



INTERRUPTED SILENCE

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# INTERRUPTED SILENCE

actively engaged intellectuals - intellectually engaged activists

## from the editors

INT has a tendency to ruin things. It forces you to find fault in everything. It all begins with INT 201, which leaves you feeling uncomfortable every time you hear the national anthem at a baseball game. It taints that movie that you once loved by forcing you to realize that it perpetuates the neoliberal notion that any “slumdog” can pull himself up by his bootstraps and become a “millionaire.” Thanks to Cynthia Enloe, your high school friends’ “Jamaica - Spring Break 2016” Facebook albums bum you out. You now reject causes and organizations that you once championed as feminist for their colonial depiction of the powerless “third world woman.” Even discourses around human rights become problematic. You start to see panopticons and commodity fetishism everywhere. When you begin to understand power in Gramscian terms, the world’s problems—that you once thought you could solve—seem insurmountable.

At times, it may seem like the critical thought inspired by INT makes us cynical and miserable. But go out for a drink with Dr. Ehsani, one of the most thoughtful and aware individuals you will likely ever meet, and you will very quickly realize—from his silly jokes and youthful attitude—that he is not miserable. Read Dr. Morales-Pita’s “Faculty Spotlight” or listen to him talk about his students and you will see that he is not miserable. Make random eye-contact with Dr. Malik and she will give you one of the warmest, glowing smiles you have ever received. She is not miserable. That is the paradox of INT: where you would expect misery, you find happiness, love, and compassion. I would argue that the latter is not the case *despite* the former. Rather, I would argue that the latter is the case *because of* the former.

When I asked Dr. McIntyre to define “international studies” for a piece in the newsletter last fall, he responded: “We [the Department of International Studies at DePaul] could be said to take our cue from the Roman playwright, Terence, ‘*Homo sum, human nihil a me alienum puto*’ (I am human; nothing human is alien to me).” For our department, international studies is not the study of foreign policy or international governance. Rather, it is the study of humans, i.e. humans who happen to be living within the modern, international schema. Thus, INT tends to prioritize the *human*. On one end of the spectrum, this is evident in our interpersonal relations: as students we support each other, the faculty put their students first (despite the unimaginable demands put on them by the dominant corporate education structure), and the staff give an entirely new meaning to their titles by going above and beyond their official duties for the sake of the students and faculty. Of course, this human-centric approach to interpersonal relations alone will not take down the hegemonic structures that give rise to injustice. This attitude must prevail in the macro-political arena as well. Cognizant of this, the department orients itself around the human. When we learn new theories, we do so because they may better help us understand the roots of suffering, oppression, and exploitation. When we engage new frames of analysis, we do so to hear the human voices that might otherwise remain silent to us. When we challenge uncritical discourse, we do so because of its harmful consequences.

Another department, discipline, or college might scoff at this description of INT. After all, what do fluffy notions like love, compassion, and humanism have to do with international politics? Perhaps others in the department would disagree, but, as a soon-to-be INT grad, I would argue that this interplay has everything to do with politics. Our newsletter’s slogan, “actively engaged intellectuals, intellectually engaged activists” suggests a reciprocity that often goes unrecognized by others, to the detriment of human agency and, in turn, social justice. It illustrates the interconnectedness of critical intellectual examination, political engagement, and humanism. INT may not have given me all of the answers—not even close—but it has taught me how to make these connections. As a result, my classmates and I can now engage scholarly discourse, politics, and people in a far less harmful, perhaps even beneficial, way.

With that being said, thank you to the Department of International Studies: students, faculty, and staff alike. You have left an indelible, far-reaching mark for which I am sincerely grateful.

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# METAPHORICAL CIVILIZATIONAL DEATH IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD-ECOLOGY

david purucker

Of all the things complicating human paths to a better future this century, the specter of global ecological chaos looms large. We are faced with projections of temperature increase consistently ranging between three and seven degrees Celsius by 2100; the culmination of a mass extinction event, the sixth in the Earth's geological history; sea level rise and supercharged storms which threaten our coastal cities; a global governance framework that has failed for twenty years and shows no signs of taking the problem seriously anytime soon; and mass displacement and suffering for the global poor. These are all structural shifts that manifest in many different ways across time and space. For our century, then, the only environmental certainty will be uncertainty.

Though the speed and scale of the problem in the twenty-first century is unprecedented, the ecological crisis has deep historical roots. Much debate has recently revolved around constructing a historical narrative of human-nature relations. Chief among these has been the Anthropocene argument. The Anthropocene is a proposed revision to the periodization of the Earth's recent geological history. Proponents claim that the Holocene epoch, which began with the retreat of the glaciers 12,000 years ago, has ended, replaced by a new period of dominant human influence on the geobiosphere. Interpretations of the Anthropocene's origins vary, but the leading narrative locates the transition around 1800 with the industrialization of Great Britain. The narrative has proven powerful: the International Commission on Stratigraphy, the scientific body responsible for delineating global geological history, is assessing the Anthropocene's merits as Holocenic successor, and stands to make an official decision soon.

The Anthropocene is gradually becoming part of the discourse around humanity's relationship with nature, and signals a desire to conceive of that relationship in a historical fashion. These are positive developments. A meaningful human-environment reckoning for the twenty-first century depends on reaching back to the roots of this crisis. Unfortunately, the Anthropocene narrators get the history wrong. We need to be speaking in terms of a different periodization of the human and extra-

human relationship, because the Anthropocene rests on a few core methodological errors and a major empirical one. First, Anthropocene theorists hold that the anthropos, humanity itself, is responsible for geobiospheric change in the modern period. This is true, but trivial. Nowhere in the conventional Anthropocene discourse are the embedded patterns of inequality, exploitation, and hierarchy which have characterized the modern period. For reasons of narrative simplicity or historical ignorance, politics and difference are obscured in the Anthropocene, and historical agency instead given over to a supposed undifferentiated mass of humans, all humans, who have collectively wreaked havoc on natural systems. Second, in the Anthropocene there is an empirical bias towards environmental consequences of the anthropos. This is a subtle theoretical and historical point, but it has to do with how modern green thought tends to interpret environmental problems as simply arising from modernity or industrialization, and then that's that. Consequences are of course important, but so are the ways in which those categories of modernity or industrialization are not just producers of environmental changes, but are themselves produced by changes in the geobiosphere. The Anthropocene ignores these productive relationships which precede the consequences, resulting in a de-politicized analysis of human-environment relations.

An analysis that takes productive relations into account alongside consequences in turn points to a different empirical focus for the history of modern human-nature relations. The Industrial Revolution did not emerge spontaneously from a supposed "pre-industrial" European civilization. Quite the contrary: the constitutive human/human and human/extra-human relationships were already firmly in place, not only in Western Europe, but also in Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Americas. I am speaking of empire and slavery, of sugar, of the Columbian exchange, the Triangular Trade, of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In short, the roots of our troubled modern relationship with extra-human natures lies not in industrializing Britain, but in the long sixteenth century and the arrival of the capitalist world-system. We do not live in the Anthropocene, but in the Capitalocene.

This isn't my idea. Jason W. Moore, an environmental historian at SUNY Binghamton in New York, has spent the last twenty years building out a radically different narrative of humans and nature. Moore has constructed a richly theorized framework of capitalism as a *world-ecology*, dependent not only

on the commodification of human labor, but on a dialectical relationship of exploitation and appropriation of extra-human natures. In short, capitalism is a way of organizing nature, and has been so since its birth in Western Europe in the 1400s. The most important ontological innovation of Moore's capitalist world-ecology is an explicit and sustained rejection of the Cartesian nature-society binary, by which humans/society/modernity stand in a separate realm from that of nature; the two may interact, but they are not mutually constitutive. Cartesian dualism has been a meta-feature of Western culture for hundreds of years, and has only in the past few decades come under serious philosophical attack. Moore argues that we have to get over the binary, because it's arbitrary and ahistorical, a "violent abstraction". Though ideologically-speaking it is deeply entrenched, the actual operation of historical capitalism has never paid much attention to the fictitious division of humans and nature. In other words, capitalism doesn't have an ecological regime, it is an ecological regime.

So let's say we live in the Capitalocene, not the Anthropocene. What do we do with this information - assuming we want to, and can? Put another way, do we have an ethics of the Capitalocene? I don't think so, not yet. As long as the Anthropocene narrative stays hegemonic, we may never. It's difficult to think about what we still call climate change not only because it's big and happening on a world-historical scale that's not necessarily easy to comprehend, but because self-aware recognition of the death of our civilization is both historically unprecedented and almost psychologically unacceptable. I think this terror is a huge challenge to antisystemic politics in the twenty-first century. Is there a way around it?

