four decades when taking interest into account. The War in Afghanistan, a war which is still ongoing, has seen \$826.7 Billion in cumulative direct war appropriations for Department of Defense and State Department/USAID; the estimated total cost is roughly \$2 trillion. The War on Terror has been widespread. It has no geographic limitations and no end in sight. The number of terrorism-related incidents has risen significantly since the turn of the 21st century with 933 terrorism-related incidents in the world in 1998 to its 2014 peak at 16,860. Fatalities due to terrorism-related attacks have also significantly increased, especially since 2012. These indicate that the War on Terror has not reduced terrorism, but rather led to its proliferation.

In this global war with no end in sight, the U.S. Congress has not issued a declaration of war against any state. There have been no meaningful congressional debates over U.S. involvement in the War on Terror, much less U.S. leadership in this war. The nation was shocked by the deaths of four U.S. soldiers in Niger, a country

considered to be “strategically important in the war on terror” to U.S. officials while most Americans can’t pronounce its name, much less place on a map. In reality, the Obama Administration deployed 100 military personnel to Niger in 2013; now, there are around 800 in the country. In previous eras, there would have been widespread public resistance to U.S. military presence in countries outside the scope of American wars (e.g. Cambodia during the Vietnam War). Far from the intention of the Framers of the Constitution, this war is increasingly in the hands of one person, the President of the United States of America.

Evolution to the Status Quo; AUMF post-9/11

The first major codification of presidential war powers overreach was seen in the War Powers Resolution of 1973 which was intended to be a check on presidential war powers but, in reality, ceded the control of the military from the Congress to the President. Additionally, the Congress has historically given the President authorization for the use of military force in cases outside of declared wars. Historically, these authorizations have been for specific circumstances with limitations starting from an authorization for the use of military force in 1798 to John Adams against French piracy. Since the 2001 Authorization for the Use of

Military Force which authorized the use of force against the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks which led to the proliferation of unprecedented presidential war powers overreach which has opened a new chapter in American presidential war powers. Senators Bob Corker and Tim Kaine introduced a draft Authorization for the Use of Military Force on April 16, 2018 which purports to remedy the misgivings of the 2001 AUMF and give the proper legal authority for the United States’ current military activities in the Global War on Terror. Various legal scholars have argued that the Corker-Kaine Proposed AUMF is more of a codification of the status quo than a remedy to presidential war powers overreach.

A Commitment to the Global War on Terror; The 2001 AUMF 107-40

The week after the 9/11 attacks, Congress drafted an authorization for the use of military force which would fundamentally change the nature of American warfare for the past 17 years and into the foreseeable future. The 2001 AUMF 107-40 “To Authorize The Use Of United States Armed Forces Against Those Responsible For The Recent Attacks Launched Against The United States,” handed the President a blank check for war. §2, which constitutes essentially the entirety of the AUMF states:

IN GENERAL - That the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or person.

Although §2.b.2. says, “Nothing in this resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution,” the 2001 AUMF gives the President the express written consent of the Congress to make war against anyone who they determine planned, authorized, committed, or aided the attacks with no legal framework for the classification of associated forces, i.e. those who the administration considers to fall under the 2001 AUMF. This has become especially problematic in the case of the Islamic State (IS) and its conglomeration of non-state actors who have declared allegiance to IS. If IS falls under the 2001 AUMF, does the 2001 AUMF authorize the use of military force against Boko Haram in Nigeria? Or Ansar al-Khilafah in Brazil? Or Profetens Ummah in Norway? Any such claims by the Bush, Obama, or Trump administrations have not been made public and have assuredly

not had public debates on the floor of the Senate.

Attempts at replacement; Obama, Corker, and Kaine

The Obama Administration proposed a new AUMF in February of 2015 which would replace the 2002 AUMF against Iraq in favor of an AUMF which would authorize the President to use force against the Islamic State (Then ISIL). President Barack Obama stated:

Although my proposed AUMF does not address the 2001 AUMF, I remain committed to working with the Congress and the American people to refine, and ultimately repeal, the 2001 AUMF. Enacting an AUMF that is specific to the threat posed by ISIL could serve as a model for how we can work together to tailor the authorities granted by the 2001 AUMF.

