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Call for Papers

The *Notre Dame Journal of Political Science* will soon be soliciting papers from Notre Dame undergraduates! If you are proud of a paper from one of your classes or seminars, research projects, or even independent study, please submit it via the submission instructions which will be released in the Spring of 2025. Excerpts or drafts from in-progress senior theses are also welcome, and you may submit multiple papers if desired. Selected papers will be edited in collaboration with a team of Notre Dame students and published in a scholarly volume by the end of the Spring semester. This is a perfect opportunity to add a publication to your resume, and it is exclusive to Notre Dame students.

Letter from the Co-Editors

Dear Readers,

We are excited to share the Fall 2024 edition of the *Notre Dame Journal of Political Science*. Since beginning this position in late Spring 2024, we could not have wished for a smoother transition into a new year of *Beyond Politics*. This semester's edition of the *Journal* is only possible because of the tremendous *Beyond Politics* staff for whom we are immensely grateful. These include the Content Editors and Reviewers who selected and revised the fantastic articles in this edition, the Digital Editors who manage and update our website with the most recent *Beyond Politics* publications, and our Marketing Editor who has compiled the six published articles and designed this electronic edition. We look forward to the *Journal*'s continued success because of the dedication of these individuals.

In this edition of the *Journal*, we are fortunate to have received numerous outstanding submissions that showcase the breadth of the political science field. The selected publications include topics that consider the possible avenues to protect holy sites in Jerusalem, how federalism and the separation of powers guarantee personal liberties, the connection between McDonald's and international peace, the interconnected causes of the Russo-Turkish wars, the impact of campaign finance in contemporary parliamentary elections in India, and the multifaceted social factors that precipitated the Soweto Uprising.

This *Journal* is again only feasible because of our tireless staff. A special thanks also to our faculty advisor, Dr. Angela McCarthy, whose insights, guidance, and support have been invaluable for the success of both *Journal* and *Beyond Politics* more broadly. On behalf of everyone from the *Notre Dame Journal of Political Science*, we hope that you enjoy the Fall 2024 edition.

Zachary Geiger and Marko Gural
Co-Editors-in-Chief

Contents

Changing the Attitude: Catholic Peacebuilding and the Holy Sites

Cecilia Farrell

Although Israeli-Palestinian tensions have been present for almost one hundred years, recent escalations of conflict in this territory have brought the interconnectedness of sovereignty and the control of holy sites to light. Interstate disputes have increased tensions between the three main religions of the Holy Land—Judaism, Islam, and Christianity—impacting worship and the historical importance of venerating holy places. The current Status Quo, although intended to be a dynamic doctrine for determining possession of holy sites, fails to uphold a just peace between entities due to an unstable Israeli government in conflict with the Palestinian authority. Because holy sites have been an object of power and political struggle since the time of the Crusades, the question of who has control of them cannot be unattached from the issue of sovereignty. The Catholic Church has long called for an internationalization, via a neutral third party control, of Jerusalem and the holy places. However, due to violent conflict concerning sovereignty, third party control is not feasible in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, the UN and Catholic Church continually assert the need for international governance of holy places. In the meantime, the attitude toward the holy sites must focus on the religious significance through interreligious and ecumenical efforts.

Holy places provide a physical location to support all faith journeys, regardless of religion, both figuratively and literally. A sacred place—a church, cemetery, and even a whole city—is a place where the human and divine intersect: a way for one to encounter beliefs in a tangible way. Jerusalem is considered sacred for Abrahamic religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Maimonides, a Jewish philosopher, sets Jerusalem apart from the rest of the Land of Israel due to its unique holiness. Christians see Jerusalem as *Omphalos*, or the center of the world. Muslims physically turn in meditation and face their graves towards Jerusalem, towards "the sacred house," and the beginning of Muhammad's preaching. The idea of Jerusalem as a sacred place is honored by all three of these Abrahamic religions and has many theological and political implications.

Although a sacred space is intended to be centered around ideals of religious sanctity, secular forces have shifted the attitude. The ability of a person or group to "possess" a holy place has resulted in significant political power struggles. Rather than being a place respected for its encounter with God, holy places have become something to control. The competition, and the threat this poses, has increased the prestige.[1] The increased significance over time due to politicization requires change in legal matters involving the Status Quo, as well as an increase in negotiations between religious entities.

Understanding the dynamic realms of politics, law, and religious significance are vital to comprehending the control of holy sites. Jerusalem has long been a source of international debate. Ruled by the Ottomans for 400 years, it was taken over when Palestine was conquered during World War I by General Edmund Allenby in 1917, which established the British Mandate for Palestine. The presence of hostility between Jews and Arabs began when the British promised Jerusalem to both groups. When the British Mandate ended in 1948, war resulted and Jerusalem was split into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (east) and the Jewish State of Israel (west). This continued until the Six-Day War in 1967, when Israel took complete control of Jerusalem and several other areas including Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, and

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[1] Marshall Breger and Leonard Hammer, "What Is the Definition of a Holy Place?" In *The Contest and Control of Jerusalem's Holy Sites: A Historical Guide to Legality, Status, and Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 14-21, doi:10.1017/9781108886420.004.

the West Bank.[2] By "taking control," Israel put Jerusalem under administration of the Jerusalem Municipality, which violated international law and flagged the attention of the UN and other international entities. The UN Security Council declared this acquisition invalid and called for a withdrawal of forces, yet Israel continued to governmentalize East Jerusalem. The UN Resolution 478 outlines that "all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the Occupying Power, which have altered or purport to alter the character and the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and in particular, the recent 'basic law' on Jerusalem, are null and void." The United Nations, along with most member nations, continue to recognize East Jerusalem as Palestinian territory.

Because the jurisdiction of the Old City is debated due to Israeli-Palestinian conflicts over occupation and control, international law is often ignored in this region. This neglect of international law impacts the sites themselves. Currently, legal control and access to holy sites are based on a 19th century Ottoman decree, which has come to be known as the Status Quo Agreement. The 1852 firman began as a division of powers between Christian denominations over sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In 1878, the agreement was recognized in the Treaty of Berlin and extended to all holy sites, not just Christian ones.[3] Although an intricate legal system developed for over one hundred and fifty years, it has been heavily influenced and changed due to power relations, demographic realities, sociological changes, and competition between groups.[4]

The Status Quo helps to maintain harmony between the three monotheistic religions over shared religious sites. It covers various rights, obligations, and components including visiting hours, number of visits, areas open for visitation, rules of conduct, control over excavations and maintenance, the number and time of religious rituals and prayer, rules regarding dress, its religious significance, and security protocol. Religious communities involved must consent to any change that occurs to these procedures.[5] This legal system is unique in that it applies to whomever exercises jurisdiction over Jerusalem—it remains constant as leadership changes. Considered to be international law, it overrides all domestic law. The 1994 Conciliation Commission for Palestine outlines all sites protected and if any communities are in exclusive possession of sites.[6]

Currently, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to be the site of the crucifixion and tomb of Jesus Christ, is owned, and not just operated by, the Greek Orthodox, Latin Franciscans, and Armenian Orthodox. The true testament to the workings of the Status Quo are the operations themselves: the coordination of liturgies, along with its grievances and developments. Having "ownership" of the holy places has diminished the spirituality behind them. Instead, it evolved into a business affair, one that has led to violence over rights and possession. In 1917, the perceived threat of one community's desire to drive another out resulted in episodes of reactive violence. Apart from formal mediation, no changes were made to the Status Quo or the structure of the relations between the

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[2] Mounir Marjieh, "Jerusalem's Status Quo Agreement: History and Challenges to Its Viability." *Arab Center Washington DC*, June 7, 2022, arabcenterdc.org/resource/jerusalems-status-quo-agreement-history-and-challenges-to-its-viability/#:~:text=The%20most%20important%20of%20these,known%20as%20the%20Status%20Quo.

[3] Marjieh, "Jerusalem's Status Quo Agreement."

[4] Breger and Hammer, "What Is the Definition of a Holy Place?" 14-21.

[5] Marjieh, "Jerusalem's Status Quo Agreement."

[6] "The Historic 'Status Quo' Agreement in Jerusalem and the Israeli Occupation - In Light of Israel's Attempt to Impose Municipal Taxes on Church Property," Embassy of the State of Palestine: The General Delegation of Palestine to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, March 2, 2018, https://www.palestine-australia.com/highlights/news/2018/the-historic-status-quo-agreement-in-jerusalem-and-the-israeli-occupation-in-light-of-israels-attempt-to-impose-municipal-taxes-on-church-property/.

communities.[7] Most small disputes concerning elements of the Status Quo are left to be negotiated by the religious communities. Without a proper intermediary, this can lead to escalated violence and instability within interreligious relationships.

The Holy Esplanade affairs (Temple Mount, otherwise known as al-Aqsa) are other examples of violence as a result of Status Quo relations, in this case between the Jews and Muslims. The Temple Mount is the holiest place for Judaism and third holiest for Islam. Jews classify it as the location of the first and second temples, whereas Muslims believe it is the place where Muhammad started his journey to God. Israel maintains security control, whereas the Islamic Waqf manage and maintain the site, including the scheduling of prayer and services. The Waqf's main job is to ensure that the Muslim heritage is protected at the site and that Muslims are able to worship and visit. Jews are only allowed to visit the Temple Mount and pray at the Western Wall at designated times. Muslims have access to the rest of the site for the majority of the time.

A Status Quo arrangement concerning the Temple Mount has been in place since the 19th century, with the administration consistently belonging to the Islamic Waqf. When Israel occupied Eastern Jerusalem in 1967, the nation began to apply its domestic laws to the area. These actions violated international law, including the Status Quo. Although Israel recognized the Status Quo as the framework regarding the Holy Esplanade, it began to change several of the components according to Israeli law. This change in technicalities to match jurisdiction is a direct breach of the Status Quo. Minor breaches of the Status Quo by the Israeli government have occurred since then, and as of recent, they are beginning to escalate. Today, the Israeli government consistently

violates three components: accessibility, the right to worship, and excavations and maintenance. Israeli forces are stationed inside the holy site and around the entrances, often limiting access to Palestinian Muslims and allowing access to Jews. Despite the prohibition on non-Muslim prayers, the Israeli government and activists have pushed for the right to Jewish prayers there. Jewish entries continue to increase, further aggravating Muslims and Palestinians. Lastly, Israel has attempted many times to dig tunnels under the mosque against the instruction of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Israeli forces have attacked multiple times, showing the lack of respect and sanctity for the site.[8]

The Status Quo's components help to structure control over the sites by providing elements that cannot be changed unless all religious groups negotiate and consent to it. Its main goal is to create balance between religious groups in the Holy Land by acknowledging the presence of all three religions and the sanctity of their sites. As previously mentioned, a unique feature of the Status Quo legal system is its ability to remain constant despite changes in leadership. It takes precedence over domestic laws that may be implemented when new groups, such as the Israeli government, take over. After the creation of the State of Israel, the Director of the Division of International Organizations of the Israeli government released a *Draft Declaration on Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites* on December 20, 1949. This extended the application of the Status Quo to Jerusalem and the surrounding areas. Although the government never approved the declaration in formal terms, religious authorities were informed that the existing framework of the Status Quo would be maintained.[9] Twenty years later, Israel took occupation of East Jerusalem,

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[7] Glenn Bowman, "6. The Politics of Ownership: State, Governance, and the Status Quo in the Church of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre)." In *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey (New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2014), 212,, https://doi.org/10.7312/bark16994-0064.

[8] Marjieh, "Jerusalem's Status Quo Agreement."

[9] Breger and Hammer, "The 'Status Quo' Holy Sites," 22-40.

where the Holy Esplanade is located. Despite seizing the al-Buraq Wall, taking the keys to al-Magharbeh Gate, and destroying the Moroccan Quarter, the Israeli government recognized the application of the Status Quo to the site. It is said that the recognition of the Status Quo in reference to the Holy Esplanade could be attributed to 1) aspirations that the international community would recognize East Jerusalem as occupied territory and 2) fear of Middle Eastern opposition in response to breaching the Status Quo. These are both self-seeking reasons that would aid Israel in maintaining power and control.

Israel obtaining sovereignty over Jerusalem completely shifts the relations of the Status Quo as breaches are more likely to go unnoticed if it is the leading power in charge. Former Prime Minister Naftali Bennett argues that history, referring to the Holocaust, proves Israel alone must ensure the security of the holy places of Jerusalem. He states, "We've had bad luck anytime we have relied on anyone else." Full Israeli control would, according to draft legal regimes of this time, include control over administration, access, worship, conflict resolution, and security.[10] However if Israel takes control, it would have to change the terms of the Status Quo. Even though Israel considers itself to be in charge of all Jerusalem, contrary to wordly opinion, the international aspect of the Status Quo law continues to take precedence. Israel having domestic control only leads to unnoticed and unpunished breaches.

Increased politicization of religion in this region has led to harsher inter-church relations as these groups have tried to gain favors from the Israeli government. Specifically, the Greek patriarchate "cooperat[es] closely with state policy in Israel in order to maintain its prevailing position

in the holy places."[11] Through offering favors to specific denominations, the Israeli government works against the Status Quo. Rather than allowing the religious communities to work out conflict, it gets involved for self-seeking reasons. For these reasons, the Holy See and others maintain that the holy places should be internationalized via the control of a neutral regime.

The *corpus separatum,* as supported by the United Nations and the Vatican, refers to territorial internationalization—putting a specific piece of territory under international administration. A full territorial internationalization, as described in the 1947 Partition Plan, is not practical due to the size of the area. Therefore, partial territorial internationalization is a more reasonable approach. However, the area which this would cover is up for debate. A partial territorial internationalization would at least cover the Walled City, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Wailing Wall, and Holy Esplanade. The exact area could be negotiated later—the priority would be implementing internationalization. This plan would put Jerusalem under the authority of the United Nations. The UN could then assign a special representative in charge of the protection of the holy sites with a presence in the city. The residents of the city would elect a City Council for day-to-day administration, including customs and currency matters, as well as tourism revenue.[12] Internationalization would need to include the protection of holy places' historical and religious character, be applicable to both the holy places and Jerusalem, and guarantee civil and religious rights

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[10] Marshall Breger and Leonard Hammer, "Approaches for Managing and Controlling Holy Sites." In *The Contest and Control of Jerusalem's Holy Sites: A Historical Guide to Legality, Status, and Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 160–173, doi:10.1017/9781108886420.010.

[11] Bowman, "6. The Politics of Ownership: State, Governance, and the Status Quo in the Church of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre)," 225.

[12] Evan M. Wilson, "The Internationalization of Jerusalem," *Middle East Journal* 23, no. 1 (1969): 10, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4324391.

of Palestinian communities.[13] These necessities are a result of fear of infringing upon the sacredness of the city by focusing solely on the external nature of the holy places.

