

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



MAGAZINE

ISSUE 21 SUMMER/FALL 2019

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

MONUMENTS



publicdiplomacymagazine.com

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

“MONUMENTS” ISSUE 21 – SUMMER/FALL 2019

USC Center on Public Diplomacy

CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy

A series of papers showcasing the latest research and critical thinking on the study and practice of public diplomacy.

Download and view full archive at:

<http://usc.publicdiplomacy.org/publications/publications-cpd-perspectives-public-diplomacy>

In June 2018, I visited La Biennale di Venezia, an international art exhibition with permanent pavilions for 30 different countries who annually fill their spaces with creative expressions of the determined theme. The Biennale alternates between architecture and fine art from year to year. The theme for the Architecture Biennale was Freespace, examining how buildings, public spaces, and historic structures define humanity.

As I strolled through the halls of the Arsenale, a long, rectangular building with several small exhibits from around the world, I began to appreciate the depth of meaning humans derive from physical structures. Whether it is the way we return to headstones in memory of the dead or peruse ruins of ancient civilizations, these monuments to things beyond the physical present serve as road signs for humanity.

One of my favorite exhibits at the Biennale was Germany’s pavilion. As you walk into the rotunda, tall, black panels in the dimensions of Berlin Wall segments fill the room, staggered in a way that, looking from the entrance, they create an entirely black wall. The exhibit touched on how physical structures define people groups, such as the difference in lifestyle of those on each side of the wall, and how the wall has been deconstructed and moved around the world. Cement slabs now serve as global monuments to the legacy of a fallen regime, an interesting narrative twist largely due to public diplomacy efforts. I contemplated this experience in Italy while preparing for this issue of the Public Diplomacy Magazine.

PD Magazine: Monuments asks, how do structures impact international relations, historical memory, people, and policy? And further, what precipitated monumental moments of public diplomacy?

Articles in this issue of PD Magazine highlight “monumental” instances of public diplomacy. These articles ask questions such as: How have monuments been used to commemorate events and influence narratives of national events? What monumental relationships have resulted from public diplomacy efforts? What is the impact of monumental leaders utilizing public diplomacy?

The articles are divided into three sections: Policy, People, and Physical.

Policy articles look at monumental policy from around the world. The articles mainly focus on two topics: gun control

and development. Articles analyze how policy has succeeded and failed in both these categories. Notably, Terri Austin examines New Zealand’s monumental gun control reform in response to the Christchurch mosque shooting in her article, “Enough is Enough: New Zealand’s Prime Minister Takes Action.”

People articles focus on monumental leaders whose efforts created meaningful instances of exchange and understanding in the world. From Vietnam to South Africa, Rwanda, Spain, and Mexico, these leaders have facilitated change in the world of public diplomacy. PD Magazine Staff Editor Gemma Stewart sat down with Ambassador Carlos García de Alba from Mexico to talk about how he has utilized culture as a monument.

Physical articles highlight how physical monuments built to withstand the test of time change in meaning as history changes, thereby impacting international relations. Minor monuments suddenly become highly relevant, and popular monuments representing contentious people or events are questioned as decades pass. In “The Monuments of My Ancestors,” Frank Vram Zerunyan discusses historic Armenian monuments in light of Armenia’s political history, namely the Armenian genocide.

This is my last issue serving as Editor-in-Chief of PD Magazine. My time serving in this position has afforded me opportunities to learn, grow, and work with amazing students, staff, and faculty at USC. There are not enough thank you’s I can give to the PD Magazine team, who has run this race with me. I am happy to announce the incoming Editor-in-Chief, Jasmine Kolano. She has been a faithful member of the PD Magazine team for the past year and I am confident she will continue to grow and develop this magazine with excellence.

Cheers,

Brooke Adams
Editor-in-Chief





SIGNATURE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TRAINING

TWO WEEKS OF MULTI-DISCIPLINARY, SOLUTION-DRIVEN LEARNING IN LOS ANGELES

Now in its 14th year, CPD's flagship training program is an opportune time and place to reflect and build your public diplomacy toolkit, while drawing on the latest social science research, critical thinking, storytelling tools and network-building opportunities.

MODULES

- Fundamentals of PD
- Putting Data to Work in PD Strategy & Planning
- Stakeholder & Influencer Analysis
- Influence & Advocacy
- Case Studies in Crisis Communication
- Data-Driven PD: Foundation & Methods
- Digital Analytics & Algorithms
- Cultural Diplomacy: Cases & Impact
- Movement as Information: Cross-Cultural Communication
- Master Class on PD
- Media & Public Opinion Framework
- Nation/Place Branding
- Framing Public Diplomacy
- Information Architecture Basics
- Digital Storytelling
- Creating Visual Content for PD
- Virtual Reality & Immersive Storytelling for PD
- PD Hackathon
- Designing & Planning PD Strategies

The 2019 Summer Institute will run from **July 14-26** and will take place at the University of Southern California.

