

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Organized in Prague on March 7–9, 2019

Anglo-American University, Czech Republic Norwich University, Vermont, USA

STUDENT PRO

Partner of The Conference:

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

The program is as follows:

Thursday, March 7th, 2019:

Conference opening ceremony

Morning sessions: Presentation of conference keynote speakers, special speakers, and students

Afternoon session: Post Bellum Documentary Screening and Discussion, Round Table on Roots of Human Rights

Friday, March 8th, 2019:

Moot Court

Morning session I: Contemporary Human Rights Challenges in Eastern Europe Morning session I: The Protection of Minorities

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

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

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

Afternoon session III: Women: Historical Victims and Activists

Saturday, March 9th, 2019:

Mock Truth Commission

CREATORS OF THE PROCEEDINGS:

Mihaela Stratulat Miroslava Dvo áková

Prague, August 31, 2019

FOREWORD: IDEA AND MISSION OF THIS CONFERENCE¹

Petr Jan PAJAS Cofounder of the Conference and AAU President Emeritus

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

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

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

As Prof. Brucken in his more detailed proposal from October 2017² explained, we should consider human rights viewed in relation to their historical legacy, philosophical and socioeconomic background, including their conditioning and differentiation caused by diversity in culture, religion, traditions and even as a factor in economic development within framework of related ideals of humanity and enlightenment.

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

For more than twenty-five centuries and in most of human civilization and cultures there is known the ancient Golden Rule: *What you do not wish for yourself, you ought not to do to anybody else*³. It is, perhaps, the fundament from which other ethical and moral principles have grown, as welWhat you do ient

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

So, is the right for life self-evident?

It took nearly a century until slaves became free (1863) in states of the Union – and the cost for it were thousands of lives lost in civil war with the Confederation.

Another century later, in 1968, assassination of Martin Luther King ignited the final battle for full liberty and right to pursue the rout for happiness for all. In the same year 1968, Czechoslovakia was occupied by Soviet bloc armies in an effort to prevent development towards more freedoms of individuals and society.

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

In August this year we shall commemorate 230 years since French National Assembly issued the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens**⁵. Since then, we not only recognize the basic rights of every man, but also special rights of inhabitants of certain territory – state citizens. Most of the world accepted these basic civil rights that are usually incorporated into constitutions and civil codes. There is even the universally binding **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** accepted as a basic convention by United Nations in December 1948⁶.

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

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

Second is the US view of a society where people are used to follow their individual dreams and chances for happiness in life within an open society of free individuals. Still, some people in America may feel burden of the past, since an important part of population has ancestors who were forced to live as slaves and servants to richer and happier or were deprived of original aboriginal rights and cultures.

And third, there is also the view based upon experience of students and experts from other parts of the world, where the past and even the present were and are still deemed to balance between frozen conflicts and active wars stemming from hatred between those of different religion, faith, nationality or ethnicity.

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

Allow me to mention some of such events, which are closely connected with Czechs and their national history and might be considered as important even on European level:

1918: Independence of new state for Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenians – Czechoslovak Republic following decay of the Habsburg Empire. In 1919/1920, the new Republic legalized suffrage for women⁷ as one of the first in Europe.

1938/1939: Loss of territories to Germany and later full loss of independence after occupation by Germany and creation of the "Protectorat Böhmen und Mähren". That was the end of democracy, followed by implementation of German Nazi Nuremberg Laws (from 1935) in the Protectorate. As a consequence, Czech Jews, Roma and mentally handicapped were deprived of all rights, expelled from society or even literally evaporated. Mementos of that time are names like: Terezin, Auswitsch, Lidice, Lety ... 1945: Prague upraising at the end of the World War II in Europe. These were happy days marked, however, by atrocities committed in revenge, including expulsion of millions of Germans from this country during 1945–46. We are still feeling the pain from what did happen and might have not happen, if the Golden Rule would be respected.

1948: End of democracy in post-war Czechoslovakia. That resulted in the complete liquidation of any private business, tough censorship, limited rights for free movement, closed frontiers, persecution, political trials with death penalties, associations dissolution and confiscation of foundations' property, ... We had to learn how to live in regulated society fully controlled by Communist Party and its subordinates.