The Catholic Church must be involved in establishing peace negotiations in this region to protect not only the human dignity of Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike, but also the holy sites which contain history of salvation and hope for future generations of Christians. Since 1887, Vatican officials have worked to ensure the protection of holy sites, including Pope Leo XIII calling for parish monetary contributions to help preserve and maintain status.[14] In more recent years, the Vatican has consistently supported an internationalization of Jerusalem. This entails keeping the city out of both Israeli and Arab control, as either political authority could hurt Catholic interests. In the 1940s, the ideal situation concerning the jurisdiction of Palestine for the Catholic community contained two options, the first being a continuation of a British "dual mandate" on behalf of the Palestinian inhabitants and international society that protected both Arabs and Jews. The conditions managed independent rule of the communities under the British crown.[15] The second option was an internationalization of all of Palestine under UN supervision (support of a third power control). However, the Church took a neutral stance and refused to release an official statement at that time. In 1947, Great Britain submitted the issue to the United Nations, where the Church was left to support one of two options: a divided Holy Land between Israeli and Arab rule, or a single Arab-majority Palestinian state. However,

the Church again did not pronounce an official opinion knowing the Arab proposal would not have been approved by the United Nations General Assembly, and the Vatican still held hope for internationalization. The Vatican felt as thought the goal of internationalization gave the best protection for the holy places, both spiritually and politically. It would maintain the meaning of the holy places and prevent Jerusalem from Jewish or Arab domination.[16]

On December 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly accepted the proposal for a divided state, with both Palestinian and Israeli governments in control of Jerusalem. This led to much conflict and violence surrounding holy places and the city itself. Pope Pius XII, in his 1948 encyclical *In Multiplicibus Curis,* called again for an "international character," and the necessity of "international guarantees, both free access to holy places scattered throughout Palestine, and the freedom of worship and the respect of customs and religious traditions."[17] Again in 1949, after an end to violence, he alluded that an "international status" would help to guarantee a lasting peace.[18]

The unification of Jerusalem under Israeli rule in 1967 reintroduced the debate, with the Church still in support of an international regime–a *corpus separatum.* Today, the Vatican has continually expressed its support for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Earlier this year, the Vatican foreign minister, Archbishop Paul R. Gallagher, spoke to the UN General Assembly and pushed for an internationally guaranteed statute to ensure the many religious and spiritual dimensions

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[13] Silvio Ferrari, "The Vatican, Israel and the Jerusalem Question (1943-1984)," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1985): 325, Accessed December 3, 2023, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4327069.

[14] Pope Leo XIII, *Domini et Salvatoris*, December 26, 1887, www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/la/letters/documents/hf_l-xiii_let_18871226_vicario-sulla-terra.html.

[15] Avital Ginat, "British Mandate for Palestine," International Encyclopedia of the First World War, December 7, 2018, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/british_mandate_for_palestine.

[16] Ferrari, "The Vatican, Israel and the Jerusalem Question (1943-1984)," 317.

[17] Pope Pius XII, *In Multiplicibus Curis*, October 24, 1948, www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_24101948_in-multiplicibus-curis.html.

[18] Pope Pius XII, *Redemptoris Nostri Cruciatus*, April 15, 1949, www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_15041949_redemptoris-nostri-cruciatus.html.

of the historical character of the city.[19] Approval of internationalization by the United Nations is looking less feasible in recent years as the Trump Administration relocated the US Embassy to Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 2018, recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Conflict over who has jurisdiction over Jerusalem, both internally and internationally, prevents internationalization from currently being an option. However, it is still a goal for the Catholic Church and should remain a long-term goal for the United Nations.

In the meantime, the attitude with which the holy sites are treated needs to be shifted. The true purpose, to provide a location where the divine and human can meet, must be remembered when dealing with legalities. In 1984, at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a Greek Orthodox monk, Brother Philadelphus, was knocked from a ladder by Armenian monks as he was attempting to dust an archway of the Grotto of the Nativity that was predetermined to be Armenian by the Status Quo. Battles involving clubs and knives broke out until the Israeli police intervened. Brother Philadelphus recalled that day as the "best of his life," since the "meaning of his presence in the holy places" was to be a defender.[20] However, his perspective is flawed. His vocation is not to be a defender, but rather it is to uphold and share the sanctity of these sites. The yearn for control, possession, and ownership of the city has increased politicization and distracted the communities from the true meaning of the holy places. Pope John Paul II stated "the religious identity of Jerusalem, and in particular the

common monotheistic tradition, can provide a way to promote a coming together among all those who feel the Holy City to be their own. This is fundamental for a just peace in the region of the Middle East."[21]

The United Nations, in its 2019 *Plan of Action to Safeguard Religious Sites*, encourages religious leaders to engage in interfaith dialogue, engage with women and youth to build counter-narratives to alienation, and promote educational initiatives which call attention to the ability of religious sites to bring people together.[22] In June of last year, Pope Francis, in a text that was intended for his meeting with the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations, stressed the importance of interreligious dialogue especially regarding anti-Semitic violence. He focused on the similarities of the two religions: a merciful God and a faith incompatible with violence.[23] In March of this year, the Vatican hosted the Joint Working Group for Dialogue between the Dicastery for Interreligious Dialogue and the Palestinian Commission for Interreligious Dialogue. This emphasized the spiritual significance of Jerusalem for the three monotheistic religions.[24] The Vatican also stresses the importance of not only interreligious, but ecumenical relations, especially amidst the recent war between Israel and Hamas. The Holy See calls upon the Christian churches to unite in prayer—to use the Christian presence to be a sign of hope and

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[19] Justin Mclellan, "Vatican Pushes Nations to Ensure Religious Freedom in Jerusalem," National Catholic Reporter, September 19, 2023, https://www.ncronline.org/vatican/vatican-news/vatican-pushes-nations-ensure-religious-freedom-jerusalem.

[20] Bowman, "6. The Politics of Ownership: State, Governance, and the Status Quo in the Church of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre)," 213.

[21] Ferrari, "The Vatican, Israel and the Jerusalem Question (1943-1984)," 316.

[22] United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, "*The United Nations Plan of Action to Safeguard Religious Sites*: In Unity and Solidarity for Safe and Peaceful Worship," September 12, 2019.

[23] Christopher Wells, "Pope: Interreligious Dialogue 'A Providential Sign of Our Times.'" Vatican News, June 30, 2022. https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2022-06/pope-interreligious-dialogue-as-a-providential-sign-of-our-time.html.

[24] Devin Watkins, "Pope Francis: Jerusalem Holds Universal Spiritual Value." Vatican News, March 9, 2023. https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2023-03/pope-francis-palestine-interreligious-dialogue-holy-see.html.

facilitate peace between Jews and Muslims in the Holy Land.[25]

The current violence and politicization of holy sites under the present Status Quo fails to uphold the dignity of these sacred places. Although the Catholic Church has long supported the idea of an internationalization of Jerusalem through a third party, this plan is not currently feasible due to the increased violence and uncertainty of sovereignty between the Israeli and Palestinian states. There is much progress to be made amidst violent conflict regarding control of Jerusalem. The Catholic Church must encourage interreligious dialogue in order for the significance of the holy places to shift back from being viewed as symbols of political turmoil to sites of religious sanctity.

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[25] Delphine Allaire and Lisa Zengarini, "Churches in Holy Land Are 'Living an Ecumenism of Witness.'" Vatican News, October 27, 2023, https://www.vaticannews.va/en/church/news/2023-10/churches-in-holy-land-living-ecumenism-of-witness.html.

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Safeguarding Freedom Through Structure: The Enduring Role of Federalism and Separation of Powers in American Governance

Kori Dupree

Since the inception of the United States and the writing of the Constitution, the principles of federalism and separation of powers have been integral to the United States' democratic framework. In *Federalist No.51*, James Madison argued that federalism and separation of powers were designed to protect against tyranny, arbitrary power, and the abuse of individual liberties. Moreover, Madison famously articulated an argument asserting that the division of powers between the federal and state governments, combined with the power granted by the people, enhanced security for the protection of individual rights. However, over time, scholars have questioned the accuracy and plausibility of Madison's assertion, suggesting that the system of separation of powers and federalism may have, instead, resulted in inefficiencies and undesirable outcomes in governance. This paper argues that, while federalism and separation of powers are not without their flaws, their benefits in safeguarding citizens' rights and preventing the concentration of power ultimately outweigh these costs. By analyzing the horizontal and vertical distribution of power in the United States, this paper argues that these constitutional structures are both necessary and intentional, as they effectively uphold individual liberties and prevent tyranny, thereby supporting Madison's argument. The analysis will use cases from the U.S. Supreme Court, *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer* and *United States v. Lopez,* to illustrate the horizontal and vertical power dynamics that protect individuals' rights and to acknowledge the present, but justifiable, tradeoffs of these power dynamics.

Building upon the foundational principles of federalism, *United States v. Lopez* addressed the constitutionality of the Gun-Free School Zones Act of 1990 (GFZA) enacted by Congress. The GFZA prohibited the carrying of firearms on school grounds. Alfonso Lopez Jr., a student at a high school in San Antonio, Texas, was charged with contravening the federal law after he carried a handgun on his school's premises.[1] This case raises the question of whether Congress had the authority under the Commerce Clause to regulate handgun possession in schools. In a 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the GFZA was unconstitutional and that Congress had exceeded its power to regulate interstate commerce. This decision notably curtailed Congress's power to pass legislation, reaffirming the importance of maintaining a balance between federal and state powers. Chief Justice Rehnquist's opinion was grounded in three principles: limiting federal power, upholding the balance of federalism, and adhering to the principles of enumerated powers. Rehnquist cites James Madison's *Federalist No. 45*, stating, "The powers… to the federal government are few and defined. Those…in the State governments are numerous and indefinite."[2] Rehnquist essentially contends that Congress's power should invariably be limited and seldom expanded; otherwise, enumerated powers listed in the Constitution would be rendered purposeless. Accordingly, the GFZA did not meet the criteria of interstate commerce and exceeded congressional power.[3] Ultimately, this decision reemphasized the prominence of state autonomy, reserving the rights for the people, as the Framers intended federalism to achieve. State autonomy is particularly conducive to protecting citizens' rights because

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[1] United States v. Lopez, 514 U.S. 549, 549 (1995),https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/514/549/.

[2] *Lopez*, 514 U.S. at 552.

[3] Ibid.

state governments are geographically closer to their constituents, allowing them to better understand and address local needs and concerns. Furthermore, with fewer constituents to serve compared to the federal government, states can create policies more tailored to their populations.

To that degree, Madison's argument that federalism and the separation of powers enhance the security of the rights of the people is accurate. As previously noted, the check on congressional power limited the authority of the federal government while increasing the autonomy of the states and the people. On the surface level, this is seemingly a positive outcome—people were given more freedom, in congruence with their state laws, to possess firearms. However, this outcome did not necessarily reflect the broader public sentiment, according to the Gallup polls from 1990 to 1995. In fact, more than half of Americans—62% to be exact—wanted to impose stricter gun control regulations during that period.[4] This statistic aligns with Justice Breyer's dissent in *United States v. Lopez*, where he argued that Congress could have exercised the Commerce Clause authority with a "rational basis" to increase public safety.[5] Breyer contended that the "rational basis" was supported by widespread public concern regarding guns in and around schools across America.[6] He bolstered this argument with statistics, stating, "Several hundred thousand schoolchildren are victims of violent crimes in or near their schools."[7] Thus, he maintained that this rational basis established a clear empirical connection between gun-related school violence and interstate commerce, suggesting that the GFZA should have been constitutional.[8] Breyer's dissent underscores a broader public sentiment: while protecting state autonomy, federalism can sometimes create tension by limiting the federal government's ability to act in accordance with majority interests on issues of national concern.

As Justice Breyer noted and the Gallup poll statistic highlights, the widespread desire for stricter gun control laws among American citizens was evident. However, despite this public sentiment, the Court's decision diverged from the preferences of the national majority's due to the principles of federalism. The federal government lacked the constitutional authority to impose such regulations on the states, reflecting the system's emphasis on decentralization. This principle ensures that the federal government avoids a one-size-fits-all approach to policies that are better suited to state-specific regulation. Instead, federalism allows states to craft laws that reflect the unique needs and preferences of their populations, even in areas where national consensus may exist. While the GFZA was deemed unconstitutional at the federal level, states retained the authority to implement their own laws within their jurisdictions. For example, the state of Texas could have enacted similar regulations, reflecting the preferences of its citizens. Though the invalidation of the GFZA did not align with the national majority's desire for stricter gun control, this does not necessarily mean that local communities, like those in Texas, opposed such measures. By empowering states to address specific concerns—such as gun control—federalism supports a tailored approach to governance that considers the diverse values and interests of different regions. In essence, while federalism may sometimes conflict with majority interests at the national level, it simultaneously provides a framework for local governance that enables states to implement policies suited to their populations.

Shifting focus to the principles of separation of powers, the case of *Youngstown Sheet & Tube*

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[4] Gallup, "Guns," *Gallup.com*, last modified January 23, 2024, https://news.gallup.com/poll/1645/guns.aspx.

[5] United States v. Lopez, 514 U.S. 549, 618-619 (1995),https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/514/549/.

[6] *Lopez*, 514 U.S. at 619.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

Co. v. Sawyer (1952), often referred to as the "Steel Seizure Case," revolved around the constitutionality of President Harry Truman's exercise of executive power. During the Korean War, President Truman attempted to seize control of steel mills to avert a steelworkers' strike that could have disrupted defense production.[9] Truman claimed he had the inherent executive power to impose such a demand, but the Supreme Court ruled against this notion.[10] The Court's ruling declared Truman's actions unconstitutional and a violation of the separation of powers, as he had exceeded his executive authority without congressional authorization. In a 6 to 3 decision, the justices in the majority presented various constitutional arguments to underscore the illegitimacy of Truman's actions. Notably, Justice Jackson assessed Truman's actions using three categories: actions authorized by Congress, actions taken without congressional guidance, and actions taken against Congress's will.[11] Jackson concluded that Truman's actions fell into the third category.[12] This conclusion was based on the fact that Congress had explicitly refused to authorize the seizure of the steel mills and had not given Truman any legislative power to do so.[13] Thus, Truman's power was severely limited. According to Jackson, Truman's authority, as it pertained to the principles of the third category, was "at its lowest ebb," and he could "only rely upon his own constitutional powers minus any constitutional powers of Congress."[14] Truman's actions contradicted Congress's powers, confining him to his executive authority alone and affirming that no President can seize citizens' property without congressional approval.[15] Thus,

Youngstown illustrates that, even during moments of crisis, adherence to constitutional standards is imperative to safeguard the rights and liberties of citizens.

Contrary to the Court's majority opinion, Justice Vinson's dissent underscored the significance of executive action in national emergencies. He elucidated that Truman's power as Commander-in-Chief and his duty to faithfully execute laws, especially in times of emergency, justified his action of seizing the mills. Vinson wrote that this case was "a case involving extraordinary powers" because "these are extraordinary times. A world not yet recovered from…World War II."[16] Despite attempting to seek congressional advice and prevent the steelworkers' strike, Truman found himself without viable alternatives, leading him to take an extraordinary measure to preserve the nation's status quo.[17] Ultimately, Vinson and the dissenting justices argued that to avoid the protracted and inefficient legislative process during a national emergency, Truman should have been permitted to act quickly and decisively by exercising his inherent presidential powers without requiring explicit congressional approval.[18]

Youngstown illustrates how the horizontal power structure places limitations on each branch of government, preventing any single branch from exercising unchecked authority that could violate citizens' rights. Once again, Madison's argument is proven correct: both federalism and the separation of powers protect citizens' rights. However, as evidenced by the *Youngstown* analysis, separation

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[9] *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579,579 (1952) https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/343/579/.

[10] *Youngstown*, 343 U.S. at 629.

[11] *Youngstown*, 343 U.S. at 635-637.

[12] *Youngstown*, 343 U.S. at 637.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 668 (1952).

[17] *Youngstown*, 343 U.S. at 703.

[18] Ibid.

of powers can inhibit the federal government from efficiently and quickly addressing urgent crises. This inability to respond to national emergencies due to lengthy legislative processes is a source of concern for citizens when judging how a government performs its duties. Delays in action can often exacerbate the gravity of situations or erode public trust in the government. Much of this was demonstrated during the recent COVID-19 pandemic; the loss of public trust in the government during the pandemic was largely attributed to the perceived inefficiency of the government's prolonged response to the outbreak.[19] In general, while the separation of powers and checks and balances protect citizens' rights, they can also slow decision-making and lead to government inefficiencies, ultimately curtailing public trust.

Nevertheless, this outcome is yet another strategic mechanism within the government system. The protracted process of action under emergencies, while it may be perceived as inefficient, is, in fact, a safety measure designed to prevent impulsive or unchecked actions by any single branch of government. Even in emergencies, the separation of powers ensures careful consideration and accountability. In the end, this upholds constitutional values by defending citizens' rights and preserving governmental integrity, even if it may delay quick reactions. The Court's decision to reject President Truman's seizure of the Youngstown steel mill demonstrated that executive overreach is never acceptable, even in dire circumstances. This supports Madison's claim that, despite its flaws, the system's structure prioritizes liberty and freedom from tyranny over temporary expediency.