For more information contact us at cpd@usc.edu

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Brooke Adams

MANAGING EDITORS
Jasmine Kolano
Hannah Nachev

STAFF EDITORS
Robert Dunbar
Rodolfo Reta
Mitzi Salgado
Gemma Stewart
Dena Taha
Devin Villacis

COVER DESIGN
Valery Zhukova

FACULTY ADVISORY BOARD
Nicholas J. Cull, Director, Master of Public Diplomacy Program, USC

Jian (Jay) Wang, Director, USC Center on Public Diplomacy

Philip Seib, Professor of Journalism, Public Diplomacy, and International Relations, USC

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Sean Aday, Director, Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication; Associate Professor of Media, Public Affairs, & International Affairs, George Washington University

Simon Anholt, Editor Emeritus, Journal of Place Branding & Public Diplomacy

Geoffrey Cowan, Professor, Annenberg Family Chair in Communication Leadership, USC

Harris Diamond, CEO, McCann Erickson

Pamela Falk, Foreign Affairs Analyst & Resident UN Correspondent, CBS News

Kathy R. Fitzpatrick, Professor, Professor, School of Communication, American University

Eytan Gilboa, Professor of International Communication, Bar-Ilan University

Howard Gillman, Provost and Executive Vice Chancellor, University of California, Irvine

Guy Golan, Associate Professor of Public Relations/Public Diplomacy, S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University

Cari Guittard, Principal, Global Engagement Partners; Adjunct Faculty, Hult IBS & USC Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism

Markos Kunoalakis, President & Publisher Emeritus, Washington Monthly

William A. Rugh, U.S. Foreign Service (Ret.)

Crocker Snow, Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy, Tufts University

Nancy Snow, Professor Emeritus, California State University, Fullerton; Pax Mundi Professor of Public Diplomacy, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies; Media and Public Affairs Advisor, Langley Esquire, Tokyo

Abiodun Williams, President, Hague Institute for Global Justice

Willow Bay, Dean, USC Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism

DISCLAIMER: The views and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of *Public Diplomacy Magazine* or USC.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

POLICY

9 **Monumental Missed Opportunities?**
Leah Fiddler

12 **Defining Monumental Development: Locally Led Health Education in Uganda**
Brooke Adams

17 **U.S. Policy Toward Iran: Public Hostility, Not Public Diplomacy**
Dr. Jerrold D. Green, Gemma Stewart, and Justin Chapman

19 **Enough is Enough: New Zealand's Prime Minister Takes Action**
Terri D. Austin

22 **What is the Cost of Caring?**
Isaiah Simmons

PEOPLE

25 **Monumental Leadership**
Brooke Adams

28 **"Ripples of Hope Campaign" - A Public Diplomacy Campaign of Commemoration**
Elizabeth McKay

32 **Orange County Cleric Forms Historic Diplomatic Partnership**
Douglas Morino

35 **A Global Cultural Superpower in Our Own Backyard: Mexico's Public Diplomacy**
Gemma Stewart

38 **Creative Crossovers: Negotiating Past and Future**
Elizabeth Sikiaridi and Frans Vogelaar

42 **The Gringo Ambassadors Who Saved Face with Mexico**
Gemma Stewart

45 **Rebirth of a Nation: The Gains of Rwandan Women in the Halls of Power**
Dena Taha

PHYSICAL

49 **Monument and Memory: Spain's Valley of the Fallen**
Jacqueline Sheean

52 **The Monuments of My Ancestors**
Frank Vram Zerunyan

55 **The Little House Where California Was Born**
Alexis Cruz

58 **The Center of Our City, Los Pobladores: A Monument to Los Angeles' First Families**
Jasmine Kolano

61 **Slouching Beasts: The Question of Confederate Monuments**
Chandra Manning

64 **National Parks are Truly "America's Best Idea"**
Marya Skotte

67 **Teaching Humanity through the Murals of The Butterfly Project**
Mitzi Salgado

70 **Monuments to Mobility in an Urban Era**
Ian Lundy

73 **Wernher von Braun: American Hero or German Villain?**
Devin Villacis

76 **Berlin Wall: A Wall in People's Hearts and Minds?**
Julia Schäfer

79 **MPD 2019**

80 **Citations**

The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise—with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

- Abraham Lincoln

POLICY

Monumental Missed Opportunities?

Why transformative multilateral agreements should inspire a new breed of public diplomacy, in addition to addressing global problems.

Leah Fiddler

Financial crises. Climate change. Pandemics. Migration. Extremism. Economic stagnation. Inequality. Our current era is fraught with increasingly transnational and interconnected crises like these. And while communities—be they local, sub-national, or national—can and should assess what they can do to address these challenges, only global action can hope to truly solve them. Our policymaking efforts must accordingly become more multilateral, collaborative, and integrated, bringing to the table many stakeholders: governments, international organizations, the private sector, civil society, non-state actors, and the most vulnerable and affected communities.

Around the multilateral agreements and decisions that continue to arise, the role of public diplomacy is still being shaped. Of course, we see international organizations like NATO and the European Union coordinating their own public diplomacy efforts,

much as national governments have long done. But when multilateral agreements of massive proportion emerge from the work of these organizations, there is often a somewhat coordinated but brief burst of activity: some media work and a spike of activism that recedes as time passes. Yet the fabric of diplomacy will feature more multilateral cooperation and cross-sectoral partnerships than before, so it's time for practitioners to recognize that these agreements are of such a magnitude as to potentially be monumental in shaping the collective future, and in raising the bar for public engagement.

We can easily point to the challenges of engaging the public on complex policy topics, whether at the local, national, or international level. Successful diplomacy is hard and requires

constantly assessing the environment, listening to the target audiences, building partnerships, coordinating stakeholders, and adapting engagement and communications strategies regularly. The readiness of these challenges in nearly all public diplomacy efforts makes it disappointing when practitioners don't seize the rare policy moments that have transcended some of these typical hurdles.

The U.N.'s 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a standout example of one such instance. In 2015, all 193 U.N. member countries—all but two countries in the world—committed to eradicating poverty and hunger, and delivering increased access, opportunity, and equality for people everywhere over the next 15 years. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a key element of that agenda, identified 17 clearly-defined targets and then, by breaking down those targets into an additional 169 indicators, laid out a roadmap to progress.