In November 2013, a Princeton professor of English, Roy Scranton, published a piece in *The Stone*, a philosophy forum hosted by the New York Times. Entitled "Learning How to Die in the Anthropocene," the essay partially describes our collective problem, and perhaps - I think - points to a solution (Scranton 2013). Scranton was a private in the US Army who participated in the 2003 invasion of Iraq; in 2005, his unit deployed to New Orleans to fabricate order after Hurricane Katrina. Writing one year after Hurricane Sandy devastated coastal New York, it's clear to Scranton that the dark future he saw in Baghdad in 2003 and New Orleans in 2005 wasn't a temporary vision of hell in an otherwise stable world. Rather, those political-ecologic catastrophes are the future - not for a benighted few, but for billions.

In "Learning How to Die", Scranton writes that he

coped with the pervasiveness of death in Baghdad by meditating every morning on his own inevitable demise, indeed metaphorically dying each new day; by becoming a dead man in his own mind, he realized he could function and protect those around him. Freed, not from his physical mortality, but from his identity as a living person, Scranton found peace and the will to carry on. This is his advice for the world. I quote: "If we want to learn to live in the Anthropocene, we must first learn how to die." But this isn't actual death. This is the price for a new way of life. I like this. It's an optimism born of a wonderfully deserved and necessary pessimism. It is not a catastrophist or nihilist vision, but an honest one, one of very few I've seen.

But there's a potential problem with Scranton's ethic. He subscribes to the Anthropocene narrative, by which we're all responsible for geobiospheric change, humans and nature are separate things, and consequences matter, not the relationships which constitute them. What happens when we apply Scranton's ideas to Moore's capitalist world-ecology?

I think the key move that has to be made in this application concerns natures that exist beyond humans. What does Scranton's metaphorical death of civilization idea tell us about extra-human natures? I suspect that the integration of extra-human nature is the key to a truly effective, and philosophically legitimate, antisystemic knowledge praxis for the twenty-first century. But extra-human nature can't represent itself, even if we understand it as the critical co-productive historical actor that it is. Rather, what I think could be achieved here is an understanding by antisystemic social movements - like the climate justice and food sovereignty movements - of the capital-through-nature matrix of historical capitalism. Unless we can do this, any metaphorical acceptance of civilizational death will be incomplete - we'll have mourned the wrong civilization. And in doing so, we won't have developed the philosophical habits that will actually let us construct something better. If, rather, we understand capitalism as a world-ecology operating through nature, and in the face of catastrophic biospheric change we choose to understand that world-ecology as already dead - well, then we can organize and proceed through the upheaval with an eye towards building a post-capitalist world that rejects the Cartesian binary and rests on a radically different relationship with extra-human life and non-life.



## JASON CZERWIEC

### alumni spotlight

Jason Czerwiec, an INT alum, was awarded the Fulbright scholarship last year and has since been studying at Koç University in Kaunas, Lithuania. *Interrupted Silence* was able to get in touch with him and catch a glimpse of his life. Here is what he had to say about Fulbright, his research, and international studies.

**Neha Sharma** - Could you tell us about the Fulbright experience so far? What were the biggest surprises?

**Jason Czerwiec** - The experience has been great so far. I could barely hope for anything else with respect to the program. One thing I will mention that has been surprising is the very hands-off approach by the State Department. It may be due to my being in a non-commission country with a less-well developed Fulbright program and network, but it was surprising nonetheless. It has its advantages and disadvantages, but I'd advise anyone thinking of applying to a non-commission country to do a bit of self-reflection first and make sure that you are a self-motivated, self-starter sort of person. Otherwise you may find it difficult to cope with your expectations for the program and all the planning, scheduling and structuring you have to do on your own to carry out your project.

**NS** - What was the application process like? Was there anything you wished you would have known before applying?

**JC** - The application process was incredibly long and not quite as intensive as I had expected. Crafting the initial application was a 2-3 month affair and getting my proposal the way I wanted it took a lot of time and effort. But after that, it's just a lot of waiting. I began working on my application in May of 2014 and only heard about the final decision to award me the grant in April of 2015. The application is definitely something you should take time to do and then work on other plans, because it is mostly a lot of waiting.

**NS** - What were the more influential moments in your INT career? Were there any particular professors who left a lasting impression?

**JC** - INT was great for my development for a whole host of reasons. Without a doubt the most useful skill I developed from INT was critical thinking. Learning to take any kind of information be it historical, philosophical, political, etc. and process in a way that challenges the accepted narrative is one of the best ways to begin to find creative solutions to problems and stand out from your



critical mindset also helps you put some distance between yourself and your environment—to help you understand where you are and how you have to operate in that environment, and that has really lightened the adjustment process to living abroad, as I'm sure many of my fellow INTers living abroad can attest to.

Thinking back four or five years to the bulk of my INT courses, I really miss professor Gott's lectures and all my classmates from INT 201-203. Luckily I will be meeting with a few of them in Berlin next week! I often think back to the topics we covered in those courses and in his International Human Rights Law class. I also really appreciate the work ethic that Professor Nast instilled in her students by not accepting anything less than their best work. Thinking back on my last couple of years in college, she really went above and beyond not only by pushing her students but by being a counselor and confidant who really cares personally about her students' struggles and successes.

**NS** - Jason, could you talk a little bit about what you're researching in Kaunas?

**JC** - My project initially was a study about the influence the Lithuanian diaspora wields in shaping culture, politics, economics and social structures within Lithuania and what sort of effect travel and emigration have on the national consciousness here. Now I am more focused on topical areas regarding the political problems of migration management. I am working with an NGO called the International Organization for Migration in their Vilnius office (Lithuanian national office). There I do a bit of everything, from editing English language correspondence to creating educational presentations for students

and government employees about migration. I am just starting some work to help a non-profit in England that deals with unlawful detention of migrants in the UK. I will help them with legal research into cases of Lithuanians who are unfairly detained and deported and who have been effectively stripped of their rights as EU citizens. I will also publish an article or two in a Baltic news source to get the word out about this issue which is effecting thousands of migrants from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Romania.

**NS** - What have you gotten out of the Fulbright program that you believe will help you the most going forward?

**JC** - The Fulbright program has given me so much already: connections with many great people at the Department of State in the US and Lithuania, an opportunity to learn and practice my grandmother's native language, the honor of participating in such a prestigious program, the list goes on and on. I think, though, the most unexpected and valuable thing it has given me is some new perspectives on the world and on myself. Goethe wrote that the best education for a clever person is travel and what he meant by that is similar to my point earlier about critical thinking and understanding, and probably equally abstract. It's so liberating for our sense of self and sense of the world around us to be able to inhabit environments and circumstances that are very

different from those to which we are acclimated, wherever it is we call home. What you learn on a year of Fulbright, or any other work/study travel program for that matter, is so much more experiential than it is project based. So, although I get to take a great deal of knowledge about Lithuanian history and migration management and European politics from Fulbright, the most important thing I have gotten from this year is a broadened understanding of myself and of life in America.

**NS** - What's next for you?

**JC** - Next up is GW Law in the fall! I'm nervous and excited for my 1L which after a year in Europe should be pretty intense and frustrating, but being back in the US with many of my friends and family should lighten the load. I also am planning to come back to Lithuania next summer for an advanced course in Lithuanian language. I have achieved a B1-B2 level so far and plan to keep studying with my tutor in Washington, DC. I want to keep working and polishing it next year until I achieve fluency. It's an incredibly hard language at first, but once you break through and get some understanding of the structures and meanings it becomes much easier! Plus, I need an excuse to come back and visit all the friends I've made here this year.

Best of luck to those applying for next year!



rebecca  
ansgore

# THE KURDS AND WHY THEY MATTER

m a r g o   s t e i n h a u s

The Kurds are a bit of a mystery to those who don't pay close attention to them. You might hear about them on the news or in a class on the Middle East, you might even hear someone mention the imagined faux-state Kurdistan, but, for the most part, the Kurds aren't a common subject of conversation around the dinner table. But they should be. Not only are they one of the Middle East's largest ethnic minorities, the Kurds are also a major geopolitical force. They are large contenders in the war in Syria, but, more importantly, they are also contenders for statehood in the Middle East - maybe.