To summarize, the analysis of *United States v. Lopez* and *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer* demonstrates the indispensable necessity of horizontal and vertical power structures in securing citizens' rights. While these structures involve flaws, including inefficiencies and occasional misrepresentation of majority interests, they remain foundational to American democracy by preventing tyranny and ensuring liberty. Madison's argument about their benefits is therefore not only plausible but correct on a practical level. In *Youngstown* , executive power was limited, demonstrating how constitutional structures ensure that governmental power does not violate people's property rights even during times of crisis, thereby maintaining a separation of powers. Moreover, *Lopez* underscored the importance of federalism by affirming state autonomy, which allows localized governance tailored to the needs of citizens while simultaneously limiting federal overreach. Although these frameworks involve certain trade-offs, such as inefficiencies and the misalignment of majority interests, they are strategically designed to uphold core democratic principles of preventing power concentration. The Framers of the Constitution understood these unfortunate imperfections but accepted them as necessary to protect against weightier issues.

In crafting the U.S. Constitution and its subsequent provisions, the Framers faced a critical responsibility: to preserve the liberties of the people.[20] Drawing from their experience under British rule and their study of republicanism, they approached governance with caution, skeptical of the dangers of strong governments, tyranny, and arbitrary power. The Framers' skepticism and fear of abuse of power, which could curtail citizens' rights, led to the establishment of various structures such as federalism and the separation of powers, all of which serve to uphold the preservation of liberty and local sovereignty. Chief Justice Rehnquist's opinion in *United States v*

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[19] Frank Newport, "Covid and Americans' Trust in Government," *Gallup.com*, last modified February 7, 2024, https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/389723/covid-americans-trust-government.aspx.
[20] Dennis G. LaGory, "Federalism, Separation of Powers, and Individual Liberties," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 40, no. 6 (November 1987): 1353.

Lopez referred to these principles when he referenced Madison's *Federalist No. 45*: "Just as the separation and independence of the coordinate branches of the Federal Government serve to prevent the accumulation of excessive power in any one branch, a healthy balance of power between the States and the Federal Government will reduce the risk of tyranny and abuse from either front."[21] Furthermore, Justice Frankfurter mentions the salience of the separation of powers in his concurring opinion in *Youngstown*, quoting Justice Brandeis's words, "the separation of powers was adopted...not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power."[22] Essentially, the disadvantages of separation of powers and federalism are justified because they eliminate the risk and fear of tyranny and abuse of power that existed under British rule, while also maintaining the ideal of popular sovereignty. Although there are undesirable outcomes and inefficiencies in government, the security of citizens' rights provided by the separation of powers and federalism is a necessary aspect of American democracy.

To that end, this paper has navigated the complex balance in the horizontal and vertical distributions of power in the U.S., shedding light on both the advantages and drawbacks in comprehensive protection of citizens' rights. *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer* and *United States v. Lopez* are evidence of the value of federalism and separation of powers' in protecting fundamental property rights, even if this protection can stifle majority interests and inflame governmental inefficiency. Though Madison's argument that separation of powers and federalism improve the security of rights remains valid, it is important to acknowledge its flaws. While federalism and separation of powers were established with the noble goal of preventing tyranny and abuse of power, American citizens continue to face the challenges presented by these constitutional structures. Ultimately, this reality points out the functional yet imperfect nature of American democracy.

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[21] United States v. Lopez, 514 U.S. 549, 552 (1995), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/514/549/.

[22] *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer,* 343 U.S. 579, 629 (1952), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/343/579/.

The McDonald's Thesis: Golden Arches Symbolic Meaning in Promoting Peace

Justin Sapienza

On December 8, 1996, the New York Times published an article by Tom Friedman titled "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I." Friedman introduced the theory that "No two countries that both have a McDonald's have ever fought a war against each other."[1] Since McDonald's began its international expansion in 1967, the golden arches have become a symbol of democracy and capitalism and a representation of Western consumer culture. Once opened in a new country, McDonald's signifies the country's entry into the global economy. Despite recent conflicts involving countries with McDonald's restaurants, the underlying logic behind these nations' reluctance to go to war with one another is still valid. Conflicts between India and Pakistan, Georgia and Russia, and Ukraine and Russia, in many ways, provide support instead of invalidating the theory.

The idea that countries with a McDonald's do not go to war against one another is rooted in the logic that McDonald's signifies economic development, which produces globalization, and ultimately more peaceful relations with similar countries. Globalization is "a process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, ideas and culture."[2] The establishment of McDonald's in a country previously without one symbolizes the influence of American culture, consistent with globalization. The response of a government to McDonald's in their country is the true determinant of whether economic development will lead to peace.[3] Nonetheless, the entry of McDonald's into a country demonstrates sufficient economic development and globalization that fosters a greater willingness for peace.

To understand the effect of economic development and globalization to produce democratization and peace, I pose the question: to what extent does the representation of McDonald's foster peace in international relations? In this paper, I argue that McDonald's is an indicator of economic development and globalization, which signifies a greater propensity for peace through the values of American culture that the golden arches symbolize. This argument is explained in six sections. The analysis begins with Section I, which provides background on McDonald's role on the international stage as a political, economic, and symbolic force. Building on this foundation, Section II analyzes Friedman's article and the origin of the McDonald's thesis. Section III examines how the presence of McDonald's symbolizes economic development, capitalism, and democratic values consistent with American culture. Next, Section IV delves into potential challenges to the McDonald's thesis by presenting three cases and arguing that these examples do not undermine the argument. Furthering this discussion, Section V applies the McDonald's thesis as a Russian case study through the lens of its ongoing conflict with Ukraine. Finally, Section VI ties these ideas together by analyzing how economic development and Americanization drive globalization, ultimately promoting peace.

Section I: McDonald's Background

McDonald's role on the international stage reflects the brand's global influence as an economic and cultural power. James Cantalupo was President of McDonald's International at the time of their

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[1] Thomas L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I," The New York Times (The New York Times, December 8, 1996), https://www.nytimes.com/1996/12/08/opinion/foreign-affairs-big-mac-i.html.

[2] Soumyaditya Dasgupta, "Globalization and McDonaldization of Society," LexQuest Foundation, September 19, 2020, https://www.lexquest.in/globalization-mcdonaldization-society/.

[3] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

significant international expansion and is referred to as McDonald's "de facto Secretary of State."[4] The notion that McDonald's has a "Secretary of State" emphasizes the importance of international expansion to McDonald's and the worldwide recognition of the McDonald's symbol. The use of the title "Secretary of State," also represents the influence of McDonald's on global affairs. One of the chief responsibilities of the Secretary of State is to promote beneficial economic intercourse between nations.[5] In essence, McDonald's has served as a proxy for governments by extending the reach and influence of established countries while providing a level of legitimacy on the global stage for other countries. Cantalupo said, "We focus our economic development on the more well-developed economies – those that are growing and those that are large – and the risks involved in being adventuresome $(for those growing economies$) are probably getting too great."[6]

In 1996, McDonald's entered its 100th country, and for the first time, earned more revenue overseas than in the United States.[7] From the time the corporation expanded globally in 1967, its international expansion came quickly, and the entrance of McDonald's into a country signified an economy sufficient enough to uphold the golden arches' image on the world stage. Cantalupo emphasizes that a McDonald's is an indicator of a well-developed economy and is sought after by countries looking to broaden their scope in the world. In the 1950s and 1960s, countries sought an aluminum factory and a U.N. seat to show development, but by the 90s, countries sought a

McDonald's in their language to signify their arrival on the world stage.[8] Cantalupo said:

> I feel these countries want McDonald's as a symbol of something – an economic maturity and that they are open to foreign investments. I don't think there is a country out there we haven't gotten inquiries from. I have a parade of ambassadors and trade representatives in here regularly to tell us about their country and why McDonald's would be good for the country.[9]

In many instances, the opening of a McDonald's restaurant in a country presupposes a move toward democratization as a result of integration into the global economy. Since the publication of this article, countries with McDonald's have gone to war and conflicts have arisen, but the significance of countries joining the global economy and democratizing is more prominent. The ability of governments to justify McDonald's at the expense of its own cultural traditions signifies a country's shift toward globalization and democracy.[10]

Section II: Tom Friedman's *Foreign Affairs Big Mac I*

In 1996, Friedman went to Hamburger University at the McDonald's Headquarters to test his thesis, and representatives at McDonald's confirmed its validity.[11] The first location opened in Downey, California, in 1953, and fourteen years later in 1967, McDonald's expanded into the international market as it opened locations in Canada and Puerto Rico.[12] From its first international location to the publication of

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[4] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[5] U.S. Department of State, "Duties of the Secretary of State," U.S. Department of State, accessed November 25, 2024, https://www.state.gov/duties-of-the-secretary-of-state/.

[6] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[7] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[8] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[9] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[10] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[11] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[12] "McDonald's History," accessed December 13, 2022, https://corporate.mcdonalds.com/corpmcd/our-company/who-we-are/our-history.html.

Friedman's thesis, no country in which McDonald's expanded had gone to war with another country with a McDonald's. However, this was not for lack of potential conflicts between McDonald's countries. Friedman stated, "I feared the exception would be the Falklands war, but Argentina didn't get its first McDonald's until 1986, four years later after that war with Britain."[13]

The Falklands War was a brief conflict between Argentina and Britain, stemming from over 150 years of tension regarding the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.[14] Based on the McDonald's thesis, the war could have been avoided if Argentina had a McDonald's four years earlier in 1982. The Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention stipulates "that when a country reaches a certain level of economic development, when it has a middle class big enough to support a McDonald's, it becomes a McDonald's country, and people in McDonald's countries don't like to fight wars; they like to wait in line for burgers."[15] Had Argentina achieved stable economic and democratic development prior to 1982—enough to support a McDonald's—the likelihood of a military conflict might have been significantly reduced. A deadly conflict deriving from a long-standing territorial dispute could potentially have been resolved peacefully, as Argentina's economic maturity would likely have fostered a political structure aligned with democratic values and peaceful conflict resolution.

However, one exception to the theory is civil wars. In 1990, McDonald's expanded to the Soviet Union.[16] A year later, the arrival of one of the world's most prominent symbols of capitalism foreshadowed the end of communism as the Soviet Union collapsed. The expansion of McDonald's into the Soviet Union represented an economic shift toward capitalism inspired by globalization. The ensuing civil war in Russia between Boris Yeltsin's democratic forces and Mikhael Gorbachev's communists led to the official end of communism and the rise of a new democratic political system. Yet, when fights broke out between groups for and against Yeltsin, McDonald's provided burgers to both sides.[17] Nonetheless, the arrival of McDonald's foreshadowed the end of communism and its official end demonstrates the propensity of economically developed and globalized countries to establish democratic ideals based on American influence.

The expansion of McDonald's into countries with varying levels of economic and political stability highlights the intricate relationship between economic development, globalization, and democratization. The Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention illustrates how shared economic interests can foster peace, and McDonald's international expansion has played a role in signifying the economic development necessary for peace to persist. Ultimately, McDonald's presence serves as a symbol of economic maturity and global integration that advances the values consistent with promoting peace.

Section III: McDonald's Symbolizes Economic Development, Capitalism, and Americanization

Since its founding, McDonald's has been a metaphor for America and the global representation of capitalism. The Golden Arches and Ronald McDonald are synonymous with the United States and are prominently used to represent American culture throughout the world. The company's expansion in the United States

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[13] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[14] Kieran Mulvaney, "The Improbable Falklands War Still Resonates Decades Later," History (National Geographic, April 1, 2022), https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/falklands-war-history-and-legacy.

[15] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

[16] "First McDonald's Opens in Soviet Union," History.com (A&E Television Networks, November 13, 2009), https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/first-mcdonalds-opens-in-soviet-union.

[17] Friedman, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I."

utilized the growing consumer market and automobile-oriented American culture to lay the foundation for what the company would come to symbolize on the global stage. Thus, the opening of a McDonald's indicates not only a nation's economic development and globalization but also the adoption of capitalism and American culture represented by the golden arches. When McDonald's enters a new country, it signals that the country has globalized and made significant economic developments to support the fast food chain. As a globalized nation with a McDonald's restaurant, that country opens itself to American culture and ideals that transcend the golden arches.

However, in some cases, McDonald's expansion is hindered by a resistance to American culture. For example, several Middle Eastern countries, including Afghanistan, Iran, and Yemen, have rejected the golden arches as a stand against Americanization. In Yemen, extremists have even threatened militant action against the establishment of any McDonald's location.[18] Yemen's rejection underscores the symbolic weight of the golden arches in promoting American ideals. Furthermore, McDonald's has assessed that opening a location in Yemen is not economically viable due to the nation's struggling economy.[19] This highlights the broader idea that nations must meet certain economic thresholds to host a McDonald's. When a country either lacks the economic capacity or rejects McDonald's, it reflects a resistance to globalization and the adoption of American culture and values. If a country is not economically sufficient enough to get a McDonald's or rejects it altogether, it signifies that the country

is not ready to globalize and adopt American culture and ideals.

In contrast, the opening of McDonald's in Moscow illustrates a differing attitude toward globalization and American influence. For example, "The Russian capital's inaugural McDonald's set the record for most customers on its first day of opening by serving over 30,000 hungry punters."[20] After decades of communism, Soviet citizens embraced the iconic American brand, signifying an acceptance of globalization and the influence of capitalism in the Soviet Union. To further this point, "People from the USSR heard so much about western culture without being able to go near it, so Soviet citizens really went mad when the golden arches rocked up in Moscow."[21] In this case, the Soviets were eager to globalize and their mass acceptance of McDonald's highlighted their enthusiasm to end communism and usher in a new era of capitalism and democracy based on the influence of American ideals represented by the golden arches.

Section IV: McDonald's Countries Going to War With Each Other

This section evaluates three post-1996 conflicts challenging the McDonald's thesis: the 1999 Kargil War, the 2008 Georgian War, and the initial Russian conflicts with Ukraine in 2014.
1999 Kargil War

The Kargil War took place in the Kargil district of Kashmir, India, from May to July 1999.[22] Pakistani soldiers and Kashmiri militants infiltrated the Indian side of the Line of Control, which serves as the de facto border between the two nations.[23] The conflict heightened tensions between

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[18] Meghan Jones, "Countries That Have Banned McDonald's," *Reader's Digest,* September 29, 2024, https://www.rd.com/list/countries-banned-mcdonalds/.

[19] Jones, "Countries That Have Banned McDonald's"

[20] Boris Egorov, "How the USSR's First McDonald's Drove Russians Crazy," Russia Beyond, January 29, 2019, https://www.rbth.com/history/329911-ussrs-first-mcdonalds.

[21] Egorov, "How the USSR's First McDonald's Drove Russians Crazy."

[22] "Kargil War," *New World Encyclopedia*, accessed December 13, 2022. https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Kargil_War.

[23] "Kargil War."

already adversarial nations. It also represented a dispute between two nuclear powers after U.S. intelligence found that Pakistan moved nuclear warheads toward the border, disproving any Pakistani attempts to blame insurgents for the conflict.[24] Following the Washington Accord, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, agreed to withdraw Pakistani troops from India, bringing the conflict to a halt after just two months of fighting.[25] Pakistan blamed the war on independent Kashmiri insurgents, and shortly after the war, a coup d'etat of the government by the military placed army chief Pervez Musharraf in power.[26]

McDonald's first entered Pakistan in September 1998.[27] Two years before that, India's first McDonald's opened in October 1996.[28] McDonald's was still in its infancy in this region when Pakistan invaded India. "McDonald's had only recently established a presence in the region when Pakistan invaded India. The opening of McDonald's in both countries signaled their developing economic and global integration. However, the Pakistani government escalated its decades-long conflict with India by moving nuclear warheads and initiating military action. This suggests that while the presence of McDonald's symbolized economic development and globalization, it did not deter the Pakistani government from pursuing aggressive actions against its adversary.