This was groundbreaking: after three years of intensive negotiations, it was the largest consultation process in the U.N.'s history, and everything from the development of the metrics and the universality of the agreement to the ambition, breadth, and scale of the goals was unprecedented. In the negotiations, it was evident that governments alone would not be able to deliver on these goals, much less in the 15 years prescribed. This agreement hinges on joint action with governments, the private sector, NGOs, activists, and everyday citizens to reach the targets.

The SDGs had everything going for them:

-Nearly all of the world's governments had signed on to the

Goals themselves, and to these Goals shaping the next 15 years of other policymaking;

-Every country save two was now on the hook to deliver independent and collective achievements by 2030;

-The Goals had the moral imperative in their favor and offered a vision of hope at a time when much of the world was experiencing forms of instability, inequality, and discontent when Ebola was ravaging West Africa, and the worst refugee crisis since World War II was peaking;

-Through the SDGs came perhaps the penultimate message of inspiration: more than incremental progress towards a better future was possible—the Goals made saving the world still ambitious but easier than ever before;

-The substance of the Goals and the research bolstering it were excellent;

-A deliberate communications strategy was executed before the Goals were launched, boiling down their wonky, technical complexities into easy-to-digest icons and short-hand;

-Many NGOs and multilateral bodies were already doing the work the SDGs called for, so rather than starting from scratch, those like-minded parties could easily form cross-sectoral working partnerships;

-Additional enabling organizations had already been launched with the intention of making the SDGs famous by bringing together advocates, influencers, world leaders, grassroots teams, celebrities, and businesses;

All of the above points to the substantial foundation already laid to connect citizens to the vision and work of the SDGs. Listening, learning, educating, and communicating with people (not just governments) for the Goals should have been easier than for other agreements of this kind. And yet, despite their magnitude, their appealing message, and the coordinated and widespread efforts to bring the spirit and the call to action of the SDGs to all people, studies^{1,2} have shown that their mere penetration into the broader public awareness is quite limited. One USC Center on Public Diplomacy fellow even wrote just before their ratification that the SDGs presented “the PD opportunity of a generation”³ and yet four years after their ratification, only public diplomacy in the form of advocacy is prominent.

The viability of the SDGs’ was strong, so why have they not become culturally relevant or a paragon of modern and fruitful public diplomacy? First, I’d suggest sustained, extensive and varied diplomatic efforts are needed. Advocacy, as inventive as it can be, is only one component of public diplomacy. The others are critical to connecting people worldwide with the leaders determining how and how much to prioritize the 2030 Agenda. Unfortunately, the full toolkit was not deployed around the SDGs.

In addition, we did not see cutting edge tactics debuted around the SDGs, on the whole, although the cream of the existing crop of activists, events, leaders, and platforms did indeed come together. I would argue that the use of relatively traditional public diplomacy around a moment of this magnitude represents one of the community’s greatest missed opportunities. Engagement with every population in the world was on the table and for an undertaking that should have encouraged participation and buy-in. In short: the space for innovation, for trial and error, for both small and large scale investments were endless. The network of groups working towards the SDGs should represent a Silicon Valley of sorts for public diplomacy: the fertile ground to cultivate what’s worked in the past, and to seed potentially groundbreaking new tools.

We are approaching what Jamie Drummond, SDG advocate and co-founder of the ONE Campaign, is fond of calling the “decade of delivery”: the final 10 years to get the world on track to achieve the Goals. As someone who will race against the clock to see the SDGs realized, I hope others will explore directing their public diplomacy skills to this agenda before it’s too late. The SDGs’ objective is undeniably worthy but in addition, their size, scope, and existing network and work streams present a rare chance to flex entrepreneurial muscles with the practice of diplomacy.

Zooming back out, the SDGs won’t be the only opportunity for impact and invention. Sweeping multilateral agreements—and there will be more—and international policymaking simultaneously allows room for innovation and pioneering, as well the greatest jeopardy to the world’s future. I hope the most creative thinkers, decision makers, and stakeholders are at the negotiating table to target the entangled, global problems of our era. And likewise, I hope that the best and most creative diplomats will position themselves at these pivotal moments, learning how to engage with peoples and cultures in previously untried ways. I hope they will reinvent public diplomacy in the multilateral space, and bring to bear the full diplomatic arsenal to the world’s noblest attempts at human progress. Maybe then monumental geopolitical moments like the SDGs don’t just usher in policy solutions, they also herald new ways for governments and citizens and communities to communicate.

Leah Fiddler served in the White House from 2013 to 2018. During her tenure, she spent several years in the Development, Democracy and Humanitarian Assistance office of the National Security Council, the team that led the White House’s negotiations and subsequent implementation planning of the Sustainable Development Goals. She is now the Senior Advisor to the President & CEO of the ONE Campaign, a global advocacy organization fighting to end extreme poverty and preventable disease, where she remains engaged in efforts to achieve the SDGs. She previously worked on comparative constitutional issues, with particular

emphasis on the drafting process, preambles, and the role of constitutions in the context of fragile and failed states. She earned multiple undergraduate degrees from the University of Southern California and pursued her graduate studies at l’Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po) and the University of Chicago.



Defining Monumental Development: Locally Led Health Education in Uganda

Brooke Adams

The United Nations established the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) after a failure to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The SDGs were established with greater hope for achievement due to the localized focus of the 17 SDGs instead of expecting every country to reach a similar standard as the MDGs did. Yet, the SDGs still value the whole world producing a numerical output equating to massive progress toward poverty alleviation. Numbers that were agreed to by a few representatives from member states, while the work must be done on the ground through various local partners. As stated by the U.N., “In order to make the 2030 Agenda a reality, broad ownership of the SDGs must translate into a strong commitment by all stakeholders to implement the global goals.” The greatest stakeholders, those most concerned about improving on poverty, are those subjected to a life of poverty.