1968: Prague Spring. It was a time of hope for return to democratic rules and economic freedoms. An idealistic dream brutally terminated by intervention of Soviet and other armies followed by "normalization" of internal politics, i.e. return to totality. For me,

personally, and hundred5>19-109S 0 595(d)-9(5 0 1 106.58 4e)4(, 2 106.580)-69(F)6(or35100520055

CATHOLIC CHURCH'S VARIANT PERSPECTIVE

Shayla MOYA Norwich University smoya@stu.norwich.edu Germany, Tiso was able to maintain the independence of Slovakia and act on his radically anti-Semitic and nationalist political views. Although Tiso's anti-Semitic views were frowned upon by several Catholic leaders during the Holocaust, his views were not uncommon as the Catholic Church had never fully accepted members of the Jewish community as brothers. Author David I. Kertzer mentions how a Jesuit journal established by Pope Pius IX in 1850 to spread the pope's views on international issues to the Catholic world called *La Civiltà Cattolica* published an article in 1922 titled "The world revolution and the Jews" in which it states how "the leaders of the Russian Revolution … were not 'indigenous Russians' but rather 'Jewish intruders'".² Under an institution that has historically seen Jews as outsiders and intruders despite of its doctrine, President Tiso, while still a Catholic priest, was forced into serving two separate entities, Germany and the Vatican. As a religious leader, President Tiso declared Slovakia a Catholic state and constantly boasted on the country's religious principles, but in 1941 he passed the Jewish Codes. Similar to the anti-Semitic codes passed by the Nazi party, the Slovakian Jewish Codes prohibited Jews from participating in various parts of society like owning real The 1st Interdisciplinary Conference on Human Rights, March 7–

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

4. NO HOPE FOR ARGENTINIAN CATHOLICS

Human rights activists throughout Argentina are still uncovering more gruesome details of the massive amounts assassinations that took place between the years of 1976 and 1983 in Argentina, now regarded as the "Dirty War". It all began on March 24, 1976 when the Argentinian military organized a right-wing coup to overthrow President Isabel Martinez de Peron. With the successful overthrow of the government led by Lieutenant General Jorge Rafeal Videla, Admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera and Brigidear General Orlando Ramon Agosti, Lieutenant General Videla became the first president and dictator of the newly formed government that began the terrorization of the Argentinian people. During these seven years, the military dictators put the country under a process of National Reorganization where they "disappeared" 30,000 people by taking them of deadly flights. After spending time in detention camps where the captors would be subjected to tremendous amounts of mental and physical abuse, they would be taken on a "death flight! .e

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

5. SILENCE CAN BE VIOLENCE

On March 13, 2013, Father Jorge Mario Bergoglio from Argentina became the first pope from Latin American and all of his actions, whether past or present, have been criticized ever since. In the case of Pope Francis, it was the actions he did not take that have caused him the most harm. During the Dirty War, Pope Francis, then under the name of Father Bergoglio, was head of the Argentine Jesuits. Two of his priests, Orlando Yorio and Francisco Jalics, were captured, tortured and released by the military in 1976, and they accused him turning them over to their captors. While concrete evidence confirming the accusations has yet to be found, Pope Francis has provided minimal information of the actions endured during the years of 1976 to 1983. It is clear he knew of the "disappeared" and the separation of children as he admits during an interview with his personal biographer, Sergio Rubin, the endless secret extents he went through to help many of those captured by the military, including his two priests. Father Bergoglio took the cowardly approach by supporting the regime in public, while helping small amounts of

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

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COMMUNIST USE OF THE POLICE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Abstract:

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

Keywords: Com

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

3. NATIONAL SECURITY

The most important unit stationed in the interior of the country was the armed National Security. This branch was used more as a show of power rather than a normal police force. The National Security had units stationed in strategically important locations or districts. The locations were based on areas that might become problematic or hostile, such as large cities, in which case the National Security would be called in to put down any insurrection, such as riots or protests. This unit served as a kind of reserve army, to be used only in the case of major disturbances. Although they were not the highest paid, this unit was the best taken care of by the Communist government in other ways. As author M.P. writes, the National Security unit was "highly motorized; their arms and equipment of the security best taken care of 1 274.25 732.58 Tm0 q0.0 595

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Polish model. Jind ich Veselý,