The Kurds do not have their own sovereign state. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the peace treaty that divided up the Ottoman Empire after World War I, essentially cheated them out of it, but the ethnic group never disappeared. There are about 35 million Kurds worldwide. Of those 35 million, as of July 2015, approximately 16.6 million are living in Turkey, 7.6 million live in Iran, 6.5 million live in Iraq, and 2.2 million live in Syria. The subnational Kurdish groups vary in terms of urbanity, ruralness, natural geographic strengths and location, and political aspirations and parties. Consequently, not all Kurds want the same thing, namely an independent Kurdish state. What is common of all Kurds is that they are minorities in the countries in which they live and are fighting for some sort of autonomy or legitimacy in their respective states.

So why does that make the Kurds geopolitically relevant? In 2003, Michael Gunter, a professor of Political Science at Tennessee Technological University, claimed in his article, "Why Kurdish Statehood is Unlikely," that, "a Kurdish state would only emerge if there were a major collapse of the existing state system of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in the Middle East." Thirteen years later, that major collapse of state is happening in two of the four countries Gunter listed, and it provokes a very important question: Is a Kurdish state tangible in the near future?

The civil war in Syria has developed a "Kurdish Spring" across the region. As a result of territorial gains and the militarization of the Syrian Kurdish People's Protection Party (YPG) and Democratic Union Party (PYD) against the Islamic State and Assad's regime, Syrian Kurds have gained autonomy and independence to a certain

extent. While the Kurdish territory in Syria is not internationally recognized, it exists, it is developing, and it has the potential to expand.

To give some perspective, in 2012, Kurdish leaders had control of approximately 50% of unofficial Kurdish territory. As of 2015, the PYD has been considered the strongest among the Kurdish self-governed political organizations. The 2015-2016 school year will be among their biggest accomplishment yet, with Kurdish becoming the official language of instruction in primary education in Kurdish autonomous territories, according to Syria Direct. On top of Iraqi Kurds having a similar degree of autonomy and having formal recognition of the Kurdish language, this is huge. Iraqi and Syrian Kurds haven't had all the fun though. The Turkish Kurdish HDP party won the minimum parliament threshold of 10% in the first Turkish election in June of 2015 and in the reelection held later that November.

This is no small feat, as Turkey has repeatedly denounced and suppressed the Kurds in Southeastern Anatolia since the creation of the Turkish state in 1923. However, given that 20% of Turkey's population is Kurdish, a percentage which is only increasing as Kurdish refugees flee Iraq and Syria, suppressing the population is becoming increasingly difficult. Moreover, the PKK's (the Turkish Kurdish militant group) alliance with the Syrian PYD/YPG and the Iraqi KRG/Peshmerga will likewise call for a reevaluation of the Kurdish minority populations and the possibility of the establishment of a sovereign Kurdish state.

From an optimist's position, if Turkey does legitimize and recognize Kurdistan, which is currently unlikely, ultimately and arguably, Iran will have to do the same. Thus, Turkey and Iran have the most vital say in the future of Kurdistan if they are both willing to, at the very least, consider the minority demands the Kurdish groups are proposing. Even if they don't, however, there is also potential for a large Kurdish migration from Turkey and Iran to a potential Syrian-Iraqi Kurdish state. The future of the Kurdish minority struggle is indeterminate, but it's definitely going to be big enough to alter the Kurdish daily life, and therefore the Middle East as a whole, and therefore the world.



# congratulations and farewell

## INTERNATIONAL STUDIES - CLASS OF 2016

abdel wahab, maha	foster, hawa	mccarty, kathryn	subach, william
ahmeti, vokamvila	gebczak, pauline	mccoy, jacob	thomas, beauclarine
al-zadjali, sara jamil ali	hamdan, areej	melin, jennifer	thompson, alyce
bociek, joanna	hourani, baraha	mo, xuan	tigue, shawn
bognanno, marisa	javier, ana ysobelle	mueller, michelle	walper, mercedes
burandt, nick	johnson, kyle	nickel, kiersten	weidig, blair
burdzy, madeleine	katsuki, hayato	pacyna, filip	wiese, katherine
contreras, rebecca	knop, brennan	perkins, brian	zanussi, julia
dambra, julie	kruopite, evgeniia	purucker, david	zobel, jacob
delpino, joseph	kubas, alicja	ramirez, carla	kujaca, dajana
dunham, adrienne	leon, benny	ramos, emmy	zonca, debora
duskey, destani	leri, fabiana	stach, sarah	politi, evan
ernst, corinne	majoros, chelsea	stein, alexis	scott, jordan (ma)
escobar, michelle	manchester, elise	steinhaus, margo	

### DR. ANTONIO MORALES-PITA

#### faculty spotlight

After fifty-one years of teaching, including seventeen years at DePaul and seven years in the Department of International Studies, Dr. Antonio Morales-Pita is retiring. Thank you and congratulations, Dr. Morales-Pita! Your uncommon dedication, passion, and love will be missed dearly.

**Crystal Bryson** - Thank you so much for taking the time to do this interview for the newsletter! We wanted to sit down and talk with you while we had the opportunity, since you'll be retiring at the end of the year. So, to start off, can you just tell people a little about how you ended up here?

**Dr. Antonio Morales-Pita** - Ok. How I ended up here. What a story! My goodness. How can I start this? Well, in 1994, I received the order to come to Chicago as an exchange of professors between the University of Chicago and the University of Havana. At the time, I was working in Mexico, for the Cuban government. I was chosen to go to Chicago because I had a PhD—but also because I was the only one who knew English. (Laughs). When I came to Chicago for the first time, I learned so much. When I went back to Mexico, my luggage was so full of books that they thought that I was bringing drugs. They opened all my baggage that I had so carefully organized, and turned it upside down, looking for drugs—they even brought dogs over to look. (Laughs).

**CB** - What were you doing in Mexico?



**AM** - Well, I was doing intense work and research in environmental economics—in Yucatecan agriculture and agri-industry. I was teaching in five or six universities at the same time. How? Well, during the weekdays, I was working in the Instituto Tecnológico de Mérida, which was my official job, for which I had to give the Cuban government 75% of my salary.

**CB** - Wow.

**AM** - Yes. 75%. It was so much that I had to do something else. Therefore, I was working in other universities offering talks about the methodology of my research. I was very happy there. I expected that I would be living and working there for a long time. When I returned to Mexico from Chicago, I was offered an extension to continue research. I had to ask permission from my bosses in Cuba, and they told me yes, but with one condition. Instead of paying 75%, I would have to pay 83%. (Laughs). But I didn't care! It

was worth it to stay in Mexico.

**CB** - So let's go back a little before this. Tell me a little more about what you were doing in Cuba. You were doing research in the sugar industry, right?

**AM** - Well, I was teaching. But, yes, I was also doing research. I had finished my first PhD—about mathematics applied to economics—and had been doing research for twenty years, especially in regards to the application of the optimal crop period of sugar. This was the topic of my first dissertation. For ten years, I worked very intensely, very hard. I published three books, I published like 40 papers with my students and the other professors. And this work allowed me the possibility of a second dissertation. In the former Soviet Union, there were two types of PhDs—the *Kandidat Nauk*, which is similar to the PhD, and something called the *Doktor Nauk* which requires much more work than the first one.

**CB** - Can you tell me more about those?

**AM** - The first one is something like the PhD here. The second one is harder to get—for example, I had to have five books published just to start with. I had to be recognized as an authority within my country, and with a letter from the Minister of Sugar, and my papers and books, I could start on my second dissertation. (Laughs) That is another story—a very long one—but just know that in the end, I was successful. I even served as adviser to the Minister of Sugar. When I finished my second dissertation, I thought that now, this was the moment in which I will be able to apply all of my knowledge. But I was wrong. I was so heartbroken.

**CB** - What were you trying to do?

**AM** - Just to give you an idea—I created an algorithm that just by giving two data to the computer, I could obtain the optimal period for producing sugar in each sugar mill. I went through the whole country, province by province, communicating with all the sugar administrators in all the provinces, developing and showing my method. I started in easternmost province - Guantanamo. They picked me up from the airport, and took me to the office. I stayed in the office for two days—I slept on tables, because there were no beds. I ate whatever was available. After that, I took a car to the next province—then on to the next province, all the way to the last one on the other side of the country. I did this twice.