An agenda set in diplomatic processes far from where the work will actually occur begs the question: What is the goal of this development work? Will the SDGs reach the 2030 targets, and if not, how will the next round of goal-setting be determined? Even if a country “fails” to achieve the SDGs, the process of working towards the goals will likely still result in a positive impact on local communities. In this case, it is still a “failure” if the goals are not achieved in line with the stated U.N. outcomes?

The question then becomes: Is “monumental” success, such as achieving the SDGs, an accolade reserved only for large international organizations and governments? Can a local non-profit achieve its own measure of monumental success? I would argue, yes. People, events, and ideas are monumental because they are new and groundbreaking, challenging norms and countering long-established power structures. Its significance is weighty in comparison to what existed previously. Maybe monumental goals are more likely to be achieved when smaller projects and smaller victories are celebrated and valued.

I am privileged to be the Project Manager and Global Engagement Coordinator for Health Together, a locally led, public health initiative in Uganda working to improve health education—a major objective of the SDGs. The Health Together (HT) project is empowering three schools and one private clinic in Uganda with tools to increase health education for 900 primary students and a community of approximately 20,000. HT’s principal local partner is Bombo Pentecostal Church (BPC) who manages the schools and clinic, Life Medical Centre (LMC).

For the last 12 years, BPC has hosted a one-week free medical clinic (Medical Mission) open to the community and caring for an average of 6,000 patients. This clinic,



*HT Ugandan and American Team working to develop the Community Health Survey.
All images courtesy of Brooke Adams from March 2019 Health Together in Uganda.*



Ugandan teachers at a feminine hygiene training.

which takes place in September, is supported by Peninsula Community Church (PCC) in Rancho Palos Verdes, CA. PCC gave me the opportunity to get involved with the Medical Mission, where I witnessed a desperate need for health education on basic healthy habits to prevent disease.

Patient data collected from the 2018 Medical Mission showed non-communicable diseases (NCDs) to be a common problem in the local community. NCDs are preventable through healthy lifestyle habits. For example, proper hand and water hygiene are very effective in preventing diarrheal disease. Diarrheal disease is listed by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as the top cause of death in Uganda, with malaria and other non-communicable diseases among the top five causes.¹ These are all preventable and addressed in the education provided by Health Together. Because of this widespread issue of NCDs, the HT team set out to understand what people know about health, enabling education to address prevention of disease in the local context.

Ultimately, HT programs serve BPC, its schools, and LMC institutional goals as well as the goals of various international stakeholders in Uganda. In the World Health Organization (WHO) Country Cooperation Strategy Uganda, Strategic Priority 5 is: “Strengthen the multisectoral approach for the prevention and control of Non-Communicable diseases (NCDs) and Nutrition related conditions.”² HT serves this priority set by a large international organization on the ground.

Further, HT correlates with four of the five United States Agency for International Development (USAID) goals in Uganda. A personal meeting with the US Ambassador to Uganda, Deborah Malac, and USAID representatives in March 2019 helped the HT team form a deeper understanding of USAID activities.³ The HT American Team, as well as the two primary leaders of BPC, attended this meeting at the US Embassy in Kampala. HT translates these goals set by the elites of international policy to local programs.

Utilizing the public diplomacy pillars of **Understand**,

Inform, and **Influence**, the HT team established goals for increasing health education:

UNDERSTAND: *Research* – to determine specific, focused messaging in health education communications by surveying students, teachers, and community members

INFORM: *Health Education* – to educate leaders who will educate students and community members on healthy habits to prevent disease

INFLUENCE: *Partnership* – to establish partnerships with local health education-focused organizations to share information and resources

The HT team desire two major outcomes. First, that the HT programming provides evidence for why public health organizations should devote resources to education in Uganda. Second, to be a model for developing health communication campaigns throughout Uganda.

For my local partners in Uganda, this project was monumental.



Students who participated in surveys and will receive health education from Health Together trained teachers.



Three schools of teachers working together at the health education training.

The health care professionals at the clinic were integral in this project. For three days we worked together with them to develop the Community Health Survey, phrasing questions in a way that would be translatable for different local languages and honing the content to ensure the exact data we were looking for would be gathered. Specific diseases were included in the survey based on data from the Medical Mission as well as what the clinic frequently diagnoses. These included hypertension (HTN), urinary tract infections (UTI), candidiasis, and sickle cell disease (SCD). In this way, we hope to provide educational resources that mirror the local experience of diseases.

LMC staff trained and led teams of volunteers to administer the survey in the community. The staff noted that doing the survey allowed them the opportunity to learn about their local community, develop topics they wanted to explore further, and brainstorm ideas for health education outreach.

Teachers at the schools devoted time and energy to incorporating health education into their daily lesson plans. They attended a full-day training on the health curriculum, asking thoughtful questions and caring deeply about how this information would lead to their students living healthier lives.

Overall, close to 1,000 surveys were conducted by the HT team in the schools and community. The 50 teachers were trained on a basic health education curriculum to implement in their classrooms, and 43 women were trained on feminine hygiene modules to educate girls in the community. All educators were surveyed on their health knowledge before training and will be evaluated in the coming months to

determine the application of knowledge for healthy lifestyle changes. HT worked in consultation with both Ugandan and American experts.

While this was a big achievement for all of the HT team, 150 surveys, 50 teachers, and four education forums are not numbers likely to tip the scales for U.N. or USAID work.