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

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

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

The pogroms were the result of several long and short term social, economic, and political factors. The most important was the economic competition between certain categories of Gentile and Jewish workers, such as the increase in the Jewish population of artisans, such as textiles workers, shopkeepers and day laborers. This caused Poles to create rural cooperatives and other economic institutions to exclude Jews from economic life.¹¹ The 1905 and 1906 pogroms in Bialystok were just some 50 miles from where Lemkin grew up. In 1905, six pogroms took place in Bialystok. One happened in April and the others on July 12, July 30, August 14, October 18,1905, June 1, and June 14, 1906.¹² During the pogroms in October, 22 Jews were killed. The reason for this pogrom was the October Manifesto, which tried to end the 1905 revolution, and stated that Russia would switch to a constitutional monarchy. The Black Hand's origination led to the planning of m

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HOW THE SZLACHTA PERMITTED KINGS TO RULE, NOT GOD

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Abstract:

The rights of the Szlachta, or the nobility of Poland and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are a fascinating example of a group who which once given rights, become an institution that shows how recognizing their given rights allows them to unite as a group and allow for equality amongst each other, and refuse to allow them to be restricted or taken away in any regard. The power of the institution that they became which allowed them to elect a King to rule over them under a social and legal contract not so dissimilar to Jean-

most powerful group of individuals when it came to protection of rights and a check on authoritarianism in Renaissance and early modern Europe.

Keywords:

-Lithuania, Sejm, Szlachta

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

The concept of electing kings was not new in terms of Poland's history, and actually goes back all the way to the 9th century with the claimed election of the legendary founder of Poland's first royal family, King Piast the Wheelwright (Rosu 33). A verified election though had not actually occurred as a real event since the year 1386, with the marriage of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Władysław II Jagiełło to Queen Jadwiga of Poland and his subsequent election as King (Rosu 33). Since that election however, "elections" were in practice merely confirmation of the eldest male child of the reigning monarch (Rosu 33). The death of the last Jagiełłon without an heir, Sigismund II Augustus,

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

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

The ability of all members of the nobility to control and participate in these elections is rooted in Polish history, as the nobility had a longstanding degree of autonomy and control over the monarch, Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor of the Commonwealth from 1578 to 1605, said that

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

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

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

The second was called the Henrician Articles, named after Henry III Valois since he was the first made to sign them before his ascension in 1573, and coronation in 1574 (Bardach 220). These articles functioned as the new constitution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the creation of a new constitution in 1791 (Bardach 220). These 18 articles became part of

adopted in 1573 by the Sejm and was the first European act granting religious freedoms to both the Szlachta and to the common man (Sugar 301). It was written and agreed upon shortly after the death of the last Jagiełłon King, Sigismund II Augustus, in an effort to keep the diverse Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth together and prevent possible instability (Sugar 301). There is also reason to believe that its adoption was the result of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France when anywhere from 5,000 to 30,000 Huguenots were killed by Catholic mobs. Since the King could only ever be a Catholic, and the new soon to be King of the Commonwealth was a French Catholic, the Szla

Noailles, Emmanuel Henri Victurnien. (1878) *Henri De Valois Et La Pologne En 1572*. Paris: M. Lévy Frères.

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

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

Both countries have used and continue to use a variety of mechanisms of information

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

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

Citizen misinformation erodes the system of checks and balances that exists in the vertical checking system between its government and citizens. Apathy of public opinion, the rule of law, and an effective control of information allowed the Law and Justice party to boldly take control of the Constitutional Tribunal and the National Council of the Judiciary (tasked with appointing judges) in mid-2018. This is the main reason why the Polish government has been labelled as an illiberal regime by the international community. In response to this illegal move, the European Union has triggered Article 7 of the European Union Treaty on Poland, thus be

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

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

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

As the analysis has demonstrated, the Polish government is progressively tightening its control over the flow of information in the country. It is effectively taking over its free media and replacing it with pro-government media used to push state agendas; it has engaged in storing the metadata of its citizens with a weak pretext; and has eroded its democratic institutions, which are relatively new and enjoyed consistent improvement since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Polish government is not explicitly violating the people's

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3. THE ILLIBERAL CASE OF HUNGARY

Hungary has taken the most vocal illiberal information control stance in Europe. Since 2010,