Even Obama, who enjoyed the privileges of being able to kill anyone anywhere under the auspices of the 2001 AUMF, argued against its designation of absolute power. Seventeen years after the passage of the 2001 AUMF, it is still in effect. Senators Bob Corker and Tim Kaine have introduced a draft Authorization for the Use of Military Force which purports to remedy the misgivings of the 2001 AUMF and give the proper legal authority for the United States’ current military activities in the Global War on Terror.

Analysis of Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF

The Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF was introduced on April 16, 2018 and, at the time of writing, is currently being considered by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF seeks to, “To authorize the use of military force against the Taliban, al Qaeda, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, and designated associated forces, and to provide an updated, transparent, and sustainable statutory basis for counterterrorism operations.” The draft AUMF offers continuing authority from the 2001 AUMF which it would repeal with the 2002 AUMF. It would further address many of the problems created by the 2001 AUMF, but also codifies many.

Sunset Clause; Quadrennial Review

One of the biggest issues with the 2001 and 2002 AUMFs, as cited by President Obama, was the lack of a sunset, or end date. If Congress never repeals the 2001 AUMF, the President’s unchecked war powers will continue indefinitely. §4 of the draft AUMF calls for the “Quadrennial review of the authorization for use of military force,” that is, Congress shall entitle a “qualifying resolution to repeal or modify this joint resolution” through a fast-tracked procedure. This is definitely an improvement on the status quo, especially because this would mean that the AUMF on

which the Global War on Terror is based would have to be debated and approved by both chambers of Congress and signed by the President. However, this is also indicative of a mentality that the end of the Global War on Terror is nowhere near.

Geography & Associated Forces; A Designation Framework

The Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF authorizes the use of military force against al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Islamic State, and names five associated forces: al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al-Shabaab, al-Qaeda in Syria (including Nusra Front), the Haqqani Network, and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). §8 defines associated forces as:

§8.2. | [T]he term associated forces means any organization, person, or force, other than a sovereign nation, that the President determines has entered the fight alongside and is a co-belligerent with al Qaeda, the Taliban, or ISIS, in hostilities against the United States or its coalition partners, or that has been a part of al Qaeda, the Taliban, ISIS, or an associated force designated pursuant to this authorization and is engaged in hostilities against the United States or its coalition partners;

This is not only a codification of the status quo regarding associated forces, but codifies a broad definition of associated forces which includes successor forces with a

requirement that the group still be engaged in hostilities against the United States. The draft AUMF further provides a framework for designating associated forces which is laid out in §5.A.2-3. §2 essentially gives the Executive Branch the ability to submit any associated forces the draft AUMF may have missed to Congress. §3 lays out a framework for adding additional associated force in the future. Bobby Chesney, Professor of Law at the University of Texas Law School says:

[A]s things currently stand there is no requirement for the public to be told when new groups are so designated. To be sure, the public sometimes is told, but nothing in current law requires this, and the track record involves much less clarity than one might like. For a considerable time, even Congress apparently had trouble acquiring this information, though that seems to have changed recently.

Though including associated forces under the 2001 AUMF has been the status quo, this is the first time for Congress to codify a framework for the designation of associated forces outside of habeas cases. A similar framework for geography is laid out in §5.B. for adding new foreign countries aside from Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Yemen, and Libya. The question here is raised by Chesney and Vladeck (2018) rather this framework is preferable to the status quo. Nonetheless, this

framework at least brings the debate to the floor in public view and requires quadrennial review as opposed to authorization ad infinitum.

Conclusions & Recommendations

The Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF is certainly better than the status quo of unfettered use of military force placed in the hands of a single individual. Before arguing the merits of the draft AUMF, it must pass the test for the basic requirements of a legally sound AUMF. Bradley & Goldsmith (2005) offer five analytical components for framing an AUMF:

1. The authorized military resources;
2. The authorized methods of force;
3. The authorized targets;
4. The purpose of the use of force; and
5. The timing and procedural restrictions on the use of force.