You get to the monumental work when you start fighting for what is needed where you are, with what you have. If public diplomacy proves anything, it is that purposefully built relationships maintained over a long period of time, with consistent communications and partnership to achieve policy goals, are how progress occurs. And in this case, how sustained development may occur. It may be one or it may be 100 who mobilize in support of shared goals, such as health education. One may be more than there was before.

As diplomats establish and work to implement large, well-meaning goals, “citizen diplomats” should be engaged. Those who are on the ground every day, teaching, building, and dreaming of ways to improve their country.



Laura Tice leading a feminine hygiene training.

Changing norms related to health through education takes time. It takes my local partners continuing this work when the HT American team is not there. But, it’s a cause worth working for. My partners in Uganda understand this better than anyone. They’ve seen war; they see poverty; they see children dying alarmingly early from things they can’t describe, but are preventable. With my Ugandan teammates on board, the drive to achieve goals carries more weight—there are literally lives on the line.

When we consider the success or failure of the SDGs, it is important to not forget locally led initiatives such as Health Together, projects monumental in their own right. Engaging those on the ground experiencing the very disparities the SDGs are trying to address just might be the most powerful tool in sustaining development.

Summary of Health Together March 2019 Survey Findings in Uganda

<p>Awareness vs. Education</p> <p>People are aware of diseases but are uneducated on how they occur, present, or habits that could prevent diseases. Education should address specific misperceptions found in the HT Community Health Surveys.</p>	<p>Hypertension (HTN) education should be on basic signs and symptoms so people can distinguish between normal bodily functions and the disease.</p>	<p>When asked to describe symptoms of hypertension, most people (41%) listed “Sweating” as the top reported symptom, a symptom not unique to HTN.</p>
	<p>UTI education should dispel beliefs about how the disease occurs and how to prevent it.</p>	<p>50% of people said a UTI comes from bathrooms, which is an almost impossible disease transmission route.</p>
	<p>Feminine hygiene education should focus on typical signs and symptoms of menstruation as well as the relationships between menstruation and pregnancy.</p>	<p>27% of participant questions during feminine hygiene education sessions were about pain during menstruation. When discussing symptoms of menstruation, some included symptoms commonly listed for malaria and HTN.</p> <p>Bifurcating these symptoms from menstruation is important so women do not think menstruation is a disease.</p>
	<p>Sickle cell disease (SCD) is common in Uganda. Patients at the Medical Mission describe and present with symptoms similar to SCD, although it is difficult to tell the percentage of people are living with SCD.</p>	<p>Approximately 77% of community members surveyed had heard of sickle cell disease, higher than both HTN and UTI.</p> <p>65% of those surveyed said No or did not respond to this question, the highest negative awareness for any diseases on the survey.</p>
<p>Disease Transmission</p> <p>Education for students should ensure understanding of disease transmission routes to promote the application of knowledge to daily life. Teachers would benefit from this education as well.</p>	<p>Malaria is commonly associated with a mosquito net, but deeper understanding of how to make small lifestyle choices to prevent unnecessary mosquito bites is lacking.</p>	<p>According to the WHO <i>World Malaria Report 2017</i>, 100% of Uganda’s population is at risk for malaria, yet 25% of students surveyed do not use a net—children with an average age of 7 (some as young as 3) and 31% are 5 years of age or under, the stated at-risk population.</p> <p>79% of community members surveyed said they knew they had malaria. The CDC states a malaria blood test is the only reliable way to know if someone has malaria (CDC, 2019), yet only 21% of people knew because of a test.</p>
<p>Drug Resistance</p> <p>Drug resistance is a serious global health concern, exacerbated by incorrect and unnecessary antibiotic use. Survey findings clarified how lack of health knowledge contributes to this problem.</p>	<p>When someone goes to a medical facility and says they have malaria, it is possible they are given drugs without a blood test. Unnecessary drugs create drug resistance, documented as a major problem in Africa and around the world.</p>	<p>Additional information on drug resistance in Uganda would be useful to develop a comprehensive understanding of the observations in the qualitative data gathered.</p>

The Health Together American team comprises Kara Ing (USC '14 B.S., Business Administration), Hannah Nachev (J.D., USC '19; M.P.P., USC '19; USC '15 B.A. Middle East Studies and Philosophy, Politics), Laura Tice (Azusa Pacific University '14, B.S.N., R.N., C.P.N.), and myself (Brooke Adams, USC '19 M.A., Public Diplomacy; Azusa Pacific University '17 B.A. English Literature).

Brooke Adams is a Master of Public Diplomacy (USC '19) with a B.A. in English Literature from Azusa Pacific University. Brooke has worked with community development projects in Mexico, South Africa, and Uganda, and has participated in study abroad programs in South Africa and Thailand. This international experience has led to a



passion for empowering others to create lasting change. Brooke uses storytelling to advocate for the development of programs related to poverty alleviation. She is the Project Manager & Global Engagement Coordinator for Health Together, a public health education initiative in Uganda, implementing health education programming in a private clinic and school with local partners for the purpose of preventing disease. Brooke is pursuing opportunities in international development, specifically in Africa.

Brooke will be traveling across the US this summer with a travel grant from GRAFT Lab, a German based architecture firm, telling stories of people unbuilding walls where they are at. From differences in religion, race, socioeconomic status, or political view—to name a few—she will explore how people have overcome these divides. Follow her journey at: wildlikewind.com or on Instagram @unbuildinghere.

For more information, or to read the full Health Together program report from March 2019, please contact Brooke Adams at: badams817@gmail.com

U.S. Policy Toward Iran: Public Hostility, Not Public Diplomacy

Dr. Jerrold D. Green, Gemma Stewart, and Justin Chapman

What is the opposite of public diplomacy?