However, the conflict was quelled within three months, with U.S. intervention playing a key role in easing tensions. This intervention highlighted the countries' willingness to accept American assistance, influenced by their economic development and globalization, which ultimately contributed to promoting peace. While there was not a direct correlation between McDonald's and peace, the economic development that McDonald's signifies demonstrates a shift toward conflict resolution that reduced the willingness of Pakistan to prolong the conflict. Overall, the Kargil War supports the underlying premise of the Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention.

2008 Georgian War
In 2008, an ongoing conflict between Russia and Georgia centering around Georgia's enclave of Abkhazia spiraled out of control, and war broke out in the separatist region of South Ossetia.[29] Georgia intended to recapture South Ossetia after it had become a Russian dependency and outpost of Russian influence.[30] After NATO's declaration against Russia at the Bucharest Summit, the Prime Minister of Russia, Vladimir Putin, halted NATO's expansion east.[31] Russia baited Georgia into the war, and in less than two weeks, Moscow recognized Abkhazia and South Ossetia as Russian territory.[32]

Russia's economic development after the Cold War plays a significant role in understanding the symbolic nature of the McDonald's thesis in this conflict. After the Cold War, Russia's economy shifted away from communism, and the government shifted toward democracy. As a result, Russia was poised for integration into the global economy, and McDonald's deemed the Russian economy stable enough to support a McDonald's in the country. However, Putin's appointment as President of Russia by Boris Yeltsin in 2000 began a shift from a burgeoning democracy to an

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[24] "Kargil War."

[25] "Kargil War."

[26] "Kargil War."

[27] "Countries by McDonald's Restaurants," AtlasBig, accessed December 13, 2022, https://www.atlasbig.com/en-us/countries-by-mcdonalds-restaurants.

[28] "Countries by McDonald's Restaurants,"

[29] "The August War, Ten Years on: A Retrospective on the Russo-Georgian War," War on the Rocks, August 17, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/the-august-war-ten-years-on-a-retrospective-on-the-russo-georgian-war/.

[30] "The August War, Ten Years on: A Retrospective on the Russo-Georgian War,"

[31] "The August War, Ten Years on: A Retrospective on the Russo-Georgian War,"

[32] "The August War, Ten Years on: A Retrospective on the Russo-Georgian War,"

autocratic regime with Putin as its leader. In May 2008, when Putin had reached Russia's Presidential term limit, his ally Dmitriy Medvedev was elected President of Russia and Putin became Prime Minister.[33] Thus, during the conflict with Georgia, Putin continued to act as Russia's de facto leader from his position as Prime Minister, before reclaiming the presidency in 2012—a move that further accelerated Russia's shift toward authoritarianism.

When McDonald's first opened in Russia, the Russian economy was shifting toward capitalism and was primed for globalization. For the first couple of years following the opening of McDonald's, this trend continued. However, Putin had a different view of the world than Yeltsin and Western culture did not mesh with his vision for the role of Russia on the world stage. Moreover, during Putin's initial two terms, Russia's shift toward authoritarianism signified a greater reluctance to promote peace compared to a nation fully immersed in globalization and democracy. Therefore, when border disputes with Georgia, a country with a McDonald's since 1999, broke out in 2008, it was easier for Putin to demonstrate his strength on the world stage, defy NATO, and initiate conflict with Georgia to get what he wanted.[34] This is a common theme Putin exemplifies in the present day.

On the other hand, it must be noted that in his first two terms in office, Putin did expand and globalize the Russian economy. For example, "Russia enjoyed a period of uniquely strong economic expansion during the early years of the Putin era, with annual growth rates of around seven percent from 1999 to 2008."[35] While Putin inherited a reforming economy, it was under his leadership that Russia reached the levels of economic prowess that it experienced. However, with the arrest of Russian business leader Mikhail Khodorkovsky in 2003, Putin showed his readiness to renationalize private companies and push back against capitalism and globalization.[36]

Putin's attacks on private companies reversed much of the economic development leading to globalization that Russia had made. Instead, they initiated reverting Russia to its pre-Democratic economic status. Furthermore, it shows that while Russia was economically sufficient to have a McDonald's in 1993, it began to revert backward ten years later. Thus, in 2008, when Russia went to war with Georgia, McDonald's still had locations in Russia. However, Putin's actions on the world stage represented a government rejection of the values synonymous with a McDonald's, representing a move away from globalization and the promotion of peace consistent with Western culture. Over the past two decades, though, Russia has continuously spiraled further into autocracy and turned away from the integrated global economy, McDonald's began to end its operations in the country and officially closed all locations with the most recent invasion of Ukraine.

2014 Initial Russian Conflict With Ukraine
In November 2013, pro-Russian President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych rejected closer ties with the European Union by refusing to sign an association agreement on the eve of a summit in Vilnius, Lithuania.[37] To entice Yanukovych to refuse the agreement, which would closer ally Ukraine

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[33] "Timeline: Vladimir Putin - 20 Tumultuous Years as Russian President or PM," Reuters (Thomson Reuters, August 9, 2019), https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-putin-timeline/timeline-vladimir-putin-20-tumultuous-years-as-russian-president-or-pm-idUSKCN1UZ185.

[34] Peter Dickinson, "Vladimir Putin's Dark Journey from Economic Reformer to War Criminal," Atlantic Council, June 13, 2022, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/vladimir-putins-dark-journey-from-economic-reformer-to-war-criminal/.

[35] Dickinson, "Vladimir Putin's Dark Journey from Economic Reformer to War Criminal."

[36] Dickinson, "Vladimir Putin's Dark Journey from Economic Reformer to War Criminal."

[37] Matt Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked," CNBC (CNBC, January 27, 2022), https://www.cnbc.com/2022/01/27/how-russia-invaded-ukraine-in-2014-and-how-the-markets-tanked.html.

with Europe, Russia offered Ukraine $15 billion in economic assistance.[38] Unrest and anger over Yanukovych's rejection of the association escalated and security forces attempted to clamp down on the protests, resulting in the deaths of dozens of protestors at Independence Square in Kyiv on February 20, 2014.[39] Seven days later, gunmen with no insignia on their uniforms seized government buildings in Crimea after Putin dispatched his army to Ukraine's border for an unexpected military exercise.[40] Putin initially denied that the unbadged soldiers in Crimea were Russian, before admitting his "little green men" were Russian troops a month later.[41] That month, Crimea voted overwhelmingly to leave Ukraine in a referendum, and Putin signed legislation that completed the process, again defying Western leaders, including U.S. President Barack Obama.[42]

       Ukraine was initially part of the Soviet Union and its first McDonald's location technically opened in 1990 when the first McDonald's opened in Moscow. However, in 1991, when Ukraine gained its independence from Russia, all McDonald's restaurants were located in Russia. The first official Ukrainian McDonald's opened in 1997, six years after gaining independence.[43] Although Ukraine's economy could not sustain a McDonald's until 1997, the association of McDonald's with economic development and globalization had already been ingrained in the Ukrainian public during its time under Soviet rule. Ukraine became economically stable enough to support a McDonald's after joining NATO's Partnership for Peace program, becoming a member of the Council of Europe, and establishing

a "special relationship" with NATO.[44] Therefore, the addition of McDonald's to the Ukrainian economy corresponded to Ukraine becoming economically developed enough to globalize and join organizations promoting peace and democracy.

       The invasion of a country attempting to shift toward Western ideals of globalization and democracy shows that while the Russian economy had shifted toward globalization enough to support a McDonald's, the ideas McDonald's signified no longer resonated in the Russian authoritarian regime under Putin. Putin rejected globalization and invaded Ukraine to prevent Ukraine from further globalizing by returning Crimea to Russia. Under Putin, the Russian government, or the Kremlin, promotes ideas of isolation and orthodoxy.[45] The invasion of Crimea was an attempt to stop the spread of Western influence and ideals and to increase the reliance of former Soviet Union territory on Russia.

Section V: Ramifications of the Current Russian Conflict With Ukraine Through the McDonald's Thesis

       On February 24, 2022, Vladimir Putin sent 200,000 troops into the Ukrainian capital Kyiv thinking he could depose the government in a matter of days.[46] The stated purpose of Putin's second invasion of Ukraine was rooted in the goals of demilitarizing and de-Nazifying Ukraine, protecting people subject to eight years of bullying and genocide by Ukraine's government, preventing NATO from expanding into Ukraine, and ensuring

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[38] Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked."

[39] Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked."

[40] Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked."

[41] Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked."

[42] Clinch, "How Russia Invaded Ukraine in 2014. and How the Markets Tanked."

[43] "McDonald's Restaurants/Ukraine," McDonald's Wiki, accessed December 13, 2022, https://mcdonalds.fandom.com/wiki/McDonald%27s_restaurants/Ukraine.

[44] "Kuchma's Presidency," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed December 13, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine/Kuchmas-presidency.

[45] Dickinson, "Vladimir Putin's Dark Journey from Economic Reformer to War Criminal."

[46] Paul Kirby, "Why Did Russia Invade Ukraine and Has Putin's War Failed?," BBC News (BBC, November 16, 2022), https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-56720589.

Ukraine's neutral status.[47] All of Putin's claims and rhetoric were baseless. They held no supportive evidence to justify the invasion. Putin's forces launched more than one attempt to assassinate Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and topple the democratic Ukrainian government. In addition, Russian forces have launched attacks on civilians that have devastated Ukraine and killed countless innocent Ukrainians.

Putin's authoritarian regime has resorted to attempting to facilitate the demise of Western culture in and around Russia. Putin already toppled democracy in Russia and rejected capitalism by eliminating private companies by ensuring businesses are state-run, all in an attempt to topple Western influence in regions of the former Soviet Union through the most recent invasion of Ukraine.

After maintaining the continuity of locations in Russia despite the two previous conflicts regarding Russia and other McDonald's countries, McDonald's responded to this invasion and rejection of the Western ideals the golden arches symbolize. In May, McDonald's officially left Russia after 32 years, citing that the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine caused by Russia is no longer with the values of McDonald's.[48] McDonald's officially ending its reign in Russia shows foremost that Russia no longer represents McDonald's ideals. McDonald's said, "The humanitarian crisis caused by the war in Ukraine, and the precipitating unpredictable operating environment, have led McDonald's to conclude that continued ownership of the business in Russia is no longer tenable, nor is it consistent with McDonald's values."[49] McDonald's values are simultaneously American and Western values as McDonald's has symbolized the West since its first international location in

1967. Furthermore, McDonald's leaving Russia in response to the invasion of Ukraine illustrates Putin's effort to entirely reject Western culture and prevent its Soviet ancestor from aiding the West so close to its border. As a result, McDonald's could no longer continue to conduct business, while the values of peace and democracy promoted by globalization and symbolized by McDonald's were broken by Russia.

On the other hand, after 25 years of operation, McDonald's temporarily closed its locations in Ukraine due to the Russian invasion for the safety of its employees.[50] In September, McDonald's reopened all locations in Ukraine and citizens flocked back to the golden arches to enjoy a Big Mac.[51] This reception to the reopening of McDonald's signifies that Ukrainians support the Western culture and democratic ideals that the arches represent.

McDonald's pulling out of Russia has significant positive ramifications for the validity of McDonald's thesis and what it symbolizes. First, McDonald's no longer has locations in Russia, a participant in three out of the four conflicts between two McDonald's countries. Second, Russia's economy and commitment to globalization have been in decline since the Georgian War in 2008, and the market for McDonald's, symbolizing Western ideals of globalization and democracy, no longer had a place in Russia. This means that McDonald's leaving Russia because it invaded Ukraine makes the Kargil War the only opposition to McDonald's thesis. As shown above, this 12-day conflict only partially rebukes the idea that economic development causes globalization and promotes peace. For these reasons, while the McDonald's thesis has flaws, McDonald's can be

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[47] Kirby, "Why Did Russia Invade Ukraine and Has Putin's War Failed?"

[48] Bill Chappell, "McDonald's Is Leaving Russia, after More than 30 Years," NPR (NPR, May 16, 2022), https://www.npr.org/2022/05/16/1099079032/mcdonalds-leaving-russia.

[49] Chappell, "McDonald's Is Leaving Russia, after More than 30 Years."

[50] Julian Hayda and Ashley Westerman, "McDonald's Reopens in Ukraine, Feeding Customers' Nostalgia - and Future Hopes," NPR (NPR, September 22, 2022), https://www.npr.org/2022/09/22/1124454718/mcdonalds-reopens-ukraine#:~:text=He%20guesses%20around%20300%20couriers,the%20Soviet%20Union%20in%201990.

[51] Hayda and Westerman, "McDonald's Reopens in Ukraine, Feeding Customers' Nostalgia - and Future Hopes."

utilized as a symbol behind the reasoning for economic sufficiencies producing peace through globalization.

In March 2022, McDonald's paused its business in Russia. Subsequently, in May 2022, McDonald's announced that it would permanently exit Russia, selling all of its restaurants to a local buyer. The company cited that continued ownership was no longer tenable nor consistent with its values. The nearly 850 Russian McDonald's locations have been rebranded and are now operated by a Russian businessman. The divestiture by McDonald's of its restaurants in Russia further supports Freidman's theory as Russia has become more isolated due to its actions.

The decision by McDonald's to end its business in Russia in 2022 reinforces the Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention, which posits that nations integrated into global economic systems, symbolized by McDonald's, are less likely to engage in conflict. McDonald's departure marked a significant shift in Russia's global economic integration, highlighting its increasing isolation due to its political action to escalate military conflict in former Soviet territories. By severing ties, McDonald's demonstrated the limitations of economic globalization in promoting peace when a nation prioritizes militaristic policies over economic cooperation and peaceful relations. This highlights the importance of shared values and adherence to international norms for the theory to hold true.

Furthermore, the rebranding of McDonald's locations under a local operator underscores the weakening of global economic interconnectedness in Russia. As McDonald's, a symbol of globalization and Western economic integration, withdrew, Russia's economy became more insular, reflecting a reversal of the principles that the Golden Arches Theory represents. This case illustrates that while economic integration can promote peace and collaboration, it is not immune to being

undermined by political or ideological priorities that counteract the effects of globalization. Nonetheless, McDonald's end of business in Russia is significant because, while the conflicts represented fallacies to the theory, the global symbol of economic development and globalization affirmed its own role on the world stage and commitment to the values the golden arches traditionally represent.

Section VI: Economic Development and Americanization Produces Democratization and Peace Through Globalization

In general, there are two primary sources of economic growth: growth in the workforce's size and growth in that workforce's productivity.[52] When productivity increases, more people achieve a higher standard of living without having to work more hours. When the standard of living rises for most people in a country, the public has more leisure time and a greater ability to afford luxuries in a consumer market. The idea of the consumer market originated in American suburbs in the 1950s as families moved from cities into single-family homes on the outskirts of cities in a driving-oriented culture. As the standard of living increased for these growing families, businesses began to make consumer products targeting this market, like fast food, home appliances, and vehicles.

The consumer market was primarily an American idea, but when other countries undergo enough economic growth to raise the standard of living for their citizens and the public can support the consumer market, it is a positive innovation. Thus the nation buys into Americanization and adapts to more Western culture as its economic productivity allows it to become more prominent on the global stage. Moreover, as a nation economically develops and the rise of consumer culture integrates into the global economy, the country becomes less reluctant to engage in war with another nation.

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[52] Chad Stone "Economic Growth: Causes, Benefits, and Current Limits," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, April 27, 2017, https://www.cbpp.org/research/economy/economic-growth-causes-benefits-and-current-limits#:~:text=Broadly%20speaking%2C%20there%20are%20two,per%20capita%20GDP%20and%20income.