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

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

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

4. WHAT CAN THE EUROPEAN UNION DO?

It is ironic to think that Article 7, the European Union's "nuclear" sanction, is completely useless due to the mutual cooperation of Poland and Hungary. Much of what the EU can do in order to begin tackling the resurgence of illiberalism and information control is to begin by assigning a variety of commissions to gain a detailed understanding of how exactly these advances are affecting citizens' participation in their political processes as well as in the participation in European integration. The Visegrad Insight Magazine published an issue where the future of Central Europe was discussed. As a suggestion for the EU's actions to combat Poland and Hungary's illiberal advance, is "a clear and principled stance by EU institutions on the rule of law in individual member states". The suggestion seems obvious, because it is. The EU has failed to stand up strongly against the illiberal practices of Poland and Hungary. This negligence is extremely dangerous in the face of the rise of global nationalist and increasingly illiberal movements. If other countries find these models appealing, as is being seen in countries such as Brazil, Nicaragua, and Turkey, we may see the very practice of democracy in serious danger in the coming years. The Helsinki Institute for Human Rights recommends the "EU Agency for Fundamental Rights to engage in further research to document ways in which the judicial independence is increasingly subject to assault in a growing number of EU Member States.". These two previous suggestions would jointly improve the EU's capability of enforcing laws and sanctions against countries which violate the EU's democratic standards. For the same reason, authors at Visegrad Insight propose t

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

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Abstract:

military occupation and eventual settlements of the West Bank in 1967 and throughout the early 1980s,

violation of the destruction of the Palestinian peop sources needed for life and prosperity. This subject continues to be an ongoing issue of high contention in the international political field. However, by looking at the origin of how this violation of land actually

represent and defend the rights of those who are unable to represent themselves.

Keywords: Israel, Occupation, Palestine, West Bank

1. INTRODUCTION

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

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a significant achievement in the history of human rights. This document, which was composed by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, helps set a common standard of rights and abilities for all peoples of all nations. The Declaration was affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 as General Assembly resolution 217 A¹. The declaration's 30 articles all have a specific focus towards the protection of individuals. Some refer to individual rights, such as the

individual towards the community, including the freedom of movement². Freedom of movement is defined by the UDHR as "a citizen of a state in which that citizen is present has

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The demolishing of Palestinian homes is not a rare human right violation that occurs in the unlawfully occupied West Bank. Th

peoples. Many areas in the Middle East, Israel included, suffer from a drastic water shortage as a result of a complex interaction of factors such as population growth, land-use, agricultural technologies and weather conditions. As the human rights advocacy group Amnesty International explains in its report, *Troubled Waters* Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water, "since Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, it has denied its Palestinian inhabitants access to the water

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

Through these two orders, the Israeli army not only took control of local wells, but also much larger established water sites, and many cases took advantage of West Bank Palestinians economically as a result. One such example of this was when the Israeli army seized control of The West Bank Water Department, which operated around 13 wells, all located in the West Bank, and had been established by Jordan in 1966 to develop and maintain the West Bank water supply system.²⁶ The water from these wells is sold to Palestinian communities and to Israeli settlements, often times for a much higher cubic meter of water price than that of Israelis, and more still compared to Israeli West Bank settlers.²⁷ Under these new Israeli military orders imposed in the Occupied Territory Zone, Palestinians could no longer drill new wells, repair existing ones, or carry out other any water-related projects without first obtaining a permit from the Israeli government. This further created a method to discriminate against the Palestinian population as a whole, as such permits could be obtained after a lengthy and complicated bureaucratic process. Only 13 permits were granted in the 29 years from 1967 to the Oslo Accords in 1993.²⁸ The sudden acquisition and exploitation of the West Bank's water supplies and aquatic land as a result of the 1967 war no doubt contributed to the exceeding health concerns the Palestinians faced until the Oslo Accords, and highlight Israel's disregard of human rights in relation to the land of the West Bank and its inhabitants.

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

²⁶ The United Nations. "Water Resources Of The Occupied Palestinian Territory"

https://www.un.org/unispal/document/water-resources-of-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-ceirpp-dpr-studydpr-publication/ [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

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²⁵ Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

²⁷ Selby. "Dressing up Domination," 134.