The answer may be termed “public hostility,” and that essentially is how current U.S. policy toward Iran can be described. Instead of seeking influence over the Islamic Republic of Iran by promoting cross-cultural relations, encouraging dialogue, and deftly deploying smart power, the United States has opted for a form of public demonization.

Iran and the United States have unquestionably had a tumultuous relationship since the Iranian Revolution, characterized by great tension and fleeting moments of collaboration and cooperation. For the moment, however, the relationship is in a public diplomacy crisis.

There were signs of a new relationship in 2015 when Iran agreed to sign the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), a limited and narrow long-term deal focused exclusively on curbing Iran’s nuclear program signed by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China, Russia, and Germany. This agreement came after years of tension and a more than two-years-long negotiation process led by then-U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry.

Hope of cooperation ended in May 2018 when President Donald Trump decided to withdraw from the Iran nuclear deal after months of threatening to do so. To set the stage, Trump initiated a public campaign calling the deal “rotten” and stated his desire to reinstate sanctions on Iran as well as to consider new penalties. However, many observers believe Trump’s decision to withdraw was counterproductive, as the United Nations, significant elements within the U.S. government, Washington’s JCPOA partners, and other members of the international community acknowledged that Iran was and still is complying with the terms of the nuclear deal. Trump did not present evidence that Iran was not

honoring the deal when he announced his decision.

Critics of the JCPOA correctly and accurately pointed out that the deal failed to address destabilizing and destructive Iranian involvement in Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, and Syria. Iran has unquestionably been involved in all manner of unsavory activities in the region. However, architects of the nuclear deal will be the first to point out that the JCPOA was not expected to have immediate influence or impact on other Iranian issues, be they domestic or foreign policy. Such challenges need to be addressed over time, but torpedoing the nuclear deal was not the way to deal with them.

By pulling the United States out of the nuclear deal, the threat of Iranian retaliation, increased sectarian conflicts, and Tehran yet again seeking a nuclear weapons capability have become valid concerns. The Trump administration has not launched any diplomatic initiatives towards Iran while abandoning a deal that it brokered is seen as proof to many that Washington cannot be trusted. It is inconceivable that North Korea, for example, will give up its nuclear arsenal in light of Iran’s experience with the United States.

Now celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, Iran is under crippling economic pressure, mounting discontent at home, and intensifying regional tensions, some of which are due to the reinstatement of sanctions on the country. Such growing political and economic pressure has given a boost to Iranian hard-liners and weakened more moderately-inclined Iranian officials including Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, the U.S.-educated architect of the 2015 pact.

Additionally, President Trump has exacerbated tensions by making bellicose public statements, such as directly threatening Iranian President Hassan Rouhani via tweet, vowing “CONSEQUENCES THE LIKES OF WHICH FEW

THROUGHOUT HISTORY HAVE EVER SUFFERED BEFORE.” Other senior Trump officials such as National Security Adviser John Bolton and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo have been equally as threatening. Bolton dubbed Iran the “central banker of terrorism” and Pompeo recommended designating Iran’s Revolutionary Guard as a foreign terrorist organization, which would be the first time that the United States designated a unit of another government’s military as a terrorist group.

The United States shows no interest in initiating public diplomacy efforts focused on this key Middle Eastern country with a population in excess of 80 million people. Public diplomacy is an attempt to find common ground and thus to promote leverage over friends and rivals alike. There have been cases in the past where the United States was able to implement good faith public diplomacy efforts with hostile nations so as to ratchet down tensions in search of mutual accommodation and increased U.S. influence. In the case of Iran, however, what we see now is more like a cold war with no thawing in sight—the complete antithesis of public diplomacy. It is a policy of all sticks and no carrots.

Washington’s abrupt policy shift behavior has engendered considerable international condemnation. At the recent Munich Security Forum, German Chancellor Angela Merkel was scathing in her criticisms of the United States for walking away from the JCPOA. In a joint statement after Trump withdrew the United States, Merkel, French President Emmanuel Macron, and UK Prime Minister Theresa May noted pointedly that the UN Security Council resolution endorsing the nuclear deal remained the “binding international legal framework for the resolution of the dispute.” Withdrawing from the deal was problematic not only vis-à-vis a more reasoned policy towards Iran, but also dismissive of our allies and deal partners, especially the UK, France, Germany, and the European Union. This was a P5+1 agreement, not a bilateral U.S.-Iranian one.

A further consequence of withdrawing from the deal was the illogical decision in terms of the findings of the U.S. intelligence community. After President Trump’s decision to withdraw, there was congressional testimony from CIA Director Gina Haspel, FBI Director Christopher Wray, and Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats who all noted that Iran is in compliance with the terms of the JCPOA. Trump responded by calling them “naïve” about Iran irrespective of the intelligence findings.

The relationship between the United States and Iran is at a dangerous juncture. Washington’s unremitting hostility to Iran does not have a genuine policy corollary. Is the United States seeking regime change, civil war, another popular revolution? Other than total Iranian capitulation, is there a realistic way out of this impasse? Clearly, U.S. allies do not support the United States’ approach to Iran. Yet again, the United States is going it alone rather than adhering to established international norms and agreements.

It is in the interest of the global community to have a collaborative Iran and not one that is cornered, desperate, and pushed into areas of even greater hostility. It is especially noteworthy that over 60 percent of Iran’s 80 million people are under 30 years old. If public diplomacy were to leverage the attraction young people feel globally towards the United States and its culture would be a far more powerful response to Iran’s sclerotic, corrupt, and fossilized theocratic elite than hectoring and isolating. The Trump administration should focus on building mutual trust and productive relationships with the future generations of Iran, which by definition would cleave it away from the unpopular ruling elite in Tehran.