Globalization induces peace because when a country arrives on the global scene, it wants to maintain the global status it has achieved through the growth of its economy. By waging war and rejecting peace once on the world stage, a nation opens itself up to harsh economic sanctions and retaliation. For example, in response to Russia's most recent invasion of Ukraine, the United States and the other members of the G7 imposed unprecedented economic sanctions on Russia to further distress the Russian economy.[53]

The Russian War in Ukraine has harnessed the global economy. Most notably, gas prices in the United States rose to around $5 due to the effects of the war on the Russian oil market.[54] In the press release announcing the sanctions, President Biden and the White House said, "Putin has failed in his initial military objective to dominate Ukraine – but he has succeeded in making Russia a global pariah."[55] This illustrates how waging war has a global effect and is met with overwhelming international condemnation. The spirit of globalization and Americanization promotes peace on the global stage, and when the market is disrupted by war, there will be harsh retaliation. For these reasons, when a country becomes economically developed enough to globalize, it maintains pacific relations with the rest of the world and encourages peaceful encounters.

Conclusion

Tom Friedman relayed a simple and seemingly trivial theory in his theory that countries with McDonald's do not go to war with each other. However, McDonald's symbolic representation of economic development and the golden arches' representation of American ideals makes Friedman's thesis much more profound than it appears on the surface. Since Friedman published his theory in 1996, there have been conflicts between countries with McDonald's: the 1999 Kargil War between India and Pakistan and three conflicts between nations with Russia as the aggressor. While limiting the idea that McDonald's countries do not fight each other, each of these examples does not contradict the underlying theme of the McDonald's thesis that economically developed countries tend to globalize and pursue peaceful international relations.

In the article, Friedman said, "The question raised by the McDonald's example is whether there is a tip-over point at which a country, by integrating with the global economy, opening itself up to foreign investment and empowering its consumers, permanently restricts its capacity for troublemaking and promotes gradual democratization and widening peace."[56] I argue that there is a point at which a country becomes economically sufficient and integrates itself into the global economy. Throughout its history, McDonald's has represented the ideals of America and capitalism, illustrating that when McDonald's enters a country, the country shifts toward those values. Once citizens of a nation experience Western culture and globalize, the nation pursues peaceful international relations, and this is symbolized through the golden arches of McDonald's.

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[54] Our Community Media, "Why US Gas Prices Are at a Record High," Our Community Media, June 15, 2022, https://www.ourcommunitymedia.org/post/why-us-gas-prices-are-at-a-record-high?gclid=CjwKCAiAheacBhB8EiwAItVO27Al3j4HJJBmB-gqdg4fLcPzngw_NgzrKSCjBxMV9gKTxyc6MihqdxoCoQAQAvD_BwE.

[55] "Fact Sheet: United States and G7 Partners Impose Severe Costs for Putin's War against Ukraine."

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Causes of The Russo-Turkish Wars in the 16th-19th Centuries
Gerald Vielhauer

Abstract of Argument

I argue that geographical components, along with religious identities, were the main causes of the wars between Russia and Turkey from 1678-1878. I also examine the causes of these wars through the theories of the cyclical nature of war, the balance of power, and states' agreement over relative power.

Summary Introduction

The main question that I address is: what were the primary causes of the Russo-Turkish wars in the 16th through 19th centuries? Do any theories on the causes of war hold weight in this example? Numerous theories attempt to explain why war occurs, such as the cyclical nature of war, balance of power, and states' agreement on relative power. While I claim that geography and religion played the most integral parts in sparking the wars between Russia and Turkey during the aforementioned time period, the above theories on the causes of war can also contribute to a diagnosis as to why they occurred. Knowing why these wars continued to occur is not only important in order to understand conflict in the past, but also in order to better equip us to predict and prevent conflict in the future. If we can understand why war happens, then we can take the steps necessary to stop war before it starts, when possible.

Elements of the geography of Russia and Turkey that contributed to conflict include the narrow throat of the Bosporus and Dardanelles straits, the distance between their capitals, and the allure of controlling local bodies of water. Religion had a hand in the wars due to the Muslim and Orthodox Christian identities of the Turkish and Russian peoples respectively, the Ottoman control of the holy land, and each states' perceived repression by the other state of religious minorities. Their inability to agree on who was militarily superior, the repeating cycle of military buildup and war, and the balance of power between Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and the states around them, all had a role in facilitating these 16th-19th century conflicts as well.

Through a thorough examination of the motivations of each side, I identify why Russia and Turkey went to war. I cite Geoffrey Blainey's *the Causes of War*, along with a myriad scholarly journals concerning international relations theory and theories on the causes of war. Section one explains how geography caused war between Russia and Turkey. Within section one, I detail the effects of the nearby straits, the locations of the states' capitals, and the significance of water in the area. Section two delves into the effect of religion on the Russo-Turkish conflicts. More specifically, it will illustrate the effects of the distinctly different group religious identities and the impact of the religious minority voices, as well as the desire for control of the holy land by each state. In section three, I will discuss three theories of the causes of war and their relation to the Russo-Turkish wars. Those three theories involve the argument that the nature of way is cyclical, that the balance of power is key in preventing war, and whether disagreement on relative power causes war. Finally, I conclude in section four by exploring the implications of my argument.

Geography
The Bosporus and Dardanelles Straits

The Bosporus and Dardanelles straits allowed Turkey to maintain a strong blockade that prevented Russia from being able to use the mouth of the Black Sea. Moreover, without the ability to get through the Straits, it was nearly impossible for Russia to gain enough ground on Turkey to obtain an overly decisive victory. In fact, during the Crimean War of 1854, when Russia had a particularly powerful naval fleet, France and Britain joined on the side of Turkey to prevent Russia from winning the war with a crushing naval victory over Turkey. Hadrian Gorun explains that "given the

proximity of the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, the domination over the Straits would have been for Russia not only a huge advantage, but also the possibility of becoming a maritime power, not only a continental one. Thus, Russia would have become a strong competitor for the other European maritime powers, namely Great Britain and France."[1] Obviously, that level of power is not something that Great Britain and France wanted to see, so they helped prevent a Russian victory.

Due to a lack of decisive wins on either side, neither country submitted for an extended period of time. In fact, across those two centuries, Blainey states that, "the longest peace between them was twenty-nine years."[2] Even though numerous peace treaties were signed, both countries were quickly able to regain strength, as Turkey's strategic advantage with the straits in Naval warfare counteracted Russia's increasingly stronger ground forces. Russia was never able to successfully transfer their stronger Baltic Sea based forces to the Black Sea because of the Straits, and neighboring powers even assisted in making that the case at times, in order to keep the Straits under Ottoman control for trading purposes. Controlling the Straits was integral to opening avenues of exchange with foreign powers and ensuring the safety of merchant vessels.

Distance Between Capitals

The great distance between Constantinople, the capital of The Ottoman Empire, and Saint Petersburg, the capital of Russia, also made decisive victories harder to come by. Russia won a slight majority of the wars between the two, but only once were they able to reach the walls of Constantinople. However, as Blainey explains, "there they were halted by the fear of British

intervention."[3] Britain once again helped to maintain the status quo, realigning the world back towards the balance of power. Concerning the balance of power, Daniel Nexon states that, "Realists argued over whether balancing strategies actually predominate in world politics or, instead, whether states prove more likely to bandwagon-to side with the strong against the weak-than balance of power theory predicts."[4] In this case, it is apparent that Britain stepped in on the weaker side, rather than bandwagoning to Russia's aid. Because Russia came up short of the capital each time, the "bear" that was The Ottoman Empire stayed alive, even though surrounding states like Russia themselves claimed that the empire was growing weaker by the day. Because of the mountainous terrain, and the strength of the Russian ground forces, Turkey never threatened St. Petersburg in any substantial way throughout the ten wars between the two states. Once again, geographical components led to a more fundamental cause of the repeating wars, the lack of sweeping victories on either side.

Control of The Black Sea

Russia made it their mission to take control of the Black Sea. Due to their latitudinal position, they could not have year-long ports on the Baltic Sea that wouldn't freeze over (and become useless for trade). In fact, the editors of Encyclopedia Britannica claim that "The early Russo-Turkish Wars were mostly sparked by Russia's attempts to establish a warm-water port on the Black Sea, which lay in Turkish hands."[5] If Russia was located somewhere warmer, or had easier access to year-round shipping ports, then they may not have initiated conflict with Turkey in the Black Sea. The Black Sea was for a long time under Turkish control, with Russian shipments needing to have

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[1] Gorun, Hadrian. "ROMANIA, RUSSIA AND THE GEOPOLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE STRAITS (1914-1915)." *Philobiblon* 27, no. 2 (2022): 2.

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[5] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "Russo-Turkish Wars." Russo-Turkish wars, November 23, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Russo-Turkish-wars.

been sent down river from the Baltic to the Black Sea in order to avoid the rugged land terrain between the two bodies of water. Thus, Russia went to war in order to take control of the Black Sea. Having access to oceans and seas is beneficial in wars, as it opens up trade routes and allows for naval build ups, so Russia's interests along with Turkey's control of the Black Sea aligned towards war.

Religion
Muslim Turkey and Orthodox Christian Russia

The juxtaposition of states with different religions oftentimes leads to tensions and embolden states towards war. Such is the case with Russia, made up of a mostly Orthodox Christian population, and Turkey, made up of a mostly Muslim population. As constructivists argue, a state's norms and identity play a large role in shaping their foreign relations. Concerning religion's role in international relations, Shameer Modongal resolves that "it encompasses various belief systems, rituals, moral codes, and social institutions that provide individuals with frameworks for understanding the world, finding meaning, and establishing social cohesion."[6] Outside of their shared title of being "people of the book," the differences between Muslim and Christian norms and beliefs are plentiful. Those differences reveal a divide between the countries that goes beyond just physical borders.

Russians, emboldened by their belief that Jesus Christ was backing them, had confidence that they could beat Turkey. Turkey, on the other hand, found strength in the belief that Allah had their back. Blainey attributes each state's military overconfidence in part to this, as he states that, "The religious issue was difficult to settle peacefully, for Turkey's and Russia's sense of military might was enhanced by the belief that Allah or Christ was their flagbearer."[7] Each side

believed that their religion was correct, and that their military was stronger than the others because of it. While both fall under the three major monotheistic religions, there are still plenty of differences. Ultimately, the two faith groups believe in different saviors, and they have complete confidence that the God that they worship is the one true God, who will carry them to a victory in battle. The natural decision for a state to make then, is not to settle on unfavorable terms of a treaty, but instead fight and prove that they are stronger. Consequently, that struggle persisted.

Ottoman Control of the Holy Land

The fact that the holy land was in Ottoman territory caused conflict with the heavily Christian Orthodox Russia. The ability to travel to the holy land through Turkey was a key point of discussion between the Russian Tsar and Ottoman Sultan. In fact, multiple treaties, such as the treaty of 1739 and the peace treaty of 1774 upheld the Russians right to make the pilgrimage without being subject to tax. Evidently, the right to make the pilgrimage was a straightforward reason for Russia to go to war with Turkey in order to gain the ability to make a favorable treaty in that regard. In order to illustrate the importance of religion and the pilgrimage to the holy land to Russia, Blainey uses the following quote from Tsar Nicholas the First, "Our religion as established in this country, came to us from the East, and there are feelings, as well as obligations, which never must be lost sight of."[8] The Christian religion is very important to the Russian citizens, and making a pilgrimage to the holy land is a big part of expressing their faith. Therefore, the position of the holy land in the Ottoman Empire necessitates war since favorable treaty terms for Russia could not be achieved through negotiation.

Repression of Religious Minorities

There were minorities consisting of Russian Muslims and Orthodox Catholic Ottomans. Because of their presences within their respective states, and

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[6] Modongal, Shameer. "The Resurgence of Religion in International Relations: How Theories can Accommodate it?" *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (01, 2023), 2.

[7] Blainey, Geoffrey. *The causes of war*, 182.

[8] Blainey, Geoffrey. *The causes of war*, 178.

their proximity to a more religiously similar state to themselves, many of those citizens called for the other country to "save them." There was not true widespread religious persecution, but reports that Russia received of a need to free their brothers in religion from their adversary gave them yet another reason to go to war. The call to liberate their fellow Christians and Slavs became a divine mission. Blainey reveals that "Dostoevsky and Tchaikovsky were in the 1870s two of the most fervent Russian preachers of the Pan-Slav ideal, and the mission gave wars against Turkey wide popularity on Russia's home front."[9] With support from the populous, it was even easier to mobilize forces against Turkey in the name of religious and ethnic unity and liberation. Priests would even walk through conquered battlegrounds with a cross held high, which exemplifies the public belief that the wars were truly in the name of religion. Karen Ruth Adams references the point that, "Like the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Waltz argues that international anarchy simply lays the fire; leaders and states choose when to light it."[10] In this case, it is easy to see why Russia and the Russian people chose to light that fire and spark war.

Theories
Cyclical Nature of War

One theory is that war has a cyclical nature. In other words, war can be roughly predicted based on how much time there has been peace, and vice versa. The theory seems to apply in part to the Russo-Turkish wars. Ten wars occurred between the two states in the span of two hundred years, and the longest stretch of peace in between any two wars was 29 years. After each war, a treaty was signed, and fighting momentarily ceased. However, each state reacted by rebuilding their military might, sometimes rallying their countries to support war for revenge, and when new leaders came the last loss was a distant memory. Hence, the

countries went to war again. As discussed previously, throughout those two centuries, neither country won overwhelmingly. Because neither state took death blows, they continued to build back their military and economic strength, as well as their morale, to fight again. Peace would subsist in the in-between war periods, and the cyclical theory of war seems to hold weight. When a country is weak, whether it be economically, militarily, or otherwise, they do not want to engage in conflict. On the other hand, when states gain power, they want to take advantage of that by showing their strength on the world stage through war.

Balance of Power

The balance of power theory applies directly to the Russo-Turkish wars. When the British entered on the side of Turkey to prevent Russia from obtaining control over the Bosporus and Dardanelles Straits, they were playing the role of overseer of the balance of power. In every case where an outside nation entered the Russo-Turkish conflicts, they entered on the side of the losing party to ensure that the status quo was maintained. Even when they did not, their presence alone was enough to dissuade further attack at times, like when Russia stopped at the walls of Constantinople for fear or getting the English involved. Jack Levy claims that, "All balance of power theorists agree that some form of equilibrium of military capabilities increases the stability of the system (generally defined as the relative absence of major wars)."[11] One could argue that Britain's maintenance of the balance of power actually decreased the stability of the system. Yes, the status quo was maintained, and no drastic changes occurred to the hierarchy of power in Europe. With that being said, Britain prevented Russia from having decisive wins, which increases the likelihood of future war. Since Russia was unable to reach Constantinople, or take complete control of the Black Sea, Turkey was able to build back up its resources and Russia and Turkey went to war again.

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9 Blainey, Geoffrey. *The causes of war*, 180.
10 Adams, Karen Ruth. "The Causes of War." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 2017, 17.
11 Levy, Jack S. "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, no. 1 (1998): 147.

While the balance of power was maintained between Turkey and Russia, that led both to believe that they were stronger than the other, so each state preferred battling it out rather than taking an unfavorable position in negotiations.

Relative Power

Neither Russia nor Turkey thought they were the inferior military power, so neither was willing to accept a relationship with the other that they were unhappy with. Both states believed that they could gain more through war than they could through diplomacy. Kati Parppei illustrates this when she declares that, "once the collective negotiations with the Ottoman leadership failed, Russia alone ended up declaring the war on Turkey, to strengthen the empire's political and military status and its influence in the area."[12] Russia believed strongly that they could beat the Ottoman Empire, but the Ottomans thought the same of Russia. Even though they signed treaties after each war, they were only temporary, and it did not take long until the losing country saw the treaties as chains that they can certainly break out of. After nine somewhat inconclusive wars between the two of them due to a lack of consensus on their relative power and where they belonged in the hierarchy of power in Europe, the 10th war finally had a decisive victor.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1878 ended in certain Russian victory. After the war, Turkey accepted its subordinate position to Russia on the world stage. Once a hierarchy of power had been established and each state agreed on their relative power, they stopped going to war like they had been for the past two centuries. An example of Turkey being wary of causing trouble with Russia that Michael Bishku offers is, "Bismarck made sure that German military and economic involvement in the Empire would not cause offense to Russia."[13] The Sultan was careful not to upset a state that they now recognized as military superior, to avoid war.