**CB** - Wow! That's a lot of dedication.

**AM** - Well, it was what necessary to be make sure that my method would be implemented. After I finished the

second tour, in September, I went to see the Minister of Sugar, and asked him, "Okay, when am I going to get the data necessary to determine the optimal sugar crop period for each unit?" He said, "Antonio, I cannot give you the data." I was shocked. "You can't give me the data? Then how am I supposed to do my work?" And he said, "Well, Fidel Castro doesn't want you to have the data. It's confidential." I replied, "Confidential? After ten years of all my work, I can do nothing to help my country? After being your adviser for two years, I won't have access to the data because it is confidential to me?"

**CB** - Why? Why was it confidential?

**AM** - Well, this was an excuse. Fidel Castro wanted to start the crop early—too early—when the cane was not ripe. I didn't understand. The administrators of the sugar mills were in agreement with me—the workers—everyone—after all, I learned from them! But Fidel Castro gave the order, and poof! They had to start early.

**CB** - That's terrible to hear. So, along with all your research, you were also teaching. You've always been a teacher, right?

**AM** - I started to teach when I was 25, at the University of Havana...without having finished the baccalaureate degree in economics.

**CB** - Yeah? (Laughs). How did you manage that?

**AM** - I had done so much research applying mathematics to the sugar industry, and the leaders of the College of Economics of the University of Havana thought that I could be a good teacher. And so with no preparation...boom! They had me teaching.

**CB** - Tell me about teaching in Cuba.

**AM** - Ah! Let me see if I can summarize. In Cuba, I began teaching in 1965. The economy was not doing so badly, and people went to the university expecting to work as professionals. They were interested in studying. But as time went by...many of us had believed in a bright future, but the bright future was never seen, you know? People started to be less trusting. So, over time, interest in studying went down. Sometimes, even some professors—not me!—had to pass students that were members of the party without having good results in the exams. I never did.

**CB** - Did you ever meet Fidel Castro?

**AM** - Yes, but as part of a group of students. He had the habit of visiting the university during some evenings when the students were in their third year of the baccalaureate degree in economics. On one





Cascada de Agua Azul, Chiapas



Scientific-pedagogic event at Chetumal's Institute of Technology



Chichen Iza, Merida



occasion, he came to the building where the special economic research teams were—we were in the same building, with different teams on different floors—and he was going to the floor dedicated to cattle and cattle raising. Some of the researchers were going to see him and be close to him, but I did not want to—maybe if he had come to talk about cane, but he was there to talk about cattle! I knew nothing about it. Why should I go? Something about it—I don't know how to explain it.

**CB** - You didn't want to be there, didn't want to waste your time?

**AM** - No. Not that it was a waste of time—I never wanted to kneel in front of people who think they are more important.

**CB** - Tell me about when you left Cuba, for good.

**AM** - Well, at first I was in Mexico, starting my last contract. I received some news that my mother was seriously ill. I decided to go home for a week. My wife didn't want me to. (Shakes his head). I was very naive, and she was very keen. When I got there for the week, they announced—because Fidel Castro wanted—that from that moment on, no Cuban faculty could be out of Cuba for more than two years, and I had already been out of Cuba for more than two years.

**CB** - So you had to stay?

**AM** - So I had to stay. Imagine! My wife in Mexico, all my plans in Mexico, all my students and classes, even a contract with the Mexican government, but they didn't care! But I began to fight, and after several months, it was decided that I would be allowed to leave Cuba. But if I didn't return in two months, they would chase me out. Now, my mother was a very special person to me. I wanted to have her approval before I left the country. I didn't want to leave her. But, something happened after my first three months in Cuba—my wife called me over the phone, and told me that she received news that she was going to be deported to Cuba. So she and I decided that she would have to hide in Mexico. When I received that news, I felt so powerless - I could do nothing. My mother couldn't stand to see me crying, and she told me, "Tony, your duty is to be with your wife. So, go and never come back." I tried to embrace her, but my mother was a very strong woman and she didn't want me to see her cry. So when I tried to embrace her, she escaped from my arms, and said, "I have to prepare dinner!" (Laughs). It gave me peace of mind. So when I left Cuba for good, I knew that I was leaving for the last time. I told Cuba, I love you so much, but I cannot be useful to you, and I must go. God bless you, but I am OUT! (Laughs).



**CB** - And you went to Mexico first, and met with your wife?

**AM** - Yes. She was in hiding, but she had been teaching the sons of one of the senators of Mexico and this man was very fond of my wife; he arranged it so that she was able to stay in Mexico, but could not leave the Yucatan state. I thought that once I got there, we would stay in Mexico. They were happy to have me teaching, but not if I was undocumented. The only thing I could think of was to go to Chicago. I had been there two years earlier and it was the only US city I had been in!

**CB** - Tell me more about when you arrived to Chicago, and came to work for DePaul.

**AM** - Well, my wife and I were here in Chicago, and we were walking downtown, and when I saw DePaul I said to my wife, "I would like to work there. I don't know why." I went into the building, looked for the Department of Economics, and—I don't really remember how events took place. I just started talking to some faculty. It was truly very lucky—they told me that they had a course starting in three or four months. Curiously enough, that course was to be taught in Spanish. Some weeks later I was invited to give a talk about environmental damage in the cities of Merida and Havana. I would be paid \$200 for the talk. I thought, "Oh—I am rich!" (Laughs).

**CB** - So you started by teaching in the Economics Department?

**AM** - Yes. Later, I had a meeting with Mike McIntyre and some other professors. They asked if I might want to teach a course here called Global Connections. I found it charming, really, working with this course and this department. I was teaching more courses in the economics department—macro, micro, money and banking. But in this office, in the Department of International Studies, I felt much more motivated because I could see the intertwining of economics with political and social issues. I could better understand the world economy from this perspective! And I must say, after all the courses that I have taught in 51 years, the most delightful course, the most beautiful course, is International Political Economy. There is nothing comparable.

**CB** - Tell me more. Why do you say that?

**AM** - Because in international political economy, I have been able to materialize my dreams as a scholar and a professor. Why? Because I am able to teach something that is *there*, that is *reality*. It is something that when students learn it, and they watch the news, they come to class and say "Oh yes! I understand why Russia

invaded Ukraine" or "Oh! I understand why the European Union is having so many financial problems!" And that was my dream, to teach something useful, to be able to convey knowledge that people can use! It is impossible to understand something if you don't know the economics of it; and you must know the political consequences of it; and the social consequences of it. I really fell in love with the course. It's very close to my heart.

**CB** - That's wonderful!

**AM** - Absolutely. All my dreams, and even dreams that I never thought of. Especially when I came to this department. For example, here, I have traveled to Hawai'i to present a paper that was published in Dubai. I traveled to Australia, to Melbourne for another event. I can remember when I was on the plane, I couldn't believe it, I was thinking, "What is this? I'm on a plane, to Australia!" How could I have dreamed of that? How? Impossible. To own a home. I have my home—I paid in full, in ten years. Its just really incredible though, to have lived my dreams here—to own my home, to work here, to have loved my unforgettable wife, and have my students here. And on top of that, when I became a citizen, I was able to travel to Europe with her. I wanted her to know London, I wanted her to know Paris—these are things that I could never have imagined.

**CB** - That's beautiful.

**AM** - I wanted to apply my knowledge, to reach my students. (He shows me a note from a former student). You see this note? It was so wonderful to receive, to know that I helped her to learn. I feel useful—so useful, and to know that my work is used—I experienced this some in Mexico, but here (gestures expansively) it's just incomparable. Mike is extraordinary as a boss, he supports me, he allows me to speak my mind and whether he says yes or no to what I say, I trust him tremendously. My colleagues here? Fantastic. I never see hatred or envy or revenge, which I have seen in so many places that I have been. And there is something which I will *never* forget—a beautiful moment. When my wife died, I offered a Mass in her name, and ten professors from here came, with their spouses, and it was such a support. There are no words to express my satisfaction and my gratitude for the honor to be here.

**CB** - So what are your plans for retirement?

**AM** - Well—several. Number one, I have written a book about her. (Points to the photo of his wife.) It's called *Gladys, My Unforgettable Love*. Her life was so, so impressive, that I want to spread the word about her love.

**CB** - And you're working on this book now?

**AM** - Actually, it's done. But I did have the idea, that this book, and the book I wrote before could be taken together to make a beautiful film about love, what true love is, and how a woman can transform a man. And it would tell the exemplary way in which she faced death, when she was so selfless, so brave. She never cried in front of me, she was always smiling. Her last wish for me was to get another woman! Get a girlfriend! (Laughs). She was extraordinary.