The United States should lead by example. It should subtly but unmistakably drive a wedge between the Iranian people and its unpopular leadership. This is one situation in which public diplomacy would be especially powerful as the current U.S. policy of public hostility instead strengthens the very political and cultural forces in Iran that the United States should be striving to weaken.

Dr. Jerrold D. Green is the president and CEO of the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Gemma Stewart is the Communications Project Fellow at the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Justin Chapman is the Communications Officer at the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Learn more about the Pacific Council at pacificcouncil.org.

Enough is Enough: New Zealand’s Prime Minister Takes Action

Terri D. Austin

“Sisters in battle, I am shield and blade to you. As I breathe, your enemies will know no sanctuary. While I live, your cause is mine.” - Leigh Bardugo, Wonder Woman

The innocent victims were literally praying in two mosques located in Christchurch, New Zealand on Friday, March 15, 2019. Even the town’s name suggests a place of peace and reverence. The evening prayer services were interrupted by the sound of bullets, screams, and painful moaning. In total, 50 men, women, and children were killed. Another 50 people were injured, 36 of whom were hospitalized. Most of the victims were from the Al Noor Mosque, and at least seven of the dead were from the Linwood Mosque a short distance away.¹

The police arrived within six minutes and apprehended the lone gunman who was described as a right-wing extremist.² He was carrying five licensed military-style assault weapons, which included two semi-automatic rifles, two shotguns, and a lever-action firearm. He was also carrying high-capacity ammunition magazines to increase the number of bullets his assault weapons could fire.³ In addition to the gunman, two other individuals were initially detained and later released in connection with the shooting. They were also carrying guns.⁴

The shooter, who was originally from Australia, had been planning the attack for two years. He picked New Zealand to show that nowhere in the world is safe. He posted a 74-page manifesto online where he cited white genocide and a growing population of Muslims, Jews, and immigrant “invaders” as his motive for the shooting. The manifesto was a far cry from Christchurch’s vision of valuing a diverse cultural heritage.⁵

The mass shooting was exacerbated by the fact that the gunman streamed the event live on Facebook using a camera on his helmet. The live video was viewed approximately 200 times and not reported to Facebook until 12 minutes after the massacre ended. By that time, the video had been viewed nearly 4,000 times and spread to other social media platforms such as YouTube. Facebook ultimately removed 1.5 million copies of the viral video from its platform.⁶ The day after the shooting, New Zealand Prime Minister

Jacinda Ardern held a press conference where she called for a global fight against discrimination and promised to conduct a review of social media to determine the role it may have contributed to the horrific event. She ensured the public that her government would cover the funeral costs for all the victims. Later that week, when she attended several of those services, she wore a full hijab as a sign of respect for the families.⁷

Prime Minister Ardern further denounced the vicious attack and refused to give notoriety to the attacker’s name, stating:

“He is a terrorist, he is a criminal, he is an extremist, but he will, when I speak, be nameless, and to others I implore you: Speak the names of those who were lost rather than the name of the man who took them. He may have sought notoriety but we in New Zealand will give him nothing – not even his name.”⁸

In accordance with the Prime Minister’s request, the attacker will remain nameless here as well.

Perhaps the most significant part of Ardern’s initial press conference was her promise to make swift and sweeping changes to gun control laws. Six days after the shooting, on Thursday, March 20, in front of New Zealand and the entire world, Prime Minister Ardern kept her promise. During her second press conference, Ardern said that the attack demonstrated the weakness of New Zealand’s gun laws.⁹ She further stated, “The times for the easy availability of these weapons must end. And today, they will.”¹⁰

Ardern announced a ban on all military-style semi-automatic and assault rifles, which were the types of guns used in the mass shooting. The new law, which came into effect on April 11, 2019, also banned high-capacity magazines. Notably, the law includes a buyback provision to confiscate all banned weapons currently on the market, costing the government

between \$100 to \$200 million. When asked about individuals who possess unregistered banned guns, she acknowledged that amnesty will apply. She also acknowledged that there would be tightly regulated exemptions for hunters and farmers. Prime Minister Ardern emphasized that her goal was to implement gun control laws emulating those in Australia.¹¹

Why Australia? In 1996, there was a mass shooting by a 28-year-old man in a café in Tasmania, Australia resulting in the deaths of 35 people. Another 23 people were injured. This mass shooting prompted a public outcry for gun control resulting in the enactment of strict gun control laws. Prior to the enactment of gun control laws in Australia, 13 fatal mass shootings occurred in the country. Since gun control laws were enacted in 1996, there have been no fatal mass shootings.¹²

As geographical neighbors, New Zealand and Australia have a shared history and the two countries work together on multiple social, economic, and political issues.¹³ Public diplomacy is most effective when the actions of one sovereign country influence and advance the policies of another. Ardern was keenly aware of Australia's history of gun violence, and more importantly, she was keenly aware of Australia's success with gun control. That awareness informed her decision to take action against gun violence in her own country.

Ardern's swift and dispositive action in response to the Christchurch mass shootings has catapulted her into the global spotlight.

Who is Jacinda Ardern?