The draft AUMF satisfies each of these components, thus passing the test for the basic requirements for a legally strong AUMF. Overall, the draft AUMF is better than the status quo, it addresses many of the issues created by the 2001 AUMF, specifically the lack of transparency for associated forces and geographic limits, congressional oversight of military affairs which has posed a major question of constitutionality, and any sort of sunset for authority. The draft

AUMF also demonstrates Congress's rare willingness to put a check on presidential authorization for the use of military force. However, the Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF is also a codification of many of the problematic aspects of the 2001 AUMF, notably the authorization for the use of military force in the hands of one person, the end of the constitutional conception of war powers, and a continuation of a never ending Global War on Terror which has, thus far, proven to be ineffective.

Faced with a dichotomous choice between the Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF or the status quo, the draft AUMF is an improvement on legal and democratic grounds. However, it is certainly possible to write an AUMF which keeps the positive aspects of the Corker-Kaine Draft AUMF and remains a bipartisan endeavour while also addressing the failing of the post 9/11 status quo. This new draft AUMF should include: at least biannual congressional review for public debate concerning war and the use of military force, requirements for non-military efforts before force may be authorized, civilian and environmental protections, post bellum requirements for building durable peace and stability, required funding for diplomacy contingent on funding for military operations, and local training in nonviolent civil resistance in lieu of arming local rebel groups. There is not much of a political appetite for many of these

recommendations, especially in the contemporary political moment. It is clear that the current approach to the Global War on Terror has not been effective and requires a shift in strategy. In 2013, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan showed that civil resistance movements are more effective than violent ones. Maybe it is time to adopt the more effective strategy for the Global War on Terror.

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From Citizenry to Statelessness: The situation of Haitian immigrants and Haitian Dominicans in the Dominican Republic | Chris Francois



Introduction

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a highly-recognizable document that impacted the global community, guarantees fundamental human rights that must be protected by all peoples of all nations. Yet, what happens when one is stripped of their nationality, becoming stateless? Hannah Arendt, a famous political philosopher of the twentieth century tried to address the issues that arose when one

falls outside the framework of human rights. However, the dire warnings laid out in her works are presently being repeated in the Americas. After generational establishment in the Dominican Republic, persons of Haitian descent have formed families and intermarried with Dominicans, their progeniture having been granted birthright citizenship. In certain cases, the parents of these Dominicans by birthright might have been undocumented. However, in its new constitution promulgated in 2010, the Dominican Republic ended the practice of granting birthright citizenship. The true crisis came in 2013, when the Dominican Republic's highest court suddenly ruled that the new constitution should be applied retroactively, so that anyone born in the country to non-citizen parents since 1929

would no longer be considered a citizen (Minority Rights Group International). Issues of statelessness arise as previous Dominican citizens become deprived of citizenship, not belonging to either of the countries, their rights not respected. The question then becomes: How has racial, cultural and historical bias and discrimination contributed to the creation of stateless people in the Dominican Republic?

My goal for this research was to explore the specific experiences of Dominicans of Haitian descent and the cultural and racial bias that fuels the policies affecting them. In addition to collecting information about the present humanitarian crisis in the Dominican Republic, I also wanted to analyze historical data concerning

Haitian-Dominican relations and how the antihaitianismo (in English, anti-Haitianism) of years past exacerbated the denial of rights to citizens of Haitian-descent. I also learned a lot concerning how these policies could be mirrored in other countries and the devastating effects it could have on larger populations. I was inspired to pursue this topic because as a Haitian citizen, I have noticed the responses of the Haitian government and their inability to deal with the humanitarian crisis as the officials are unable to offer cultural adaptation to those who simply do not know anything about their supposed country. As I did not have much knowledge apart from my observations in-country, I was influenced to explore the situation of those turned stateless by the government they assumed would protect them.

Literature Review and Analysis

Historical Context

In order to understand how bias pervades the denial of citizenship to Dominicans of Haitian descent and influence the ways politicians enact sweeping policies to discriminate against a particular group, one must grasp the historical roots of the antihaitianismo ideology. The current political actions being taken against Haitians in the Dominican Republic have their roots in a long-standing conflict between the two countries ever

since the Dominican Republic's annexation by the Boyer government in Haiti by 1822. Following their annexation by their neighbors, the Dominicans would revolt and gain their independence by 1844 (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004).