Even when Russia lost an embarrassing defeat to Japan, Turkey did not take advantage of a weakened Russia. At this point, the Ottoman Empire was truly unraveling, as other states were eating away at its borders. They knew that they could gain more through negotiations than through war with a stronger Russia, and that ultimately kept relations between the states peaceful until World War One.

Conclusion

The main two immediate causes of the Russo-Turkish wars in the 1600s, 1700s, and 1800s, were geographical and religious factors. Specifically, the straits at the mouth of the Black Sea, the far distance between each states' capital, and the overall importance of the black Sea to Russia were geographical factors that lead to war. The notable religious causes of war were the Turkish Muslim and Russian Orthodox Christian majorities, and the Turkish Orthodox Christian and Russian Muslim minorities in each state, along with the presence of the holy land under Ottoman rule. The cyclical war theory, balance of power theory and relative power theory, concerning the causes of war, all explain part of the underlying reasons for the Russo-Turkish conflicts. The wars did resemble a cyclical ebb and flow of war and peace, outside countries did step in in the name of the balance of power, and disagreements over relative power between Russia and Turkey were perhaps the largest underlying cause of those wars.

Understanding the causes of the Russo-Turkish wars may allow us to understand how to predict or even prevent wars in the future. Geographical causes of war are hard to prevent but are easier to spot. Therefore, the United Nations, or local states, can work to keep peaceful agreements regarding bodies of water or other strategic geographical positions. In terms of religion as a cause of war, we can only be more accepting of

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[12] Parppei, Kati. ""This Battle Started Long before our Days …" the Historical and Political Context of the Russo-Turkish War in Russian Popular Publications, 1877–78." Nationalities Papers 49, no. 1 (01, 2021): 174.

[13] Bishku, Michael B. "PRE-20TH CENTURY HISTORY-War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin." *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 1 (Winter, 2013): 152.

others with differing beliefs and refuse to justify violence based off a battle for a religion that does not even condone such violence. Each of the three theories have differing levels of relevance today. The cyclical nature of war is fading with time, and since the invention and use of nuclear weapons. Keeping the balance of power seems to be a positive in today's world and is not having unintended consequences like sparking more wars like it did between Russia and Turkey. Finally, the best way to limit misunderstandings and make sure that states can agree on their relative power is by increasing transparency and the frequency of dialogue between nations. The number of theories and explanations for the causes of war are seemingly limitless, and there is no one answer that fits all. On that account, it is important to keep all possibilities in mind, and have a nuanced approach to international conflict.

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Parppei, Kati. ""This Battle Started Long before our Days …" the Historical and Political Context of the Russo-Turkish War in Russian Popular Publications, 1877–78." *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 1 (01, 2021): 162-179. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.117. http://proxy.library.nd.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/this-battle-started-long-before-our-days/docview/2546610115/se-2.

Decaying Democracy: An Analysis of Increasing Campaign Expenditures in India

Anvita Jaipuria

Question

How has public and private sector financing of political campaigns in India impacted the electoral process and the legitimacy of Indian democracy in the 2014 and 2019 general elections?

Abstract

This study investigates the influence of campaign financing on the electoral process in India, focusing on the 2014 and 2019 general elections. The role of money in politics has long been a contentious issue, and understanding its implications is crucial for assessing the health of democracy. By analyzing the financial aspects of political campaigns, this study aims to shed light on the extent to which campaign financing influences the electoral process in India.

This paper recognises the financing of electoral campaigns as a necessity for political parties to convey their plan and policy to citizens. However, it investigates the frameworks, sources and provisions for financing. Through an examination of campaign expenditure data, contribution patterns, and legal frameworks, this study investigates the impact of opaque campaign financing on various aspects of the electoral process, including voter behavior, candidate selection, political competition, and the overall fairness of elections. It also explores the potential consequences of excessive campaign spending, such as unequal representation, voter manipulation, and the erosion of democratic values.

By analyzing the 2014 and 2019 general elections, this paper aims to identify any significant changes or trends in campaign financing and characterize their impact on the electoral process over time. The findings of this research will contribute to a better understanding of the challenges posed by campaign financing in India and provide insights for policymakers, civil society organizations, and electoral reform advocates seeking to enhance the integrity and fairness of the democratic process.

Thesis Statement

The financing of political campaigns in India during the 2014 and 2019 general elections has influenced the electoral process, particularly through the increase in campaign expenditure between election cycles, voter vulnerability in the lower and middle classes, and opaque private sector spending.This has led to concerns about transparency and the influence of money on power, reducing the overall legitimacy and integrity of Indian democracy.

Introduction and Literary Review

The 2014 National Election transformed India's political landscape. It was the first time since 1984 that a political party secured an absolute majority in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian parliament.[1] The Indian National Congress (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are the two major political parties in India. The INC, often referred to as the "Grand Old Party," dominated Indian politics for the first 50 years after the country gained independence in 1947. The BJP is a right-wing party that rose to prominence more recently, securing a landslide victory in the 2014 elections. Even though a BJP victory was predicted, the magnitude of its victory surprised citizens and policy analysts alike.[2] The BJP managed to win 283 out of the 543 Lok Sabha seats.[3] Not only did this election mark a break in the trend of coalition

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[1] Milan Vaishnav, *Understanding the Indian Voter* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015), http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12869.
[2] R. Dutt, "Modi's Victory: What It Means for India's Future," *The Hindu*, 2014, https://www.thehindu.com.
[3] Louise Tillin, "The BJP's Electoral Success and Its Implications," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45, no. 1 (2015): 1–22.

governments, but it also signified the replacement of the Indian National Congress, known as India's Grand Old Party, from its position as the governing party.[4] The INC tally sunk to just 44 seats, far fewer than the 206 seats it secured in the 2009 election. For 25 years India was governed by coalitions. The regional fragmentation of India was thought to render the consolidation of political power in the hands of a single national party impossible to have.[5] Moreover, since 1977, the margin of victory of the average Lok Sabha constituencies has decreased. In 1997, winners defeated their closest opponent by one-quarter of the total votes cast; in 2009, the margin of victory clocked in at 9.7 percentage points.[6] The 2014 election changed these numbers and challenged the notion that a single party doesn't win absolute majority without forming a coalition government. The BJP defeated their opponents by a 43 percent margin (Palshikar, Suhas. 2014). The size and extent of the BJP victory meant that it could set its own agenda and would not have to necessarily work with allies.[7]

An important finding of this paper is that even though the number of candidates and political parties participating in elections both went up in 2014, votes appear to be concentrated to a relatively small number of core parties. In the 2019 election, the BJP was able to retain these votes and emerge victorious. The BJP's total vote share stood at 37.4 percent, an increase of over 6 percentage points from 31.34 percent in 2014.

In the 2014 campaign, the BJP declared spending of 7.12 billion rupees (85.44 million USD), over 40 percent more than the INC.[8] In the fiscal year ending March 31, 2018, the BJP had an income of 10.2 billion rupees, five times the number the INC declared.[9] This paper attempts to investigate the link between increasing BJP campaign financing and its victories in recent general elections.

While extensive research on regulatory frameworks for election financing and election expenditures exists, the impact of campaign financing on the legitimacy of democracy has yet to be studied holistically. In regards to this, Zukerman fellow in social anthropology Anastasia Piliavsky provides a broader argument about the need for scholars of Indian democracy to take seriously the moralities, normative imaginaries, and rationalities that constitute the fundamentally relational act of patronage which must be taken into account.[10]

The central research question of this analysis is: "How has public and private sector financing of political campaigns in India impacted the electoral process and the legitimacy of Indian democracy in the 2014 and 2019 general elections?" The thesis statement of this research posits that the financing of political campaigns in India during the 2014 and 2019 general elections impacted the electoral process particularly through the increase in campaign expenditure between election cycles, voter vulnerability in the lower and middle classes, and opaque private sector spending, leading to concerns about transparency, the influence of money on power, and potential distortions of democracy.

Fair elections in the context of campaigns refer to a democratic process where all candidates and political parties have an equal and equitable opportunity to compete for votes. This involves ensuring that the electoral system is transparent,

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[4] Subrata K. Mitra and Jivanta Schöttli, "India's Political Landscape: The Rise of the BJP," *Asian Survey* 56, no. 6 (2016): 1187–1209.

[5] R. Ramchandra, "The BJP and the Changing Political Landscape of India," *The Economic Times*, 2014, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com.

[6] Richard Smogard, "Trends in Indian Electoral Politics," *Journal of South Asian Studies* 16, no. 2 (2014): 213–229.

[7] Ananya Dalal, "The Consolidation of Power: Analyzing the BJP's 2014 and 2019 Victories," *Political Science Review* 32, no. 2 (2022): 97–115.

[8] Reuters, "Election Spending in India: A Comparison of BJP and Congress," *Reuters*, 2014, https://www.reuters.com.

[9] Maya Tudor and Jennifer Zigfield, "Campaign Finance and Political Party Funding in India," *Journal of Comparative Politics* 51, no. 3 (2019): 45–60.

[10] Anastasia Piliavsky, *Patronage and Clientelism in Indian Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

inclusive, and free from any unfair advantages or biases.[11]

Drawing on Wertheimer and Manes' (1994) research on the health of democracies, this paper acknowledges that the role of financing in elections is of paramount importance in any democracy. Adequate funding is essential for political parties and candidates to effectively communicate their agendas, mobilize support, and engage with voters.

However, the influence of money in politics presents significant challenges to the democratic process. In the Indian context, the issue of campaign financing has been a matter of intense scrutiny and debate. With its vast electorate and diverse political landscape, India witnesses expensive and resource-intensive election campaigns. Over the years, the country has experienced a transformation in its approach to financing elections.

Unregulated or opaque campaign financing can lead to corruption, unequal representation, and erode the trust of citizens in the electoral system. Striking the right balance between funding and transparency becomes crucial to preserving the integrity and legitimacy of democratic elections.

Kapur and Vaishnav (2018) discuss developments in the Indian legislature that have enabled corporations to legally give unlimited sums to political parties who can, in turn, accept unlimited sums of money, all without having to disclose a single rupee.[12] Concerns of corruption are rampant. Citizens speculate that politicians serve the interests of those that have financial resources in order to benefit from their prowess. As per Heywood (1997), political corruption occurs when an agent breaks the law by sacrificing the interest of the principal for his or her own benefit.[13] In conjunction with Kapur and Vaishnav's work, this paper draws upon Heywood's seminal article, raising the concern that political corruption affects voter behavior because it erodes their trust in the democratic system.

Political funding in India for decades has been marked by a lack of transparency, allowing for the use of undisclosed and illegal sources of money.[14] This practice often raises concerns about undue influence and corruption in the electoral process.

Candidates and political parties secure funding for their electoral campaigns from either the public sector or the private sector. Public sector financing involves government funds allocated by the Election Commission to Indian electoral campaigns for the purposes of transparency and equal distribution. Private sector financing includes contributions from non-governmental entities and individuals, potentially raising concerns about transparency and influence on the political process. Both forms of financing coexist, with public sector funding coming from national or state budgets and private sector funding coming from individuals, corporations, and other entities.

Elections have become more expensive, further burdening parties and candidates. Given that the ways and means to raise small contributions are more difficult and their transactional costs still very high in India, the role of "interested money" from corporations has taken prominence.[15]

Private sector financing of political parties has potentially negative implications for a fair democratic election. Corporate contributions accounted for a staggering 89 percent of total donations in the 2014 election. These businesses

[11] Stephen Bishop and Anke Hoeffler, "Free and Fair Elections: A New Database," *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 4 (2016): 608–616, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43920613.

[12] Devesh Kapur and Milan Vaishnav, "The Political Economy of Electoral Finance in India," *Economic and Political Weekly* 53, no. 36 (2018): 20–23.

[13] Paul Heywood, "Political Corruption: Problems and Perspectives," *Political Studies* 45, no. 3 (1997): 417–435, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00089.

[14] Marc Jones and Rosa M.B. Kukutschka, "Political Finance and Corruption in India: An Analysis," *South Asia Research* 39, no. 1 (2019): 67–82.

[15] Partha Chatterjee and Swapan Sahoo, "The Role of Money in Indian Elections: Challenges and Reforms," *Economic and Political Weekly* 49, no. 13 (2014): 24–29.

are speculated to benefit from the political parties they support, i.e. the political parties in power.

The legislative framework that decides the role of private corporations in Indian elections is under constant scrutiny by political scientists, scholars and the opposition who criticize it to give leeway to corrupt practices . Before analyzing the existing frameworks, it is important to trace their origins. India liberalized its democracy in 1991.[16] This opened up sectors previously reserved for the public sector to private, including foreign, entry. From one perspective, the ability of formal government institutions and civil society initiatives to identify and target corruption demonstrates the resilience and corrective power of India's political system. But the question arises as to why corruption is so widespread and pervasive in India even after economic liberalization. India is still classified as a mixed economy and the government has discretionary powers over resource allocation in certain domains.[17] This paper posits that flawed political party funding and election expenditure laws drive parties and politicians to misuse the government's discretionary powers over resource allocation to raise funds for election campaigns and political parties.

Analysis

Democracies all over the world are said to be in crisis. While the founding principles of democratic governments remain constant, their legitimacy is at risk. Perhaps one of the most damaging attacks on the primacy of democracy is the inability of representative governments to regulate the flood of money in politics.[18] Even though there is a large amount of criticism on the use of money in politics, it must be understood that it is impossible to conceive of democracy without campaign funding. In recent decades, the growing concentration of wealth, rising cost of elections, and deepening links between money and political power have raised serious normative concerns, prompting a range of studies about the causes and consequences of both public and private funding in democratic politics.

Because financial resources are considered a prerequisite for contesting elections, money can have a powerful "selection effect" on the candidate pool standing for office, not to mention the characteristics of who is ultimately elected.[19] The perception of money "buying" elections can severely undermine citizens' confidence in the democratic process itself. Money allows wealthy individuals or interests to influence electoral politics in their favor, thereby entrenching their wealth and creating a reinforcing cycle in which inequality and public policies interlock. The result, some have argued, is a polity that responds most forcefully to the preferences of the rich.[20]

India is one of the largest democracies in the world. The elections are remarkably competitive with an average of 8000 candidates and 465 political parties contesting in a singular election cycle.[21] In this competitive atmosphere, political parties spend large sums on campaigns to gain a comparative advantage over one another. The role of financial resources and funding in elections has become a standard concern in recent discourses on electoral processes. Several commissions and frameworks were introduced to regulate the use of money in election campaigns in India.

As per regulation, political parties are free to spend at will while parliamentary candidates are

[16] Ramesh Thakur, "Economic Liberalization and Political Reform in India," *Asian Survey* 36, no. 4 (1996): 345–360.

[17] M.V. Rajeev Gowda and E. Sridharan, "Reforming India's Party Financing and Election Expenditure Laws," *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 11, no. 2 (2012): 226–240, https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2011.0131.

[18] Pippa Norris and Sarah Abel, "The Legitimacy of Political Institutions and the Role of Money," *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 1 (2016): 33–49.

[19] Timothy Besley, "Political Selection," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 3 (2005): 43–60.

[20] Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[21] Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, eds., *The State of India's Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

only allowed to spend up to 7 million rupees (about $100,000 USD) in the general elections.[22] But lack of effective oversight by the Election Commission of India (ECI) has allowed candidates to flout the limit without much fear of being caught. The last time a candidate was disqualified for breaking spending rules was in 2011. Candidates from major national parties said that the actual spending that happens through 'unaccounted funds,' is as much as eight times the limit.[23]

The amount of funds directed into campaigns has also increased with the progression of elections. In the 2004 general election, India's top six national parties officially spent about 2.69 billion rupees, as per their declarations to the ECI. A decade later, in the 2014 election that swept Modi to power, their declared spending had jumped nearly five-fold to 13.09 billion rupees.