**CB** - Wow. So a book, a film. It's a beautiful tribute.

**AM** - I finished another book also, and am looking for a publisher—its called *How to Inspire Anyone*, and I want to dedicate it to her. Also, I want to travel even more now.

**CB** - Where do you want to travel to?

**AM** - So many places. This year, I am going to be doing a lot of traveling. I am starting in July, going to Norway and Switzerland.

**CB** - Will this be your first time after your wife's decease?

**AM** - Yes. My wife and I visited almost all European countries with the exception of Norway and Sweden. So I will start there. Then, at the end of August, I will go to northern Spain. In December, I am going to South America! Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru. In January, I am taking a cruise around the Panama Canal—no cold weather in Chicago for me. (Laughs)

**CB** - That sounds like a good plan.

**AM** - In February, I am going to Costa Rica. So, I plan to travel, to write and, by the way, I can also teach—not on a regular basis, but maybe just one section, when I can make it complement my plans to travel. Also, I have discovered a new ability: I can sing! I sang at the church, for my wife. I am singing instead of crying. So, I will live my life like this! Publishing,

singing, dancing, traveling—active! I go to the gym three times per week. In September 1998, I had a heart attack. From that moment, my life changed. I started to go to the gym three times per week—I am 75, and soon will be 76, and you have to stay active. This is what she told me to do, so this is what I will do! Stay active, energetic, enjoy life.

**CB** - (Laughs). Sounds great! Pretty amazing plans you've set out for yourself. So, do you think you'll ever go back to Cuba?

**AM** - No, no, no. When I said goodbye to Cuba, it was goodbye. Everyone always asks me—the answer is always no.

**CB** - Well, you're going to how many countries? At least nine new countries, so I'm sure you could leave off that one as a tenth. (Both laugh).

**AM** - That's right. So—thank you for this interview. It is a chance to share more of my joy to have worked as full-time faculty at the International Studies Department for seven years and as an adjunct faculty at the Economics Department for seventeen years. I am honored to have worked at two DePaul University colleges. By the way, while I was working at the Economics Department in 2007, I was recipient of the Excellence in Teaching Award; and I was nominated for this award at the International Studies Department for five consecutive years. You know, when my wife died, she left a legacy of love. I also want to leave that legacy here. At least I created two courses: Introduction to International Political Economy and the European Financial Crisis (in the International Studies Department), cross listed with Economics of European Union (in the Department of Economics). My American dreams have been realized at DePaul University.

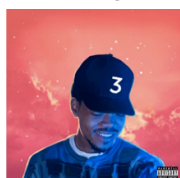
**CB** - I'm sure I speak for many of us in the department when I say, thank you so much for your hard work, your time, and your dedication to your students. It's been a pleasure hearing your story.

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## INT recommends . . .

If you're interested in live theater, consider checking out *No Matter How Hard We Try*, now playing at the Trapdoor Theater. Written by Polish novelist and playwright Dorota Masloska, this darkly humorous play examines life in Poland since World War II. It challenges the audience to consider the effects of war, the novelty of capitalism, and the striking, surreal nature of inequality. The play runs from May 12 to June 25.

Chance the Rapper has continued his promise of producing free music as his newest mixtape *Coloring Book* is available for streaming on YouTube and SoundCloud. *Coloring book* is experimental, soulful, and incredibly honest; a rendition of life in Chicago as a young black male in love with his city.



Chance's audience has mostly been people like us: privileged college students who love "meaningful" hip-hop, it's still worth a listen as Chance's story is definitely an interesting one.

# HAYDA IN HAVANA

julian hayda



Below - "The main artery of Havana is a six-lane boulevard known as the Malecón. Like Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, it runs about the entire shore of Havana. During the day, old American and Soviet cars zip from one corner of the city to another, while at night Cubans flood its sidewalks and socialize."



Cover - "This was my view every morning before setting off on my adventures: down the long Neptuno road, past Central Havana, and down into Old Havana. The sunrise was never disappointing. Of course, this was largely due to the pollution emanating from Cuba's largest oil refinery—handling high volumes of Venezuelan Crude—just across the bay, past Old Havana."

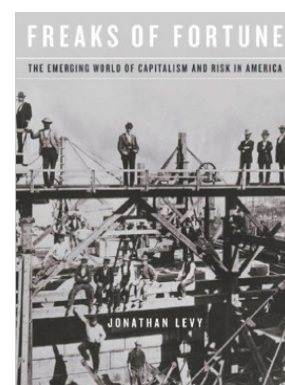


Above - "While wandering the streets of Havana one day, I found myself in need of a drink of water. Thinking I'd found the place, I walked into a Supermercado, a Supermarket. All I found on the shelves were a few soda bottles full of dry beans and rice, and a little bit of cooking oil. The traffic was so slow, that the clerks passed the time playing chess."

In *The Witches: Salem 1692*, Stacy Schiff, author of *Cleopatra: A Life* (a bestseller and amazing biography in its own right), attempts to de-mystify the timeline of events in Salem in 1692. Focusing on the human element of the crisis, Schiff examines the actions and consequences of the relationships of the residents Salem village and Salem town within the greater political context of Massachusetts colony. She attempts, through primary sources, to get a glimpse of the girls and women in the center of the controversy, pointing out that they were some of the most silenced and marginalized people in their small, colonial village.

Jonathan Levy's *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* is an excellent companion to Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*. Levy's project documents a more recent transformation—the financialization of capital—and its roots in maritime insurance. This is a must-read for anyone interested in historicizing the radical instability of contemporary capitalist culture.

In *The Lowland*, Jhumpa Lahiri tells the story of two brothers—one a mild-mannered ecologist in Rhode Island, the other an ardent Maoist "Naxalite" revolutionary in Bengal. *The Lowland* is a beautiful, albeit problematic and depressing at times, examination of the competition between interpersonal responsibility and collective duty.





# TOWARDS A COMMUNALLY RESPONSIBLE CURATORIAL PRACTICE

nick meryhew

When one speaks of a musical curatorial practice, a common response is to think of the intentional ordering of sounds. Curating a concert consists of thinking through variations in forms, affects, and energies in order to draw out the synergies or disparities across multiple pieces of music. This is conventionally understood to be the primary, and perhaps only, consideration of the music curator.

I assert that this is only one component of any curatorial effort, and that a curatorial approach that only concerns itself with sound misses an obvious and crucial element of any performance situation: that a musical performance exists as an aesthetic experience shared by people together in a space. Musical performance is predicated upon the existence of a social body: a performance community which engages with sounds, space, and each other.

This social body is itself subject to social, political, and economic concerns. This social body can be (and often is) hierarchical, segregated, alienated, divided by class, and dismissed from discourse altogether in the name of musical transcendence. Conversely, this performance community can be carefully constructed as a space for subversion, experimentation, relationship building, and egalitarianism.

In this way, the social circumstances that surround and constitute musical performance serve to propagate or subvert sociopolitical structures at large. Thus, the curation of these circumstances constitutes a dimension of performance which determines, in large part, any performance's political characteristics and efficacy.

As a starting point in understanding the curation of these social circumstances, let us look issues of access (specifically, but not exclusively, economic access) to performances. At the time this paper was written: The cheapest ticket for any concert in the next two months at Allstate Arena in Rosemont, IL was \$42 (upper level seats for Ellie Goulding), while the most expensive was \$4675 (floor tickets for Carrie Underwood). Splice Series, a free improvisation series, was about to have one of its bimonthly concerts. This concert had no admission fee, but donations to musicians were accepted. Also worth mentioning is that the show was

for audience members 21 and older. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra was about to begin a run of performances of Edward Elgar's Enigma Variations, with ticket prices ranging from \$30-\$213. Student tickets cost \$15. Composer LJ White was prepping for his DMA composition recital at Northwestern University. There was no admission fee.

These figures are not intended in any way to act as a barometer for the relative accessibility of any specific type of music-making as a whole, but rather to point out the existence of specific decisions made by curators in different spaces. The interplay of location and economics are themselves decisions about the inclusion or exclusion of specific audiences. Who is actually welcome at the performance? Who is actively or implicitly kept out? How do these decisions inform experiences of music by audiences? How do exclusionary politics serve to propagate elitism, classism, and racism in arts communities? How can inclusive curatorial decisions affect communities? All of these are imperative questions for the development of a socially responsible curatorial practice.