Because of the Boyer government's invasion and control of the Dominican Republic before it officially became a country, the residents of the eastern part of the island were doubtful about Haiti's intentions, as can be reflected in the histories of both countries. In Haiti, the country's history of annexation of the Dominican Republic is largely forgotten and what remains is the feeling of threat and the overpowering racism and xenophobia coming from the other side of the island. In Dominicans' cases on the other hand, the rebellion against Haiti marked their first "independence", as Spanish rule would be restored later on during the latter part of the 19th century (Derby, 2012).

Anti-Haitian Sentiment in the Dominican Republic

The vindictive xenophobia demonstrated in modern Dominican politics had not always existed within the country. While the nations' common history plays a large role in its latter development, it was not until the government of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo from 1930 to 1960 that the overt racism became a mainstay of national politics.

Trujillo's anti-haitianismo, as the term was coined, is largely ironic due to the fact his mother was a mulatto Haitian woman (Sanchez, 2008).

They key event was known as the "Parsley Massacre". In 1937, Trujillo's government ordered the slaughter of thousands of Haitians along the border, a gratuitous and bloody massacre of unprecedented scale in the history of the two nations. The army was ordered by Trujillo to kill Haitians who could not produce proof of their Dominican nationality or residency. In 1975, Joaquin Balaguer, the interim Foreign minister at the time, put the death toll at 17,000, with other death tolls and injury counts going as high as 35,000. In Spring 1938, Trujillo ordered another massacre to be perpetrated against Haitians, and this time, the word parsley, in Spanish "perejil", was used to gauge who was Haitian and who wasn't, as the stereotype of the time was that Haitians could not roll the "r." The issue was eventually settled with an indemnity of \$750,000 between Trujillo and the Haitian government (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004).

Furthermore, the fostering of anti-Haitian sentiment is largely defined by racial, cultural and linguistic differences. As the Spanish conquistadors mixed in more frequently with the Native population on the Eastern side and later on the African population, a good portion of

Dominicans have more admixture than Haitians do, making their skin lighter. This is evidenced by the referral of Haitians as "blacks" by Dominicans, and the exclusion of their neighbors from the Latino collective identity as they are viewed as too dark. Furthermore, Spain's colonization of Haiti did not have a lasting impact enough for its language to remain squarely spoken in the country, as was done in the Dominican Republic. This caused a language barrier between Dominicans who spoke Spanish and their neighbors who spoke French and Creole. Finally, the culture in the Dominican Republic is largely more reminiscent of Spanish culture with some African and Native traditions mixed in, whereas in Haiti, the culture has a large African presence, especially because of the practice of voodoo and the fact that the slaves outnumbered their French overlords by more than 10 times the amount. While Santería, a similar practice as voodoo is also present in the Dominican Republic, its cultural impact is not as significant.

After the occurrences of 1937 and 1938, Trujillo's government enacted new policies that were constructed as a means to substantially reduce the number of Haitians living within the country and across the borderlands. A new migration law was passed in 1939 prohibiting Haitians from entering the country except when they were needed as sugar cane workers,

and the government had imposed foreigner quotas for employment on domestic companies. As evidenced by our previous analysis, these policies were the result of a racist ideology of anti-haitianismo harbored by Trujillo and his government (Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004).

Unfortunately, many scholars on Haiti-Dominican Republic relations often paint a dreary portrait of a Haitian 'invasion' of the Dominican Republic, and help establish further anti-Haitian sentiment by inflating the numbers of actual immigrants within the country by including those born to even one Haitian parent, as demonstrated in the book *Five Hundred Thousand Haitians in the Dominican Republic* by André Cortén and Isis Duarte, which includes projections of the numbers of children of Haitian parents within their statistics.