The structure of political finance in India underwent significant changes in the last few decades, spurred on by scandal, corruption and bribery.[24] The influence of money power in elections is common knowledge. While several Scholarly articles address the problems with existing reforms, there is a lack of a wider understanding of the context and implications of funding sources and campaign expenditures. What needs to be addressed is the impact of private and public funding and the effects of national election regulation in encouraging or discouraging public participation in the democratic process.[25]

The financing of electoral campaigns negatively affects the legitimacy of a democracy where the government is selected by the people, caters to the requirements of the people, and remains accountable to the people. All people in a democracy enjoy the right to vote in order to elect their government. Voters in India can be segregated as rural voters and urban voters. Recent census data have found that the percentage of rural voters in the 2014 and 2019 elections have been greater than the percentage of urban voters. This may be attributed to the fact that politics reaches ruralities through decentralized associations. Benefits such as poverty alleviation schemes and employment schemes, guaranteed by different political parties contesting elections, often cajole rural Indians to make political choices.[26] Urban voters, often apathetic to politics, have posed a challenge for the ECI that pushes for a larger involvement of urbanites in the political process.

During elections, it is possible that 'ruralites' have an edge over 'urbanites' in deciding the formation of the government at the center. One third of the rural population in India are illiterate, according to UNESCO's Education for All global monitoring report.[27] Because of their illiteracy they are unable to make informed decisions when voting. Moreover, with an increase in campaign financing, campaigns easily target these sectors to use as vote banks and are often successful in swaying their votes. Economic voting is a phenomenon that has become increasingly common in India. Narendra Modi, the leader of the BJP and the Prime Minister of India, has laid a constant emphasis on development and economic growth in his campaign trail, possibly indicating a trend of prioritizing economic issues over social concerns.

The 2014 National Election Study, conducted by the Center for the Study of Developing Societies , also found that voters were highly motivated by the economy when casting their ballots, with 19 percent stating that price rise

[22] Election Commission of India, "Guidelines for Election Expenditure," *Election Commission of India*, 2022, https://eci.gov.in.

[23] Reuters, "Election Expenditure and Financial Transparency in India," *Reuters*, 2018, https://www.reuters.com.

[24] Milan Vaishnav and Richard Smogard, "The Changing Nature of Political Finance in India," *Asian Survey* 54 (2014).

[25] B. Venkatesh Kumar, "Funding of Elections: Case for Institutionalized Financing," *Economic and Political Weekly* 34, no. 28 (1999): 1884–1888, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4408179.

[26] P. Jamkhandi, "The Impact of Rural and Urban Voting Patterns in Indian Elections," *Indian Journal of Political Science* 80, no. 1 (2019): 78–95.

[27] Ramesh Chand, Suresh Kumar Srivastava, and Sandeep Singh, *Rural-Urban Education Disparity in India: An Empirical Analysis*, UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report, 2017.

(inflation) was the most important election issue and nearly 11 percent citing lack of development. Poverty and unemployment are the main problems that plague the middle classes in Indian society. Because of a desire for stability and safety they often vote for politicians that can secure their individual needs rather than welfare for all. The 2014 results demonstrate an underlying demand for politicians who can get things done—even if they are connected with wrongdoing. Due to the increasing need for money, most candidates chosen by parties are individuals who can finance themselves and do not need to rely on party funds for campaigning. This has led to the rise of wealthy candidates — and in certain cases, even criminals — contesting elections.

Businesses seeking project approvals often seek to curry favor with political patrons by making political donations. This can lead to the manipulation of financial records to generate the necessary funds for these contributions. On the other side, political parties, which face a range of expenses in managing their operations and administering elections, receive funding from these businesses, giving rise to an undesirable connection between the two entities.

The BJP government that came into power in the 2014 elections made several changes to India's legal framework in this regard. A significant alteration removed the cap on corporate donations to political parties that had restricted contributions to no more than 7.5 percent of the average net profit over three years.[28] This change also permitted companies with partial foreign ownership to donate, and these companies were no longer required to disclose the parties they supported financially. A notable development was the introduction of 'electoral bonds,' a mechanism through which individuals or corporations can deposit funds into a political party's bank account at the State Bank of India. These bonds allow donors to contribute without revealing their identities. While political parties are obligated to disclose the amount of funds received through electoral bonds, the identities of the donors remain confidential. Even though this policy establishes a legitimate network for donations, transparency, as far as the public is concerned, is completely absent.[29] With the elimination of the cap on corporate donations and the removal of the requirement for firms to disclose political contributions in their financial statements, companies can now legally give unlimited money to political parties. The introduction of electoral bonds now allows political parties to accept unlimited funds without having to disclose the source of even a single rupee. Under the electoral bond system, the use of black money for electoral funding becomes a risk. There is a lack of transparency because the source, purpose, and possible compensation is unknown to the public. Moreover, only the government, through its ministries, has access to this information.

Even though the government defends the electoral bond scheme by emphasizing the fact that the Constitution does not grant citizens a fundamental right to know donor identities, the anonymity of electoral bonds clouds the access a voter has to information. This scheme places a donor's privacy over a citizen's right to information.[30]

India's democratic processes are heavily exposed to illicit financing. This can be gleaned from the fact that nearly two-thirds of political donations to registered political parties are from so-called 'unknown' sources.

Arguably, the 2014 Lok Sabha Election was the second most-expensive election after the 2012 US presidential elections. According to a study conducted by the Centre for Media Studies, the figure was a mammoth INR 30,000 crore (approximately $5.5 billion USD). This estimate is

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[28] Ranjan Deka, "Corporate Donations and Electoral Transparency in India," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 1 (2018): 45–58.

[29] Gowda and Sridharan, "Reforming India's Party Financing and Election Expenditure Laws."

[30] Rajesh Mahapatra, "Electoral Bonds and Transparency: A Critical Analysis," *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 69, no. 1 (2023): 1–17.

conservative. On average (anecdotally and based on their own confessions), candidates fighting a Lok Sabha election spend around INR 5–10 crore to run a decent campaign.[31]

Buying votes by giving cash, alcohol, drugs, and other desirable goods is also a widespread practice. The cash seized by expenditure observers of the Election Commission of India reached record levels in the last elections, with more than INR 150 crore seized from Tamil Nadu alone.[32] This practice reveals that when sums of money are donated to political parties, they not only go to publicizing the parties agenda but go to the extent of "buying votes" by engaging in practices of illicit bribery. Buying votes refers to the practice of individuals or political entities offering material incentives, money, gifts, or other benefits to voters in exchange for their support during elections. It also tends to favor those with greater financial resources, disadvantaging candidates who may have more appealing policies but lack the financial means to engage in such practices.[33]

Conclusion

In the current political-economic landscape of India, despite experiencing two decades of economic liberalization, businesses in the country continue to face significant vulnerability to discretionary government actions at both the central and state levels. This vulnerability arises from the numerous points in the process of starting, operating, or expanding a business where government permissions are required.[34]

Given the fact that the Indian public sector receives criticism for being relatively ineffective, India's economic development strategy heavily leans on the private sector. In the private sector power is concentrated in the hands of a few dominant firms. The government's close connection with wealthy industrialists raises concerns of inclusivity and unfair advantage.

Gautam Adani, the Adani Group's Founder, controls critical sectors in the Indian economy. This includes 43% of shipping containers, one third of coal transport, and 22% of private thermal power capacity. Because of this, the Indian economy relies on his success. Following the release of the Hindenburg report, scrutiny has recently intensified around the connection between Gautam Adani and PM Narendra Modi. According to a letter uncovered by the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, in early 2014 the Securities and Exchange Board of India was handed evidence of alleged suspicious stock market activity by the Adani Group – but after Modi was elected months later, the government regulator's interest seemed to lapse.

The undesirable connections between large businesses and wealthy donors on one side and political parties and politicians on the other must be curbed. One effective approach involves political parties relying more on small-sum, grassroots donors, which promotes internal democracy and transparency within the parties.[35]

A potential solution to encourage this shift towards a more broad-based, small-sum, grassroots party financing model is to implement public state campaign funding based on a transparent formula. Such a funding system would not only reduce reliance on questionable funding sources but also stimulate greater membership participation and internal democratic practices within political parties. European countries like France have gone to great lengths to prevent corruption in politics by banning all forms of corporate donations to political parties, demonstrating the extent to which governments can act to eliminate private influence on the political process.

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[31] Swapan Sahoo, "The Economics of Election Campaigns in India," *Indian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 73, no. 4 (2017): 423–438.

[32] Ganguly, Diamond, and Plattner, *The State of India's Democracy.*

[33] Shashank Sastry, "Vote Buying and Electoral Integrity in India," *Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 2 (2014): 67–82.

[34] Gowda and Sridharan, "Reforming India's Party Financing and Election Expenditure Laws."

[35] *Ibid.*

Looking ahead, investigating entities like Adani is a promising avenue for further research. Understanding the specific impact of influential business figures on the political landscape and their role in campaign financing can provide valuable insights into the power dynamics within the electoral system.

Björkman and Witsoe (2014) provide an opposing view, arguing that when a politician chooses to spend money on their electoral campaign he or she does not buy votes; rather, the money they spend functions productively and performatively to generate relationships that ultimately win elections. Bhasker (2019) refutes this justification in his research. He analyzes that if candidates need to be wealthy to contest an election, only a small subset of the population can realistically hold office, resulting in legislators that have less in common with the citizens they represent.

A democracy is legitimate when it is accountable to the people it represents. Continuing the discourse on campaign finance is imperative as it not only enriches our comprehension of the Indian electoral process but paves way for potential reforms. The research serves as a foundation for uncovering strategies that can help enhance the integrity of India's electoral system, such as potentially introducing advanced technologies that provide a stronger sense of accountability. Digital media has become an integral tool for political parties in India, serving as a crucial platform for their campaigning and voter mobilization efforts. In 2014, one in five Indians had access to digital media. This number increased to one in three by 2019. Today, nearly half of India's 900 million eligible voters have internet access and are active on various social media platforms. Notably, the country boasts approximately 300 million Facebook users and over 200 million WhatsApp users.

While the primary target audience for political campaigns on digital media is the youth, including first-time voters, studies have revealed that people between the ages of 34 and 60 are also highly active on the internet. This demonstrates that campaigning on social media impacts every demographic group in some way. White-collar professionals constitute the middle class in India. For them, a desire for economic stability supersedes a need for transparent and fair systems. Consequently, they are active voters because the government they elect is responsible for providing them with employment and poverty alleviation measures. These provisions directly impact their standard of living and, on the surface level, appear to satiate their hunger for steady income. In particular, social media is popular among the urban middle class and white-collar professionals, who play a significant role in shaping public opinion.

It is crucial to emphasize that the regulation of electoral financing for digital campaigns is just as important as for physical campaigns. As digital media becomes the predominant platform for political engagement, ensuring transparency and accountability in campaign funding is essential to maintain the integrity of the electoral process. The Cambridge Analytica of 2018 case exemplifies this need for regulation. It involved the British consulting firm Cambridge Analytica having unauthorized access to the personal data of millions of Facebook users. The company allegedly harvested this data through a third-party app and exploited it to create psychographic profiles for targeted political advertising during various elections, including the 2016 U.S. presidential election. It led to increased scrutiny of digital campaign practices, calls for stronger data protection regulations, and a reevaluation of the role of social media platforms in elections.The consequences of this case ensured more regulation of the way in which organizations target voters.

A legitimate democracy is characterized by free and fair elections. To ensure that elections are fair, the electoral process has to be transparent. With opaque financing of electoral campaigns, voters do not get access to all the information they could use to make informed decisions. Opaque electoral financing also encroaches upon a voter's right to information. Without the entire picture, voters are unable to elect the parties that benefit

them. This reduces the legitimacy and integrity of Indian democracy.

By exposing the nexus between public and private financing and its influence on elections, this paper aims to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on electoral reform in the country. Furthermore, by fostering a more equitable and accountable electoral system, we can work towards strengthening the foundation of Indian democracy and ensuring that the voices of the people are the driving force behind electoral outcomes.

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Bullets, Blood, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising
John Riehl

Tensions between the impoverished native communities of Soweto, South Africa and the White Apartheid government came to a head in 1976. Following the enforcement of *Afrikaans* as the official language of teaching in Soweto schools in 1974, students vehemently opposed the government's policy. *Afrikaans* is an official language of White populations in South Africa, and Black students perceived the enforcement of *Afrikaans* in Black schools as yet another method of Apartheid oppression in South Africa.[1] After two years of increasing disdain for the government's enforcement of *Afrikaans* in classrooms, Black students took to the streets to lead protests against the *Afrikaans* language being the medium of teaching, as well as against the Apartheid government. However, what started as a peaceful student protest on June 16, 1976 devolved into a massacre, with police opening live ammunition fire on students merely bearing dust pans and stones to defend themselves.[2] Subsequently, the violence claimed the lives of twenty-three students and mounted hundreds of casualties among Soweto students and protesters.[3] For the second time in sixteen years, a peaceful protest among Black South Africans protesting the laws of the Apartheid government resulted in violence, the first being "The Sharpeville Massacre" in 1960.[4] In the aftermath of what came to be known as the "Soweto Uprising," survivors of the protest reflected on the events of June 16, collectively asking the same question: "Why would police open fire on unarmed children with live ammunition?".[5] In other words, "Why would our peaceful protest result in unanticipated direct violence?" The answer to these questions is the location in which the protest occurred. Soweto is not a naturally formed location in which residents decided to live. Rather, Soweto is a *socially produced* location, or a place created by the government with the intention of structurally depriving marginalized individuals of their human rights.[6] Additionally, because the government forced Black residents to live in a state of political, economic, and social deprivation, Soweto also became a *socially constructed* location, a phenomenon that occurs when residents transform a location through people's memories, social exchanges, and material use of the setting to convey symbolic meaning.[7] The social production and social construction of a place form a location's historical significance, for these aspects create a plethora of reasons for the manifestation of direct violence, also known as physical violence, during racially motivated protests. Thus, due to the socially produced and socially constructed aspects of

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[1] SABC Films, "June 16, 1976 Uprising, Students Relive That Day," YouTube, June 16, 2014, video, 1:00-4:45, www.youtube.com, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyicKHs_cSg.

[2] SABC Films, "June 16, 1976 Uprising, Students Relive That Day," YouTube, June 16, 2014, video, 12:35-12:40, www.youtube.com, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyicKHs_cSg.

[3] University of Michigan, "Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan," Michigan in the World, accessed November 11, 2024, https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa. umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/soweto_uprising#:~:text=While%20the%20government%20claimed%20that,into%20the%20month%20of%20June.

[4] Apartheid Museum, "Segregation in Action," in *Understanding Apartheid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 64.

[5] SABC Films, "June 16, 1976 Uprising, Students Relive That Day," YouTube, June 16, 2014, video, 21:10-21:20, www.youtube.com, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyicKHs_cSg.

[6] Setha M. Low, "Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica," in *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 4 (New York: Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, 1996), 861-862. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1996.23.4.02a00100.

[7] Ibid.

Soweto, the location itself served as the primary cause of direct violence during the Soweto Uprising and became a birthplace of anti-apartheid violence following the events of June 16th.

Social Production
Structural Violence in Soweto

Johan Galtung defines structural violence as "the systematic ways in which some groups are hindered from equal access to opportunities, goods, and services that enable the fulfillment of basic human needs".[8]The social production of Soweto entailed the White Johannesburg government's enforcement of structural violence, along with its tenets of gentrification and deprivation within the township. Furthermore, structural violence in Soweto is ascribed with being one of the most common causes of direct violence within the Soweto Uprising, as direct violence is often manifested when the oppressors attempt to quell the subjugated community's aims of destroying the unequal systems they endure.