²⁸ Amnesty International "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access To Water." https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdf/mde150272009en.pdf [accessed 24 Nov 2018].

²⁹ The United Nations. "The Human Right. to Sanitation Mil re Human v

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MANDATORY PALESTINE: COMPETING NATIONALISMS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

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Abstract:

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

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

1. INTRODUCTION

The Middle East provides a unique lens to view constructs of national identity and association, as well as their relationship to regional conflict and ever-changing, dynamic politics. Foreign

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

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Having utilized Anderson's thoughts as the operational definition of identity, other research into the connection of identity and violence should be considered prior to delving into the complex history of Mandate Palestine. This paper considers the theories of three sets of authors that connected violence to identity in their writings. First, Professors Husamettin Inac and Feyzullah Unal of Dumlupinar University (Turkey) agree with the general concept of Anderson's definition but place greater importance on the importance and consequences of these identities. Inac and Unal divide identity into two parts: gained and granted. Gained

the Zionist cause Jewish. While this paper presents the argument of an institutionalized and granted identity, it frames the argument through the lens of political policy, legal institutionalization, and historical and territorial context: not through the framework of a racially or ethnically motivated ideology. While many of the claims presented in this paper focus on legitimization and institutionalization, some level of responsibility must rest solely on the

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While there was later debate as to whether McMahon intended to promise the lands of Palestine to Ali, the Sharif of Mecca claimed land up the Mediterranean Coast as sovereign Arab territory, to which McMahon agrees. The land which McMahon conveys cannot be recognized by Great Britain as solely sovereign Arab territory, which lies 600 kilometers north of the northernmost point in Israel. This exclusion to the land granted to Arabs could not reasonably be assumed by Hussein bin Ali to include the regions of Palestine. Before the correspondence begins to discuss the physical combat against the Ottomans and Germans in formed under Sheikh Izzedin al-Qassam. Qassam's 200 followers were responsible for numerous attacks on innocent Jews and British police officers throughout Palestine before his death at the hands of British police in 1935. While he failed to encourage the Arab political leadership to promote rebellion, al-Qassam's funeral was attended by thousands, and his status as the leader of the first organized, armed resistance to the Jews encouraged followers (Black, 2017, 72–74).

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

Numerous auxiliary Jewish militant groups also operated throughout Palestine during the British Mandate. Under threat of Arab vio

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With each passing wave of Jewish immigration, the shared space of Arabs and Jews became more densely populated. Arab elite rejected Jewish immigration with Muhammad Amin Husseini, head of the Supreme Muslim Council, writing in 1921 to the British High

7. CONCLUSION

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

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

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Abstract:

The League of Nations was an international organization that was founded in 1920. The first aim of this unique organization was to prevent local and global conflicts all over the world by Collective security and control of the internal policy of a particular country. All disputes were expected to be resolved in a peaceful way. There was also another, implicit goal to protect human and minorities' rights

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

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

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

Against this background, Jews faced the most difficult situation as they did not have their own state. During the Paris Conference, Jews from all countries of Eastern and Western Europe clamored for the individual, civic and political 871 om]/Type

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

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

The first Article states:

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

On the 20th of October, 1933, Germany (Weimar Republic) announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations without any notice of intention in advance and therefore breached the first Article. A rejected petition for giving Germany a military parity became the pretext for abandoning the League of Nations. Great Britain, France, Italy, and the USA presented the new version of treaty regarding disarmament for Germany and it was rejected.⁸ Germany was insulted by this agreement and claimed that if Members of the League do not treat it as an equal, the German government was not going to participate in International Conferences anymore.⁹ It

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THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

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Abstract:

Political Union (WSPU), a women-only British

violent actions. The NUWSS believed in peaceful campaigns through collecting petitions, and allowing men to join them. The WSPU believed in direct action, such as breaking laws, arranging violent

were used to successfully lobby for voting rights for women.

Keywords:

1. INTRODUCTION

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

³ British Library Learning, "What is the difference between the suffragists and the suffragettes," <u>https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/suffragists-and-suffragettes</u> [Accessed 19 Nov 2018].

¹ Holton and Purvis, *Votes for Women*, 111.

² Smith, Suffrage Discourse in Britain During the First World War, 2.