Haitian Migration to the Dominican Republic

After the actions undertaken by Trujillo's government, Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic fell sharply. Furthermore, as access was only restricted to sugar-cane

workers, this effectively prevented a lot of newcomers from coming into the country except through illegal means. From 1929 up until 2014, the Dominican Republic exercised a limited "jus soli" migration policy that did not include illegal immigrants and temporary residents of the Dominican Republic, and as such, by encouraging illegal migration, the government restricted Haitians and their descendants from becoming Dominican citizens. After Trujillo's assassination, future presidents continued his policy of mass deportation and restriction of Haitian migration, especially as friction between Dominican governments and the Duvalier regime were at an all-time high. Yet, at other times, governments such as Joaquín Balaguer's distributed birth certificates to Haitian sugar cane workers in the bateys in order to win their votes (Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004).

Economic Context

One aspect to consider when treating Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic is the fact that both countries are relatively poor, with the Dominican Republic only becoming a developing country in recent years. The land in Haiti is very mountainous with very small percentages of plain areas, which causes the population to seek farming work elsewhere as their land is dry and arid. Observing Haitian migration through this

context, it can be assumed that they are primarily economic migrants in search of a better life. During the 19th and 20th century, there was a boom in the sugar cane industry in the Caribbean, which subsequently required hands to harvest and refine cane sugar (Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004). Therefore, Haitians were responding both to a need but also to a demand, as they not only migrated to the Dominican Republic but to other countries such as Cuba for work. In recent years, a lot of people cross the border every day to sell their wares and products in the Dominican Republic and buy Dominican products as well to bring back and sell home. Others work in this neighboring nation and come back home at the end of the day. Furthermore, as Haiti's state university only has about 6,000 seats total, young students who want an opportunity to study at the higher educational level without being able to afford the few reputable private universities in the country must cross the border to gain education (Delice G., personal communication, October 17, 2018).

Who is Haitian in the Dominican Republic?

Up until 2014, there was no clear rule defining who exactly was considered to be Haitian in the Dominican Republic. Ideologies have tended to lump together the children of immigrants born on the soil, the

so-called second and third generations to their first-generation immigrant parents, in a social category defined as "los haitianos" (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004). Furthermore, due to discriminatory practices based on skin color, anyone who has a deep complexion is often considered to be Haitian, regardless of their actual ancestry. The assumptions and stereotypes in the Dominican Republic portray children of Haitian immigrants as unassimilated to the society and therefore, illegal or foreign. Yet, research shows that the children of Haitians are assimilating at a faster rate than children of other immigrants. Furthermore, a significant number of adult Haitiano-Dominicans have acquired Dominican citizenship or have proof establishing their status in the country. Other studies show that Haitian-Dominicans mostly live in cities and have gainful employment that is no different than other social classes in the country (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004).

Yet, the issue arises when a particular population is targeted by discriminatory policies by the government that was supposed to protect them. The Dominican government has accepted people of various other multi-ethnic backgrounds such as Jewish, Chinese, Middle Eastern and Spanish, yet this courtesy is not extended to people who are also their own citizens. People in the

Dominican Republic often equate Haitians with illegality and lack of documents, yet according to newspapers published in the country in 2003, government officials reported that about a quarter of the Dominican population lacked a birth certificate (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004).

The Creation of Statelessness in the Dominican Republic

The previous Dominican constitution incorporated the right of "jus soli" for citizenship, with an in-transit exception clause that should apply to sailors, diplomats and short-term visitors. Yet the term is equivocally ambiguous. The JCE, the national entity responsible for issuing birth certificates to children have systematically refused to issue them to children of assumed Haitian parents, whose origin is determined on the basis of their name, skin color, or Spanish accent (Alarcon, 2016).

This discrimination has been defended in court by the JCE and its lawyers, who have constantly argued that jus soli does not include the children of illegals. Yet, the policy only applies to the child, not to the parents (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004). This discrimination has been enshrined into law by the country's newly promulgated constitution in 2014 which included a new provision excluding the children of illegal immigrants and established a

constitutional court, the latter which ruled that people who could not prove their parents were legal residents up until 1929 were no longer considered citizens. International outcry ensued and to provide relief, the government provided a special naturalization clause that leaves open the option for people to register as foreigners if they were affected by the constitutional ruling (Tamkin, 2018). Yet, this process was slow and cumbersome. According to the International Organization for Migration, close to 80,000 people have been deported over a span of three years, stretching from 2015 to 2018. Furthermore, thousands more have fled their homes in fear of deportation or being killed, as some of the populations were terrorized by the military and children were beaten.