The Johannesburg government utilized structural violence to legally discriminate against Black South Africans in Soweto and define the identity of the largest Black township in South Africa. At the dawn of the twentieth century, English miners struck gold in Johannesburg, South Africa, leading to a mass influx of White settlers to increase their fortunes. To protect their wealth, White government leaders in Johannesburg expelled Black individuals to live in "the slums" outside of the city through the Native Urban Areas

Act of 1923.[9] The act displaced thousands of Black South Africans from their homes and moved them into townships, marginalizing these individuals from the wealth of the White community. As a result of this legislative action, Blacks experienced the spread of disease and poverty within the slums while receiving no forms of government financial or medical support.[10]

Apartheid law continued to deprive Black citizen's human rights through the deprivation of access to education and employment opportunities.[11] Soweto students had little access to education opportunities, leading to low literacy rates and education attendance in Soweto.[12] The incredibly low rates of education among Soweto residents resulted in a sense of subordination among Black communities compared to the highly educated White population. Additionally, the scarcity of jobs for Black individuals became prominent following the passing of the Mines and Works Amendment Act, which removed all Black laborers from skilled industries.[13] Mining and manual labor jobs served as the only source of employment for Black laborers, but due to a mass influx of White laborers into Johannesburg, the government prioritized the hiring of White laborers in these industries over the existing Black labor force, once again perpetuating the cycle of deprivation in the Soweto community. Apartheid law also prohibited Black South Africans from voting in elections, owning 90% of South African land, and achieving citizenship in the nation.[14] These deprivations caused Black communities to be

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[8] "Peace and Violence," Harvard Divinity School, accessed April 1, 2024, https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/what-we-do/our-approach/peace-violence.

[9] "A History of Soweto," South African History Online, accessed May 6, 2024, https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-soweto.

[10] Apartheid Museum, "Segregation in Action," in *Understanding Apartheid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 22.

[11] Owen Crankshaw, "Class, Race, and Residence in Black Johannesburg,1923-1970," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no. 4 (2005): https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229642302_Class_Race_and_Residence_in _Black_Johannesburg_1923-1970. 377.

[12] Steve Mokwena, "The Era of the Jackrollers: Contextualizing the rise of the youth gangs in Soweto," October 30, 1991. https://www.csvr.org.za/wp-content/uploads/1991/03/ The-Era-of-the-Jackrollers.pdf. 3.

[13] Apartheid Museum, "Segregation in Action," in *Understanding Apartheid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 28.

[14] Gail Hovey, "Human Rights Violations in Apartheid South Africa," *Southern Africa Perspectives,* The Africa Fund, New York, 1983. http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-E93-84-al.sff.document.af000035.pdf. 2-3.

subjected to cases of forced relocation, unlawful arrest and trials, and death within prison containment. The government thus infringed upon Black individuals' human rights through the legal deprivation of education and employment opportunities, as well as access to land and fair judicial trials.

In the minds of both Black and White communities in and around Soweto, the tenets of structural violence became synonymous with the township itself in the early-to-mid twentieth century, insinuating that the location and its residents are inherently inferior to their oppressors. The nature of the location thus resembled the inequality and marginalization of Black individuals, leading them to challenge such treatment through protest. Following the government's attempt to institute the "language of the oppressor," *Afrikaans,* as the language medium in Soweto schools, Black students and families in Soweto took to the streets of the township to challenge Apartheid law. In response, the government sent White riot police to ensure the survival of structural violence within Soweto.[15] Direct violence ensued as a result of the songs students sang in the faces of the White police, detailing Soweto's association with gentrification and the deprivation of the human rights of Black individuals, along with challenging to Apartheid law. Students would no longer allow the Apartheid government to institute structural violence in the valued schools of Soweto, which served as the building blocks to restoring the prestige of Black individuals in the township. The Black nationalism heard in these songs infuriated police, and they became enveloped with their "racist" ideologies and turned "trigger happy," as

survivor Sipho Singiswa notes.[16] Partially motivated by the belief that Black individuals should not be treated with human dignity, Police opened fire on the protesters as retribution for their refusal of structural violence, fulfilling the hypothesis of structural violence being the origin of direct violence when subjugated communities challenge the oppressiveness of their authorities. Thus, the socially produced, structurally violent location of Soweto became one of the causes for direct violence in the Soweto Uprising.

Infrastructural Violence

In contrast with structural violence's focus on institutional arrangements that deprive subjugated groups of their human rights in Soweto, infrastructural violence focuses on how a location's physical structures, created by oppressive authorities, reinforce social stratification and hierarchies within the subjugated community (Rodgers and O'Neill, 404).[17] Moreover, infrastructural violence in Soweto encompassed the socio-spatial creation of poverty within Black communities, which led to the production of direct violence.

The Apartheid government designed Soweto to be a place in which infrastructure would be abysmal and the distribution of resources for housing and other living necessities would be riddled with inequality. Former Soweto resident Niq Mhlongo states "The house where I was born did not have windows, doors, or a paved floor when my parents moved in".[18] In order to simply create a floor for the home, her mother stole cow dung from the neighbor's farm. Mhlongo characterizes her mother's hands bearing the "scars of poverty" as a result of her actions to create a suitable living

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[15] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

[16] SABC Films, "June 16, 1976 Uprising, Students Relive That Day," YouTube, June 16, 2014, video, 15:00-15:20, www.youtube.com, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyicKHs_cSg.

[17] Rodgers, D., & O'Neill, B. (2012). Introduction: Infrastructural violence: Introduction to the special issue. *Ethnography*, *13*(4), 404. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43497506

[18] Niq Mhlongo, "The Gentrification of Soweto Hides the Scars of its Cruel Apartheid History," *The Guardian,* October 22, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/oct/22/gentrification-of-soweto-hides- cruel-apartheid-history

environment for their family. Mhlongo's family is a microcosm of Soweto families under Apartheid rule. The core of Apartheid policy aimed to strip Black South Africans of their land and place them in communities where the creation of infrastructure, or lack thereof, could be controlled by the White government.[19] The Apartheid government spent all housing subsidies on White individuals living in Johannesburg, while Black individuals received virtually none. This unequal distribution allowed for infrastructural violence to occur within Soweto, as the construction of Black homes and other infrastructure in Soweto would have no financial support, making these projects obsolete.

Additionally, Soweto was cut off from electricity and water supplies from Johannesburg by the city's government, further instituting infrastructural violence within the township.[20] The lack of infrastructure, living essentials, and government support created a legal perpetuation of poverty within Soweto. Competition over infrastructure and resources ensued, cultivating a culture of angst among fellow citizens towards their poverty-stricken conditions, as well as against the oppressive Apartheid government.

Soweto housed the antagonistic feelings of its residents until the Soweto Uprising on June 16, 1976. Students protested the *Afrikaans* language, as well as the infrastructural violence occurring in Soweto. Because student protesters chose the location of Soweto, the existence of infrastructural violence and the socio-spatial creation of poverty within the township heightened the nature and veracity of the protest, especially among the students leading the protest. Should the protest have been held in Johannesburg, there are no clear

indications that Black protesters would have embraced the same intensity instilled by the location.[21] Thus, the location of Soweto heightened the combative thoughts of protesters, leading them to verbally challenge police in the streets, as well as in the form of direct violence to defend themselves when the protest turned deadly. The socially produced infrastructural violence within Soweto not only resulted in protesters utilizing direct violence, but also in direct violence from the police themselves. For the same reasons police wanted to perpetuate the system of structural violence in Soweto when facing the protesters, they also had the desire to maintain the system of social stratification and poverty in the township. The Apartheid police's underlying racist ideologies forced riot police to unload live rounds of ammunition and tear gas upon the student-protesters. The nature of socially produced infrastructural violence is conveyed through police striking down student protesters in Soweto and the level of their direct violence would not have occurred in any community compared to poverty stricken townships such as Soweto.

Social Construction
"A Citadel of Resistance" (Nathan)

Soweto being socially constructed as a "citadel of resistance" provides further evidence for how the location is a primary factor in manifesting direct violence during the Soweto Uprising.[22] Anthropologist Setha Low defines a "socially constructed" location as the "transformation of a space through people's memories, social exchanges, and material use of the setting to convey symbolic

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[19] Rebecca Fogel, "Informal Housing, Poverty, and Legacies of Apartheid in South Africa," University of Washington, July 11, 2019, https://urban.uw.edu/news/informal-housing-poverty-and-legacies-of-apartheid-in- south-africa/

[20] Martin Abel, "Long-Run Effects of Forced Resettlement: Evidence from Apartheid South Africa," *The Journal of Economic History* 79, no. 4 (2015): 915-953, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050719000512. 2.

[21] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

[22] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

meaning".[23] Residents of a location are thus capable of defining the identity of their location through their experiences within it, as well as how they engage with the material setting and community within the location.

Soweto's history is one of long-standing resistance to Apartheid, seen in the African National Congress's organization and mobilization within Soweto, as well as Nelson Mandela's residency there until his arrest in 1962.[24] Since the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912, the ANC maintained deep ties to anti-Apartheid movements and rallies. The ANC also ran local branches of organization in Black townships across South Africa, while primarily operating out of Soweto.[25] While stationed in the dilapidated infrastructure of the township, the ANC launched movements of protest within the Soweto community and cultivated feelings of resistance towards Apartheid law among the residents. As the ANC became more outspoken in their resistance to Apartheid throughout the mid-twentieth century, Soweto became associated with the same essence of resistance due to the ANC's operations within the township. Black students then began to associate Soweto with acts of resistance, as the ANC's vehement resistance to the government's policies of structural and infrastructural violence formed resident's association with the location. Nelson Mandela's residence in Soweto heightened these attitudes through his outspoken opposition and protest of Apartheid within South Africa. A voice for the depraved, a voice for millions of Black South Africans, and a voice for Soweto itself, Mandela's

protest and support of Black lives within Soweto roused the necessity for Black justice and representation in Soweto. Thus, as Professor Lauri Nathan states, Soweto became a "citadel of resistance".[26]

When protests erupted in Soweto on June 16, protesters embraced the township's embodiment of resistance, becoming a group of freedom fighters aiming to resist the oppression of Apartheid. In turn, police believed that quelling the resistance of Soweto would signify the quelling of all anti-Apartheid resistance efforts as a whole. After all, Soweto was the largest Black township within South Africa in the 1970s, thus the destruction of resistance there would signify the Apartheid government's capacity to quell resistance in any Black township. Police use of violence would reinforce their racial and physical superiority, maintaining the long-standing system of oppression within Soweto. Therefore, another reason for direct violence during the Soweto Uprising is found in the riot police's desire to diminish the connotation of Soweto as being a location of resistance.

Soweto as a Symbol of Direct Violence

The second socially constructed aspect of Soweto is the townships' association with direct violence itself, and on June 16th, such association led police to willingly unleash violence upon the protesters. The residents of Soweto experienced direct violence for generations through the Apartheid government's use of direct violence to enable systems of structural violence and infrastructural violence.[27] Decades of government-

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[23] Setha M. Low, "Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica," in *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 4 (New York: Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, 1996), 862. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1996.23.4.02a00100. 862.

[24] "Mandela House," *Atlas Obscura*, accessed April 19, 2024. http://www.atlasobscura.com/places/ mandela-house.

[25] Vincent Darracq, "The African National Congress (ANC) Organization at the Grassroots," in *Oxford University Press* 43, no. 29 (2018): https://www.jstor.org/journal/africanaffairs. 490.

[26] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

[27] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

sponsored police brutality in Soweto to ensure racial hierarchy, superiority, and the enforcement of structural violence and infrastructural violence led citizens to believe that Soweto existed simply so that the government could unleash direct violence upon Black individuals. Yet, government-induced direct violence in Soweto is just one half of Soweto's association with direct violence.

The other half of Soweto's relationship with direct violence is the culture of direct violence in Soweto among Black South Africans. The ANC served as more than just a symbol of vehement vocal resistance to Apartheid. Due to Nelson Mandela and other Unionists' fateful decisions, the ANC embarked on campaigns of direct violence and militarism to attack government buildings and other government expenditures.[28] The youth in Soweto glorified the ANC's use of violence and associated Soweto with being the birthplace of armed struggle against their White oppressors. Youth in Soweto also possessed great familiarity with direct violence due to gang violence throughout the township. Because of the marginal educational opportunities allotted to young children, they often joined gangs and abandoned academics, further instigating a culture of violence in Soweto.[29]

A culture of violence made Soweto's identity synonymous with armed resistance and the uncontrolled use of violence. Black residents constructed Soweto's identity, and the White community feared such identity. When riot police arrived at the protests in Soweto, they believed that due to the history of violence in Soweto, violence at the hands of Black protesters could occur at any moment. Combining these connotations with the history of structural and infrastructural violence in Soweto and its identity as a citadel of resistance, riot police felt incredibly uneasy about facing

thousands of Black protesters in the township. Thus, any acts of aggression would be taken by police as actions of direct violence. Even though the vocal protest on June 16 did not have the same form as the direct violence seen over the course of Soweto's history, police viewed the Black nationalist songs Soweto students sang as preludes to their use of direct violence against police. Police then opened fire to ensure that the direct violence associated with the location of Soweto would not come to fruition. Thus, Soweto's association with direct violence for decades instigated feelings of angst among riot police, leading to the manifestation of direct violence during the Soweto Uprising.

The socially produced and socially constructed aspects of Soweto, South Africa illustrate the location's significance as a catalyst for the plethora of causes for the use of direct violence during the Soweto Uprising. When researchers analyze the events of June 16th, 1976, there is a consensus that the structural violence within Soweto for decades under Apartheid rule perpetuated all of the other causes of direct violence, whether they be socially produced or socially constructed. In the eyes of Professor Nathan, structural violence within Soweto frames the ways in which infrastructural violence, forms of resistance, and direct violence all became associated within the significance of Soweto.[30] In the fallout of the Soweto Uprising, the international community surged into outrage, and Black South Africans took up arms across the country to end their submissiveness and heighten their use of militancy in combating the oppression of Apartheid

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[28] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

[29] Steve Mokwena, "The Era of the Jackrollers: Contextualizing the rise of the youth gangs in Soweto," October 30, 1991. https://www.csvr.org.za/wp-content/uploads/1991/03/ The-Era-of-the-Jackrollers.pdf. 3.

[30] Lauri Nathan, "Blood, Bullets, and Bodies: Explaining Direct Violence in the Soweto Uprising," April 12, 2024, voice memo.

rule.[31] Soweto became more than just a place defined by its history and residents' application of such history to create the meaning behind the location. The events of June 16 turned Soweto into a place nationally and internationally recognized as the birthplace of the heightened violence in anti-Apartheid protests following 1976. A significant question then arises from these developments: Why did Black South Africans respond so intensely to the police violence of the Soweto Uprising? Students respond with the utmost intensity because Soweto served as a microcosm for all Black lives in South Africa under Apartheid rule. Every Black community and township in South Africa endured socially produced structural violence and infrastructural violence to enforce social hierarchy. However, the distinct nature of Soweto being a "citadel of resistance" and its history of direct violence cultivated a spirit of martyrdom among Black residents of Soweto following 1976. In particular, Black students' willingness to protest a government with immense resources and power to show their rejection of Apartheid law meant that these young men and women embraced a willingness to die for a cause representing the struggle of millions of Black Africans.[32] Newly inspired Black communities around South Africa thus became engaged in armed struggle with the Apartheid government, persisting through the immense bloodshed to achieve recognition of their human rights. If modern day Peace Studies scholars aim to eliminate the destructiveness of direct violence, the Soweto Uprising can provide an explanation for how. In states where structural and infrastructural violence thrives, people will often connote these aspects of violence with the places they live, instigating cultures of resistance and direct violence often shared among oppressed groups. To prevent the manifestation of direct violence, policymakers need to look at ways in which they can address these communities' structural and infrastructural forms of violence to ensure prosperity and peace.

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[31] "The Significance of 1976," Apartheid Museum, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.apartheidmuseum.org/exhibitions/the-significance-of-1976

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