In addition to questions of access to performances, one must consider segregation within performance spaces. Closely related to the previous points, many venues segregate audiences by ticket price. This is perhaps most explicit in arenas and orchestra halls. In the former, those who pay the most are often the closest to the stage (or even backstage); in the latter, those who pay the most are quite visibly placed in private box seats. In both cases, those who pay the least sit the furthest away from performers. This creates a further layer of subdivision within audiences, beyond the already classist politics that inhibit access to performances in the first place.

Furthermore, in almost all conventional performance spaces there are clear demarcations between performers and audience. This can take many forms, including that of an elevated stage, a particular arrangement of chairs, or a row of security guards. In each case, the implication is clear: in these performances, performer and audience are mutually exclusive social categories. This demarcation is often articulated further by traditional performance roles in which performers are active agents and audience members are passive recipients. At its worst, this constitutes a dramatic performer-audience hierarchy. At its best, the quiet of a still audience affords unique listening opportunities. However, there are musical situations where audiences are encouraged to give active feedback throughout the performance, such as clapping after solos in jazz music. In these settings, the activity-passivity dichotomy is less intense, but the audience-performer categories remain unmuddled.

In each of these conventional concert settings, one can see inhibitions to access, clear social delineations, and communities divided. It is no difficult task to trace each of these phenomena to social trends outside of the concert venue, to see performance communities as reflections and perpetuations of the hierarchical, alienated structures that dominate contemporary politics.

Thus the political imperative for the music curator becomes: how can one create a performance community that subverts dominant political structures? Can the temporary formation of a community expand our understanding of social possibilities? When situated within a somehow altered social body, can our understanding of community itself fundamentally change? And what are the concrete steps that one can use to increase access, break down hierarchies, foster unalienated communication, and make material differences in communities outside of performance?

Answers to these questions are many and varied. There are artists performing actively in public spaces instead

of private venues, artists dealing with found objects in favor of economically inaccessible traditional instruments, artists making music with audiences in such a way that the performer-audience distinction breaks down completely, and artists using performance as a forum for direct interpersonal conversation. Whatever the answers of individual artists may be, it is of the utmost importance that artists and audiences begin to take the curation of social circumstances into serious consideration. Exploration of the sociopolitical structures that surround performances will only serve to expand the possibilities of performance, politics, and communities themselves.

*Nick is a recent graduate of DePaul's music school with a focus in trombone performance. Currently, he is performing with MOCREP -- a Chicago-based ensemble that focuses on radical 21st century performance and its cultural and political dimensions. At the conclusion of his time at DePaul, Nick finalized his thesis ("Anarchism Unfolding: A Politics of Free Improvisation), which focused on the critical intersection of music, space, and politics and the role that free improvisation is having in producing an accessible and egalitarian space for the production and appreciation of the arts.*

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## BA-MA REFLECTIONS

scott jones

I chose to pursue a BA-MA in history and international studies because I wanted to work on and consider research that I am invested in, in a space that is interdisciplinary, and with students and faculty from various academic and professional backgrounds. In many ways, my instructors in the undergraduate history program have prepared me for this kind of program by training me and certainly other students in critical reading, managing enormous sums of literature, and analyzing relationships within the literature. At the same time, the transition to the international studies program has been very challenging insofar as it has forced me to critically examine forms of knowledge production, such as history, and consider their consequences in a way that I had not before. Overall the program has been incredibly rewarding and I am deeply grateful to both the Department of International Studies and the Department of History for this opportunity.

Scott Jones is about to complete his first year of the INT BA-MA program. This summer he will begin his thesis research on imperial presences and intervention in the former Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century. He is particularly interested in the relationship between British India and British interests in Iraq and the surrounding region in the post-WWI period.

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# US FOREIGN POLICY AND GENDERED POLITICS IN COLD WAR AFGHANISTAN

kunza shakil

On social media, individuals utilize various platforms to express the feminist question. Whether through current events, personal experiences or scholarly work, feminism is a hot topic in the digital world. If analyzed with consideration, many works, though not all, make use of Western definitions of feminism and gendered politics. It is through this US-based framework that I will examine the discourse on Afghan women during the Cold War. In doing this, I aim to encourage discussion on the imposition of imperialist views, predominantly those of the US towards gendered politics as they affect Afghan women. In other words, I will scrutinize how and why the popular views in the US were directed at women in Afghanistan. This, I hope, will lead to a reconsideration of US worldviews that are inflicted upon gendered international politics of non-Western states in general.

Although the notion of “saving third world women” that pressed the US public can be seen as well intentioned, it was founded on a false assumption that all women not residing in Western civilization need saving. To understand this idea, it is first essential to understand how societal standards of women in Afghanistan were viewed in the US. US perceptions of such constructs were contradictory to say the least. They reflected US involvement yet simultaneously provoked US disapproval of such enactments. For example, the US is largely credited with supplying arms and weaponry to militants of the Cold War era – the same militants that established harsher standards for women, which the US frowns upon. A strict, patriarchal order in Afghanistan was long established before the Soviet presence. These issues, such as an absence of educational promotion, a lack of communal relations (women connecting with other women), public shaming and physical abuse were already prevalent by the time the Cold War reached South Asia. The question to ask here is, why did the US not recognize these issues prior to the Cold War? What role did wartime play in understanding the positioning of women in Afghan society? For one, the US selectively highlighted the mistreatment of Afghan women. Academics Saba Mahmood and Charles Hirschkind, have pointed out the inadequacies of views towards Afghan women by discussing them in light of more recent foreign policy. Although they examine Afghanistan in a post-9/11 era, their findings are nonetheless evident in similar research of Afghanistan in the Cold War environment.

For instance, in a 2002 article, “Feminism, the Taliban, and politics of counter-insurgency,” they ask, “Why were conditions of war, militarization and starvation considered to be less injurious to women than the lack of education, employment, and, most notably, in the media campaign, Western dress styles?” This question highlights the convoluted nature of US views regarding the needs and rights of Afghan women. Attention to attire, for example seems to trump the lack of safety and security for Afghan women.

There was a widespread assumption that oppressive measures taken against Afghan women were recent and that a couple years prior they did not exist. However, basic political and historical studies show that both men and women in Afghanistan have endured harms related to the Taliban for decades even before the creation of the group. In short, the US constructed a narrative, through the deployment of mainstream feminist and human rights discourse and a rejection of reality, to present its foreign policy as correct and moral. Of course, many of those who supported the war for “feminist” or “humanitarian” reasons had good intentions. Take for example, Jay Leno and his wife, Mavis Leno. In 2001, they funded \$100,000 to the Feminist Majority Foundation to fight for global women’s rights with a focus on Afghanistan. However, one could easily argue that their efforts were misplaced and rooted in colonial and “first world feminist” biases. In an online CNN chat, Mavis Leno expressed that with the “newfound” Taliban influence, women were all of a sudden banished from the public sphere and confined to their homes. As proven incorrect earlier, this claim clearly indicates a disregard or rather, a lack of knowledge about Afghan women prior to the emergence of the Taliban. Not only is this type of discourse colonial, racist, and sexist insofar as it paternalistically perceived Afghan women as victims that required a (typically white, male) savior, it also was rooted in second-wave feminist biases which tended to emphasize (and in turn, privilege) issues of sexuality, equality of women in the workplace, family, and reproductive rights over issues of violence, militarization, imperialism and global capital – concerns that Afghan women might find more pressing, given their circumstances. Additionally, popular US belief condoned this notion of “saving third world women” because it reinforced the position of the US as “savior” and “need to save” as opposed to “defenseless” and “need saving”. This allowed feminists in the US to engage the colonial practice of justifying their own lifestyles vis-à-vis those of Afghan women. Anti-war and women’s rights activist, Deborah Ellis writes, “It is in the interests of the American government to say the right things to American feminists and the court of public



opinion". Thus by utilizing inaccurate context regarding Afghan women, the US was able to portray its own culture as being superior.