2. PERSUADING PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

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

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

3. NEGOTIATION WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Aside from persuading the people of Britain, the WSPU also successfully lobbied for voting rights for women by negotiating with government officials. In 1905, Emmeline Pankhurst went to London to persuade a member of parliament (MP) to sponsor the proposed Women's Enfranchisement Bill as a private member's bill. ⁸ The Women's Enfranchisement Bill was to enable voting rights for women at elections. Pankhurst did this so the bill would not look like it was directly from the WSPU because then it would not even get looked at by the MP. Her

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

4. VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION TOWARD AUTHORITY

The WSPU not only negotiated with government officials, but also violently directed actions towards Britain's authorities. Emmeline Pankhurst created a permanent motto for the WSPU, "Deeds not words". The "deeds" she referred to were violent actions, such as breaking laws, holding rowdy demonstrations, damaging buildings, and destroying property. Members

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

a change in Britain. A decade after this change, women were able to vote on the same conditions as men. In 1928, all British women over the age of 21 were granted the right to vote in elections.²⁶ The violent acts of The Women's Social and Political Union's may have played aDHG

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

3. OTTOMAN HISTORY CONTEXT

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

However, after the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, the freedom of religion was dramatically violated within the Ottoman Empire for the Armenians by the regime of Sultan Hamid II. It was believed that before the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan had no special enmity to the Armenians as well to any political aspiration of the nation of Armenia. It was believed the condition for advocating for their protection had first marked them out for suspicion and hatred by the Ottoman government and the Sultan.¹⁴ Rolin-Jaequemyms, president of the Belgian Institute of International Law and an observer of Ottoman affairs, supported this claim by discussing how the Turks had responded to the huge immigration of Circassians, who has had past tensions with the Armenians, poured into the Ottoman territory, specifically Armenian districts, after the Russo-Turkish war.¹⁵

and its large and varied non-Muslim population. This system had taught Turkish Muslims to look down on Christians as a whole, adding more fuel to the fire on why the Armenians were

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

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

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

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

One of the most significant common elements between the Armenians and the Jews has been the inferior status to which they have been relegated for centuries as belittled minorities by nation-states and the dominant groups 0.1 **b**26 n the orld War in 1915.

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

6. CONCLUSION

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

Der Matossian, B. (2014). Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
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authors focused mainly on the role of students during the Arab Spring, they participation, and the goals they followed, having different backgrounds and different political beliefs. The paper also referred to the human rights violations that the students were exposed to during the demonstrations, and, lastly, the paper summarized the good outcomes, and the achievements resulted from the student activism.

For the case of The Velvet Revolution of Czechoslovakia, we have used

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

After the revolution of January 25 in Egypt, the freedom of speech and participation among the students have reached its peak in the period of 2011–2013²², nevertheless, a clear declination was seen after 2013 because participants started to cause many risks, and this is because of the danger they were exposed to, and that danger were illustrated in detainment and even suspension from universities²³, the freedom of the students went back to be constrained, the human rights of the students were clearly violated, hence, the authorities declined all the student's councils in all of the public universities²⁴, however, after the revolution, the students were not scared of any public activism, such as, participating in political protests, or publishing any press decorations or protestations²⁵, furthermore, this improvement did not last for long, during the period of the acting president Adly Mansour, the students lost their freedom, they were only allowed to speak up in the favor of the regime, otherwise they would be harmed

constitution, there is a right to freedom of thought and speech, as well as, most importantly, the right to demonstrations³⁶:

Article 34

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

Article 39

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

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

The events that happened in Ukraine and the students' will to protest may be explained through Liberalism and especially Neoliberalism International Relations theories. As was mentioned earlier, the revolution started after the Ukrainian government's decision to stop the process of signing the Association Agreement with the EU. Ukrainian students, by protesting, showed their desire to cooperate with the democratic states, which the European Union is.⁴⁵ Due to the weak and unstable economic and political situation in Ukraine, it seeks for the cooperation with other, more powerful, states and international institutions, which is the goal of Neo-Liberalism.⁴⁶ In Neo-Liberalism, the states have mutual interests, which can be achieved through the cooperation among states,⁴⁷ and it leads to the social, economic and technologies exchange⁴⁸, so this, again, explains the Ukrainian reaction towards the refusal of the government to sign the cooperation agreement with the EU, as, for instance, from the economic side, it would lead to the free trade of goods and services.⁴⁹ The cooperation with the EU would be beneficial for the economic and political future of Ukraine, as the EU promotes western democratic values and institutions,⁵⁰ which means that the society will be better-off, as, for instance, such important things as human rights will be more respected, than it used to be.⁵¹ What we can conclude is that Ukraine wants to become a stable democratic state, which could

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷ Larner, Neoliberalism? (2003), 509.