Stripping away people's citizenship and making them stateless is a violation of human rights law. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights effectively ruled against the Dominican decision, but in retaliation, the government ultimately pulled out of the treaty establishing the court. The issue is also clearly a violation of UN treaties and the Declaration of Human Rights, and as often repeated by Hannah Arendt, people have the right to have rights, and excluding them from the political and national community impedes their exercise of their rights. The Dominican government has argued that since the Haitian state has a policy of *jus sanguini*, the deported can go

and ask for a birth certificate in Haiti. However, this is not true. Former President Michel Martelly's prime minister declared via twitter that "The Haitian State does not receive persons at risk of statelessness" (Ariza, 2016).

Through their use of xenophobic and admittedly-targeted policies against whoever they consider to be Haitians, the Dominican government has effectively created one of the largest stateless populations in the Western Hemisphere. Unfortunately, the condemnations from multiple NGOs and the United Nations have only mildly prevented the official deportations but do nothing to address the violence endured by those fleeing the Dominican Republic. Some aggressors in the Dominican cities have even threatened a repeat of the Parsley Massacre (Vox, 2017). By having political representatives fuel a noxious and degrading policy, extremists are empowered to perpetrate violence against vulnerable, now-stateless populations. Hence, considering these various aspects, I have provided potential solutions that could be considered by the international community to protect those whose rights were inhumanely violated by their own government.

Conclusions and Potential Solutions

While the international community cannot infringe on the

sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, considering the government's failure to protect part of its population, one measure that can be taken is advocating for a rollback of the constitutional court's retroactive decision on citizenship. The country has the right to switch from a *jus soli* perspective to a *jus sanguini* perspective, but the retroactive application violates international human rights law. The 1961 UN Convention on Statelessness requires the Dominican Republic to have put in place safeguards that prevent people from being stateless at birth or later in life, and by making large swaths of its population stateless, they have violated their commitment to the Convention. This in part due to the fact that a large proportion of Haitian-Dominicans who were legal citizens were affected as they could not prove their parents' residency. Yet, the most important provision of the convention establishes that children are to acquire the nationality of the country in which they are born if they do not acquire any other nationality and considering the fact that the Haitian-Dominican children did not acquire Haitian citizenship, the Dominican Republic further violated their party to the convention.

Another aspect of the Convention requires parties provides the right to identity, travel documents and employment to stateless persons.

Haiti recently became a signatory to the 1961 Convention and as such, is party to its rules and established procedures. As there is now a sizable amount of stateless people residing at the border, the Haitian government should provide travel documents and opportunity for employment to those stateless now residing within its territory. Because those former Dominican citizens deported might not have proof of their parents' Haitian ancestry, they may not be able to claim citizenship in the country and thus, were made stateless by the Dominican Republic due to a lack of documents. Considering the fact that Haiti did not have responsibility over the child if their parents did not seek citizenship for them, or had proper documents, they are not obliged to grant citizenship to the stateless but must, following the Convention's rules, grant certain inalienable rights to the stateless population.

My third and final potential solution is for the international community to increase pressure on the Dominican Republic so as to stop their current path to making more people stateless. Reiterating the respect for countries' sovereignty, it is still important for the global community to make sure that peoples' rights are not being infringed upon by their governments, and if possible, help them. One possible way is by inflicting economic sanctions, and while this would hurt the

Dominican Republic's economy, it is within the right of nations to decide their trade policies.

The Dominican Republic's approach to citizenship and its subsequent creation of statelessness for large swaths of its population are a dire forewarning of what may happen in other American or European countries. While domestic policy varies from country to country, the effects of nativism and anti-immigrant rhetoric can be the same everywhere. Other countries in the Americas are trying to replicate the Dominican Republic's policy as a model, but one aspect that is not fully understood is the loss of workers in the bateys and in other aspects of public life in the Dominican Republic. While the country's economy is still growing, there has been a recent slump due to the outflow of workers. My hope is that the Dominican Republic serves as a guide to countries on the consequences of xenophobic and anti-immigrant policies.

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