It is also critical to understand the direct impact of US foreign policy in Afghanistan that was responsible for empowering radical leaders. The classic example to examine is the primary recipient of US funds, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Hekmatyar was a man who was renowned for throwing acid in the faces of women at his university who refused to wear the veil. With knowledge of Hekmatyar's past and his ultra conservative views on Afghan society, the US did not end its supply to the counterinsurgency movement, even to Hekmatyar. In the same 2002 article, Mahmood and Hirshkind write that a CIA official in Pakistan responded to critics of US support to Hekmatyar by asserting, "'Fanatics fight better'". It is clear that US efforts to maintain dominance, anti-Soviet, and anti-communist values were carried out by only studying direct, immediate outcomes. Long-term consequences were not accounted for, which results in the harsher societal standards put into effect by which women were expected to abide. Essentially, when the average American views the conditions of Afghan women under extreme, Islamist dictatorship, they choose to disregard the role that the US's own foreign policy agendas played in the creation of such environments. The US's responses to the ever-intensifying situations surrounding women of Afghanistan sent a message to the international community that expressed its bountiful will to aid and fight for justice. Although done self-consciously, this was a strategic move that blurred the US's own responsibility, or as Ellis writes, "guilt by association" in what Amnesty International saw as a humanitarian crisis. The coercion faced by women during the Soviet invasion, and even in modern times, can largely be traced to the US aiding and arming the mujahideen movement. The movement eventually destabilized and power was shifted to the current oppositional force, the Taliban.

Perhaps now is the time to reconsider foreign policy discussions that are entrenched in maintaining values that the US endears. Democratization of nation-states, especially as a tactic to "liberate" women, is a reductionist solution to a convoluted and intricate situation. To truly strive towards a state of global peacetime and stability, it is critical to begin by eliminating theories of colonialism, imperialism and first and second wave feminisms that are deeply rooted in foreign policy processes of Western nation states and in this study, the US in particular.

## WHAT IS NEO-LIBERALISM ?

taylor soto

Neoliberalism is a term thrown about constantly in academic circles, whether as a descriptor or an insult. Despite the fact that we are living in an extremely neoliberal country in an extremely neoliberal world, many of us do not truly understand its meaning due to its own cultivation. In *Never Let a Good Crisis Go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Crisis*, Philip Mirowski explores the constructed project of neoliberalism and its pervasiveness as a Western paradigm. It was through this book that I truly began to understand this monolithic moniker.

According to Mirowski, neoliberalism is so pervasive that the general public does not really understand what it actually is. This confusion is cultivated through its "Russian Doll" membership of the neoliberal paradigm. Mirowski creates a term that refers to neoliberalism's elitist structure, referring to it as the Neoliberal Thought Collective (NTC). He traces the development of neoliberalism as it is known today from its beginnings at the Mont Pèlerin Society (MPS) in 1947. At its conception, the Mont Pèlerin Society was a group of like-minded thinkers, reacting to the Keynesian heyday, who wanted to redefine the place of knowledge in society. Important members from this society include Friedrich Hayek (Austria), Ludwig von Mises (Ukraine), Karl Popper (Austria), George Stigler (USA), and Milton Friedman (USA). While the United States is the epicenter of neoliberalism in practice today, to the point that is ingrained in its culture as to be unrecognizable, it has spread throughout the world through the different members of this society.

The MPS evolved into a structure for developing an integrated political theory that was then built out "Russian doll" style through the funding of think tanks to promulgate their ideas. Many of the members of this organization held prominent political positions or were influential in the financial sector and large investors. They gained political prominence in the 1980s with the rise of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. Timothy Mitchell, in *"The Work of Economics: How a Discipline Makes its World"*, emphasizes that in neoliberalism's cultural domination, there is a difference between economists in the field: there are those that hold key policy positions and directly apply their knowledge, and those in academia. The Neoliberal Thought Collective has economists from both sides of the spectrum. They began "funding"

universities, such as the University of Chicago. This practice still goes on today. For example, the Koch brothers donate millions of dollars to academic institutions in order to have veto power over the economics department curriculum. Through this strategy, the NTC has eliminated the teaching of theoretical and philosophical background of neoclassical economics taught today, focusing on economic models that affirm and reinforce neoliberal ideals. Mirowski emphasizes that the elimination of the theoretical background left economists without the tools to analyze the true problems within neoclassical economics in the wake of the crisis, leaving them unable to threaten the neoliberal worldview.

The author makes an important distinction between neoliberals and neoclassical economists due to the fact that they are sometimes used synonymously or interchangeably. Not all neoliberals are neoclassical economists, as neoliberals deviate from classic liberalism in its conception of the role of the state and of what is natural. Neoclassical economists believe that the markets could naturally solve any economic problems and the state should be minimally involved. Neoliberals believe that every market failure can be fixed by a strong state that intervenes to make sure market solutions are used to fix market problems. Neoliberals acknowledge that the economy and markets are constructed, contrary to the neoclassical assumption that the market is natural. However, modern neoclassical economists are very much influenced by neoliberal thought, particularly due to the funding of academic economic institutions by neoliberals. Neoclassical economists became the “enablers” of neoliberalism, especially after the financial crisis—giving them models to explain the crisis in a nonthreatening way.

Mirowski deconstructs a basic understanding of neoliberalism, and distinguishes it from classic liberalism, through an explanation of thirteen interrelated tenets. What separates neoliberalism and classic liberalism is the idea that it is a constructivist project. Classic liberalism insists that the market is part of the natural order; in contrast, neoliberalism recognizes that it is the creation of an elite group at the top of society who truly understand it. The rest of society is ignorant, and so must be guided. This transitions to the next tenet, that the market is so complex and full of knowledge that it “surpasses the state’s ability to process information”. The market itself, though constructed, must be treated as if it is natural; however, the general population is too ignorant to

understand it and must adopt the constructed neoliberal worldview throughout every aspect of their lives. Another major difference between classical liberalism and neoliberalism is the role of the state. Classical liberalism is against any role of the state in the market. Neoliberalism, contrary to popular misconception, does not want to destroy the state—they seek to redefine it. Neoliberals believe in a strong state guided by neoliberal principles, once again due to the fact that the general public is ignorant and only the elites, through neoliberalism, truly understand what is needed for the market.

In order to do this, they must incorporate an economic theory of democracy. They must maintain popular legitimacy because its core beliefs are built on the idea of “freedom”; however a free society may not always agree with neoliberal ideas. They must transform citizens into “customers of the state”. Neoliberals must come into power democratically, even though they believe in a strong neoliberal state, in order to maintain power. They also recognize the need to revise what it means to be humans. They have contributed to the rise of human or social capital. This forces a fragmentation of the self, where one is encouraged to think of oneself as a collection of skills. As entrepreneurs, we are forced to constantly reinvent ourselves.

Neoliberalists believe that no market is coercive. Capital has a natural right to flow freely across national borders, no matter the consequence on national sovereignty. Corporations, as nonhuman entities, can do no wrong and should not be blamed if they do. The market can always provide solutions to problems seemingly caused by the market in the first place. In the neoliberal framework, the inequality of economic resources and political rights are necessary and a functional characteristic of the ideal market system. The neoliberal program ends up vastly expanding incarceration, as it redefines criminality as actions against the market. In this redefinition, there is a new morality to neoliberalism, where those who are poor or the economic “losers” are seen as at fault for their own situation.

Mirowski argues that this very construction of neoliberalism—in which it is hard for us to recognize it, let alone its discursive effects—that assures its continued survival. Through recognizing its pervasive effects, we are already one step closer to resisting it.



elizabeth hampson

I took this photo in Senegal a few years back. I used it at the end of my presentation for our INT Spring Conference, which I entitled "The Art of Displacement: Exploring Refugee and Colonized Identities Through the Works They Create." These are not refugee boys, but I like to look at this image as representative of my argument. In my presentation I expounded on the idea that the narratives that refugees bring with them as they flee are a vital discourse to examine. The fact that they are able to create and tell stories means that they have agency and a perspective on their circumstances that is distinctly separate from that found in the situation rooms and headquarters of those who preside over conflict. Although we see a lot of pain in the global refugee crisis there are also powerful identities and narratives emerging from it. If we focus on the baggy shirts and the bare, dusty feet, we miss the flowers; the narrative of where they came from and where they're going, and who has control over their path. When we focus on the poverty and desperation in refugees' bodies, we neglect to see the beauty and power in their stories.