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

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

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

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

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as the concentration of power and corruption⁷⁹ are the enemies of liberalism⁸⁰, become fully free and join the EU, which would provide the path to do so. In each revolution, the goals and motives of the protesting students may be clearly seen and understood through the prism of the Liberalism theory. In every revolution, there was the goal to achieve freedom, which is also the goal of the Liberalism theory.⁸¹ According to Liberalism, there has to be a democracy and it must be protected⁸², that is also what the students from each revolution wanted to achieve. The students that were protesting, wanted the government to provide the values of freedom and human dignity,⁸³ which is the Liberalist approach as well. The protesters believed in most liberalist claim that everyone should be free and equal.⁸⁴ As was mentioned earlier, all students, in every case, needed to achieve human rights, as they were violated in each case, in liberalism, human rights are really important⁸⁵, as they provide the rights and freedoms to the people, which makes it more equal and free. In liberalism, both positive and negative liberties are important.⁸⁶ Regarding the concept of negative liberty⁸⁷, in each revolution, the protesting students wanted to be free from fear, they wanted to be free from the bad government's control. In the positive liberty, they wanted to have human rights provided, as well as social, civil and economic ones. They wanted to have such basic rights as rights to free speech, good education and others. This is what unites all of the three revolutions. In each case there were circumstances that did not allow people to be fully free. The students fought for justice, truth and respect.⁸⁸

7. THE ROLE OF CIRCUMSTANCES

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

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⁷⁹ McCloskey, *Liberalism*, (1974), 20.

⁸⁰ Humphrey, Liberalism, (1955), 430.

⁸¹ Humphrey, *Liberalism*, 432.

⁸² Humphrey, *Liberalism*, 433.

⁸³ Humphrey, *Liberalism*, 430.

⁸⁴ Humphrey, *Liberalism*, 419.

⁸⁵ McCloskey, *Liberalism*, 13.

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

8. CONCLUSION

The importance of having basic elements of human rights was the case in the three revolutions – The Euromaidan, the Arab Spring, and the Velvet Revolution. The violations of human rights of the innocent civilians were clearly emphasized, all of the three countries governments responded with violence to the protests, tried to stop the students' activist movements, and to cut down their opinion expressions. However, even though that the three cases had a lot of similarities, some differences also were present, the circumstances that the protests faced were different, especially in the Velvet Revolution, as the circumstances in Czechoslovakia helped out to accomplish the demands of the students in shorter time than the other two revolutions. In addition, the aftermath of the Euromaidan revolution, and the Arab spring did not bring peaceful and successful outcomes as much as in Czechoslovakia, and this is due to already suitable for

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<u>conflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/kurtz_czechoslovakia.pdf</u> Larner, Wendy (2003): Neoliberalism?

and most French positions were overrun with ease due to the help of Japanese air and naval support along the Gulf of Tonkin coast. It was not until mid-1941 that the Japanese occupied the entirety of French Indochina following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. The Vichy government was complicit in allowing the Japanese to sequester resources from the colony throughout the war⁴. The resources exported were mainly grains, such as rice, to go to Japanese armies on campaign, but rubber plantations were built by the Japanese, and rubber was being exported as well, as much as 40% of Japanese exports out of Indochina were rubber⁹. In late 1944, Vichy France collapsed following the Allied invasion at Normandy. The same Vichy French colonial administrators remained in place for the moment, but some changes were made in secret. In March of 1945 the Japanese launched an offensive against all French positions in Indochina, and though the Japanese were outnumbered, they were able to achieve victory by May. All French government, military personnel, and civilians were either killed or interned. Many fled across the Chinese border only to be interned by the Chinese. The heaviest fighting was at Lang Son along the Chinese border, where Japanese troops took captive a high ranking French general as well as a French colonial administrator and beheaded them after each refused to surrender the garrison of Lang Son. At the same time, they were fighting with the French armies, mainly comprised of Tonkinese or Vietnamese, the Japanese were also coming into conflict with Viet Minh guerilla fighters in the North, who had been supplied by the OSS, a precursor to the CIA¹⁰. Following the defeat of French forces in May, the Japanese declared the kingdoms of Laos, Cambodia and the Empire of Vietnam, placing Bao Dai as the Emperor of the newly created state. This would not last, as following the capitulation of the Japanese Empire, the August revolution commenced, and the Viet Minh would declare a new government in early September.

During the period at the end of the war, whilst the French and Japanese were fighting for control, a famine ensued killing as many as 2 million Vietnamese mainly in the northern regions of Vietnam. The exact dates of this famine are debated but it began roughly in November of 1944 and ended in late 1945, around August. One of the origins of the famine is from Allied bombing campaigns damaging irrigation throughout the country. Allied bombers

west of Hanoi, but they were incredibly fragmented and under-equipped as they had not yet received assistance from the United States and the OSS. The fledgling group was not without leadership, as while Ho Chi Minh remained in China, a young Vo Nguyen Giap was an influential figure within the Viet Minh and was very successful as a young commander¹⁵. Giap, among other leaders, worked tirelessly in the years leading up to 1945 to link the bases they had with intelligence networks while attempting to recruit citizens to their cause. Along with these quasi-military operations, the Viet Minh were also incredibly active in spreading anti-imperialist propaganda. To them both their Japanese occupiers and French colonizers were imperialists. This was not the sentiment everywhere, as many Vietnamese saw Japanese rule as more advantageous than French rule. Some Vietnamese felt that rule by other Asians was more advantageous as they had closer cultural ties. This disparity is where Viet Minh propaganda played a role.

In the early stages of the famine in November 1944, following his return to Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and his party members were able to instigate a peasant revolt in the provinces they were active in. The French, who maintained de facto control of the province dispatched legionnaires to respond. Important to note is that French units were comprised mainly of conscripted natives, some of whom had deserted, possibly due to Viet Minh and the other groups' propaganda. This rebellion, while it may have been agitated by Viet Minh antiimperialist ideals spread in the area, was not an official Viet Minh operation. It did, however, prove that the revolutionary ideals spread by the Viet Minh had a place among the general population. The rebellion was also successful in seizing more French weapons that would be used later by Viet Minh and other rebel groups in the 1945 rebellions. Following this rebellion, French units were more persistent in conducting operations against the Viet Minh and other groups in the region, but these operations were interrupted by the Japanese takeover in March. Once all French garrisons had been vacated after the Japanese coup, the Viet Minh seized larger swaths of land in the northwest of the country as well as vacated French outposts. Once the Empire of Vietnam was declared, and the Japanese put Bao Dai on the throne, they worked to get rid of Viet Minh influence, as they saw it as a threat to their pro-Japanese government. Despite the Japanese internment of suspected nationalists and Viet Minh members in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh made very few offensive operations against Japanese units, maintaining a level of neutrality, despite echoing anti-Japanese rhetoric. Following the Japanese coup and virtual takeover of the Vietnamese government, the OSS contacted the Viet Minh in order to assist in overthrowing the Japanese-appointed officials. This was not because the U.S believed in the communist cause, or even in self-determination, but they were attempting to avoid a long, costly war with Japan. Any distraction that Hirohito and the Japanese Empire faced would help the American cause. This complicated things for the Americans as they had just liberated their French allies and yet were now supporting the very faction that would take away French rule in Indochina. Once the August revolution commenced, within two weeks, Ho Chi Minh declared system in North Vietnam, which caused flooding and ruined some of the small harvest in Tonkin. These famine conditions caused political and economic upheaval, which made room for nationalist and liberation movements to form, the most prominent of these being the Viet Minh. The Viet Minh, led by prominent communist Ho Chi Minh, ran brilliant propaganda campaigns and were able to capitalize on the power vacuum left after the capitulation of the Japanese Empire. Minh capitalized on Vietnamese disdain for occupation and imperialism, using the tumultuous political climate that came out of the Second World War and the ensuing famine.

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