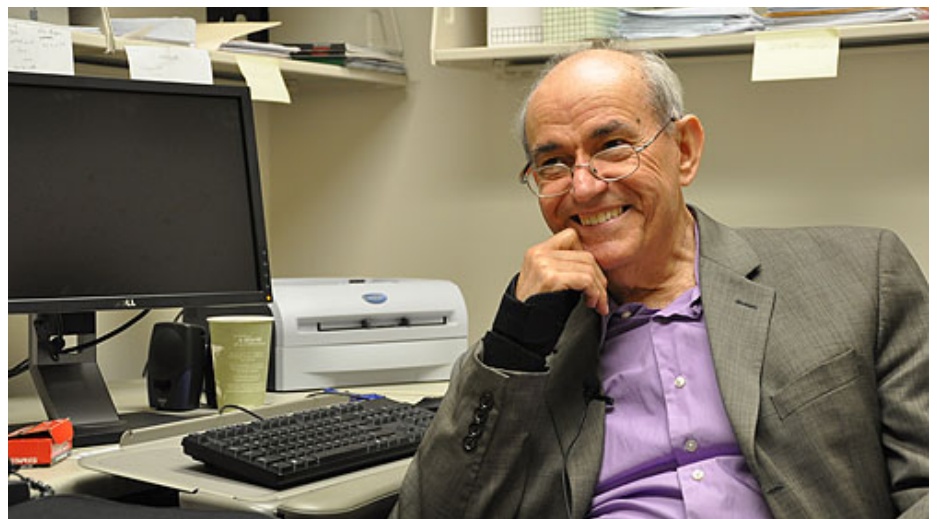


## BEST OF LUCK

The Department of International Studies is sad to see two exceptional scholars and instructors, Dr. Brendan McQuade and Dr. Antonio Morales-Pita move on after this quarter.

Beginning this fall, Dr. McQuade will be teaching in a tenure-track position at SUNY Cortland. Congratulations, Dr. McQuade! We wish you were staying longer. Thank you for all of your hard work!

Dr. Morales-Pita will retire at the end of this year after fifty-one years of teaching, seventeen years at DePaul, and seven years in the Department of International Studies. Thank you for your years of dedication! You will surely be missed!





# HARVEY DAN ERE

## student spotlight

**Elise Manchester** - So, what brought you to DePaul?

**Harvey Dan Ere** - Well, I feel like DePaul as a school is very unique... In terms of location, it's in a big city with a lot of diversity. I also liked the the class size, the faculty; that you have professors that you feel like have your interest at heart. It's very encouraging and unique.

**EM** - Did you know that you wanted to study international studies before you started at DePaul?

**HDE** - I would say yes and no. Initially, before DePaul, I was planning to go into law. International studies wasn't my initial plan. It just happened and I'm loving it! It's great. I mean, inasmuch as I wanted to do law, international studies is a beautiful foundation. If I want to continue my law career, I'm in a good position to do so because I have a good broad perspective now, which could help with my law career.

**EM** - When did you decide to study international studies? Did it fall into your lap?

**HDE** - Back in Nigeria, I had learned that US universities are very flexible, that you can go from one course to another. So I did that. I took Microeconomics and they talked about international studies, so I said, "I'll go for international studies." I started it and I was just like, I'm sticking to it! I really really like what I'm seeing!" But, before, I didn't really have any idea of what international studies really was.

**EM** - So was INT 201 an eye-opener for you?

**HDE** - Yes! In INT 201, they give you a stake. "Can you do this? If you can't, you just need to let it go right now." You know? That's what the course is all about. At a point I was like, "What's happening? Is this really international studies? Ohh, my god!" It was very stressful, very challenging. But I just had to push and make it work. You have to have the passion for it.

**EM** - What INT course are you taking right now?

**HDE** - INT 203 with Dr. Gott.

**EM** - How is it going?

**HDE** - It's going so well. After 201 and 202, I'm used to INT, you know...I feel like I've done it before.

**EM** - What are you doing your project on?



the Niger Delta, on environmental and social justice. As an international studies student, you have to know where you're from. Definitely you need to know what's where you're from. Definitely you need to know what's happening around the world, but to understand your own background, why things are the way they are, is very important. Most people don't know what's happening where they're from and in their own communities.

**EM** - You're enjoying the project?

**HDE** - Yeah I am... Doing a research project, you should have interest in it. It's boring if you don't have passion or zeal for the topic. A research topic is something you should be excited about.

**EM** - On the topic of Nigeria, how was it coming to the US to study? Was it a big adjustment or not at all?

**HDE** - It was a big adjustment, you're leaving your comfort zone, where you have lived for most of your life. But, definitely, it was for a good cause. So you just have to make it work. You have to see beyond those challenges and say, "I came for something, I'm actually aiming for something much, much bigger than all of these challenges."

**EM** - So, you have a minor in PAX. First of all, why did you decide to minor in PAX? And what have you gotten out of your PAX courses that you haven't necessarily gotten from INT?

**HDE** - My decision to take PAX as a minor started with my first PAX class, PAX 200. It was an experiential learning class, and it spiked the interest. It was really interesting, involved, and

engaging. PAX classes, in general, are more applied, while INT classes are more lecture-oriented. PAX classes are about getting involved with your community. They're kind of like INT 203 where you do the theory stuff in the classroom, but you also do experiential learning. It's about you getting the experience yourself, reflecting on it, and applying it. In fact, people sometimes think it's unrealistic... but you can apply it to other conversations. It gives you a feel of what other people think and experience.

**EM** - Yeah, I think a lot of people think that PAX seeks to achieve world peace and end all conflict and find justice for everyone—not that that is something we shouldn't strive for—but I think that's why people think that it's unrealistic. But, for people who are actually involved in PAX, it's much more of a process and an interpersonal experience.

**HDE** - So, they always say, it comes from within. So actually, changing the whole world, or achieving global peace, it's not going to happen in one century, it's not going to happen in one decade. But I think it gives you skills you can actually apply to your everyday life, like how to settle disputes between two people, which can actually escalate to a group. So, if you actually know ways to understand someone very close to you or if you're having difficulties with friends, you can actually reach out to your workplace, you can reach out to the world.

**EM** - Do you have any favorite readings so far?

**HDE** - *The Next American Revolution* by Grace Lee Boggs. It was a very easy read, but I found it really interesting because it all still boils down to community and how to move on from or eliminate capitalist society. During class discussion there was a little controversy about the reading. Some people said it was too idealistic, other people said that things like that can actually happen. But I really liked the reading because, for me, I think her opinion wasn't just getting things right. She wrote the book when she was 95. So you know, she was part of the Civil Rights Movement. She has seen a lot and now she is actually still alive to see what's happening around her up to this point. So she was trying to comprehend what she had seen in the past, you know trying to apply it, to

give solutions, or ideas about how it can get better. She really talked about the disadvantage of technology about how it pushes us far away from, you know, what's happening within our neighborhoods. People depend so much on their phones, which I am not saying is a bad thing. But, you know, it's important to say, "Okay, I need to know what's happening around me." In a world before we had iPhones, I think it was more uniting and people really cared what happened in their neighborhoods.

**EM** -Yeah, there is definitely something to be said for a loss of community, especially when people are so often more engaged with their technological communities than their immediate communities.

**HDE** - Yeah, exactly. Yeah, that's just what she wanted to push to the table. I think its very interesting. It goes back to how people could be more engaged in community. The effectiveness of community support, the effectiveness of creating a community that you can actually fall back to when you need to.

**EM** - Cool, I'll have to read that. Well, thank you so much, Harvey! It was so great talking to you.

# a city that sleeps on its people

anonymous

from half a world away, i came to Chicago:  
found out someone was stabbed at the pride parade  
and learned that love comes with violence.  
during the months that look like February,  
i wasn't able to remember Laquan's age  
the only number was 16; sixteen shots  
in 15 seconds. you are only worth the color  
of your skin and how white it shines in the sun.  
the sun that never comes out: so we stay black.  
two years in they ask me about the city and i say:  
lead poisoning in the pipes of Pilsen  
money buildings replacing old apartments  
evictions, gentrification, displacement.  
security deposits worth an entire month's rent  
cash for bodies on bodies on bodies. deaths  
that glitter gold and black but made to look empty.  
count three homeless people for every Starbucks  
public transportation for Tim and his fraternity-  
for all the parties in Wrigelyville. everyone else:  
two buses, a train, and then walk half a mile  
for a job that still doesn't feed; a life that wont fulfill.  
a government that eats the face of its citizens.  
never take the train down to Howard; only  
go to Logan Square for tacos and cheap rent.  
stay in Lincoln Park to smile at moms with strollers  
maybe Lakeview if you want to be farther but still  
close enough to feel warm and surrounded  
knowing the whiter the neighborhood,  
the safer you feel. and you are so disgusting:  
making all happiness count for just 2 or 3 people-  
you and the friends you've just met.  
if only we could die from guilt;  
those would be the only murders  
i could justify.



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# INTERRUPTED SILENCE

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