Jacinda Kate Laurell Ardern was born on July 26, 1980 in Hamilton, the capital of the Waikato Region of New Zealand.¹⁴ She was raised as a Mormon in a predominantly Christian country with small populations of Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, Muslims, and Rastafarians.¹⁵

At the young age of 17, Ardern joined the Labour Party and worked on the reelection of a Labour Party candidate. After graduating from the University of Waikato in 2001 with a degree in Communications Studies, she became a researcher for another Labour Party candidate. This experience caught the attention of Prime Minister Helen Clark who asked Ardern to join her staff. As the second female prime minister of New Zealand, Clark quickly became a mentor and role model for Ardern.¹⁶

Ardern traveled to Britain in 2005 and worked in the office of British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Her job as associate

director was to improve relations between local authorities and small businesses. Two years later she was elected President of the International Union of Socialist Youth. That position enabled her to travel to multiple countries including China, India, Israel, and Lebanon, where she gained broader and more diverse perspectives.¹⁷

When Arden returned to New Zealand in 2008, she entered parliament at the age of 28 as its youngest member and called for the compulsory instruction of the Maori language, one of the original languages spoken in New Zealand. She also criticized the New Zealand government for ignoring climate change. In addition to promoting cultural inclusion and climate change, Arden focused on reducing child poverty. These bold moves from an outspoken young leader helped to identify Ardern as a rising star in the Labour Party.¹⁸



Photo from *kashmirobserver.net*

In March 2017, Ardern became Deputy Leader of the New Zealand Labour Party and in August of that same year, she ascended to Leader of the party. Just two months later in October, at the age of 37, she became the country's 40th prime minister and the youngest prime minister since 1856, the year of the first elected prime minister. Arden is only the third female prime minister in New Zealand's history.¹⁹

As if being prime minister were not enough, on June 21, 2018, Arden and her partner, Clarke Gayford gave birth to a baby girl, naming her Neve Te Aroha Ardern Gayford. Gayford is a local television broadcaster who hosts a fishing documentary show. Incredibly, Ardern is only the second elected leader in the world to give birth while in office, after Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of India. Ardern, who has kept her private life relatively private, is not married to her partner, a fact which has not hindered her meteoric rise in politics.

Learning from New Zealand and Australia

There have been multiple mass shootings in the United States where automatic or semiautomatic weapons were utilized. According to the Gun Violence Archive (GVA), a mass shooting is any shooting where four or more people are shot or killed, excluding the shooter. Several of those shootings are indelibly etched in our minds because they involve schools like Columbine (Colorado 1999) where 13 were killed, or Sandy Hook (Connecticut 2012) where 20 small children and 6 adults were killed, or Marjorie Stone Douglas (Florida 2018) where 17 were killed.²⁰ Mass shootings are so commonplace in the United States that, unfortunately, society is becoming numb to their effects.²¹ The GVA determined that there were 340 mass shootings in 2018 totaling 373 deaths. Thus far, in 2019, there have been 151 mass shootings killing 195 people [updated from 68 mass shootings and 95 people killed when this article was originally submitted].²²

Some have asked why the United States cannot enact stricter gun control laws like Australia and New Zealand to prevent mass shootings. There are several explanations why it may be more difficult to impose these laws in the United States. First, the Second Amendment of the Constitution gives individuals the right to bear arms in the United States. There is no such constitutional provision in Australia and New Zealand.

Secondly, both countries are significantly smaller making it easier to gain a consensus. Australia's population is about 20 million and New Zealand's population is about 4.5 million compared to the United States, whose population is approximately 328 million.²³

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, while all three countries have organized gun associations, the National Rifle Association (NRA) in the United States is significantly larger and considerably more influential, having spent at least \$4.1 million on lobbying efforts since 1998 to members of Congress alone.²⁴

Notwithstanding these impediments, there are a number of common sense gun control measures that could be taken in the United States to decrease the number of mass shootings. Those measures include: 1) banning automatic and semiautomatic assault weapons; 2) banning rapid fire bump stocks; 3) banning high-capacity ammunition magazines; 4) implementing waiting periods to purchase guns; and 5) conducting thorough and comprehensive background checks.

One US administration after another has failed to pass common sense gun control legislation to decrease the number of mass shootings in the United States. Since President Trump assumed office two years ago, he has taken only two significant measures to strengthen gun control. On March 23, 2018, Trump signed an act to Fix the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (Fix NICS), which would require states to report criminal histories to a national database system.²⁵ And on December 18, 2018, the Trump

administration banned rapid fire bump stocks, which are used to increase the speed of ammunition from an assault rifle. That law came into effect at the end of March 2019.²⁶ Trump has stated that he wants to do more; for instance, he wants to arm school teachers with guns. However, that idea is fraught with drawbacks like the possibility of inadequately trained teachers accidentally shooting innocent students.

Perhaps it will take a woman like Prime Minister Ardern to make a difference on gun control in the United States. Perhaps it will take someone who puts her country first, who empathizes with her citizens, who takes immediate and monumental action when her people are threatened. It could happen. There are currently six female candidates running for the highest office in the US.²⁷ So yes, it could happen. Ardern recently said that she does not want to be considered "some kind of wonder woman."²⁸ But clearly Prime Minister Ardern is some kind of wonder woman, and the United States would be wise to take note of her actions. Now that the global spotlight is on Ardern, will this extraordinary trailblazer serve as an influencer to the rest of the world?

Terri Austin currently serves as an adjunct professor at the USC Annenberg School of Communication and Journalism. Most recently, she served as Chief Corporate Policy Officer for S&P Global where she was responsible for implementing and monitoring corporate policies, standards, and procedures to ensure compliance with the highest industry standards. She previously served as Chief Diversity Officer, where she developed an integrated diversity strategy across the business. Prior to S&P Global, she served as Chief Compliance & Ethics Officer for AIG's Domestic Insurance Operations, General Counsel for AIG's Domestic Claims Operation, as an associate at Richards & O'Neil, and as an Assistant General Counsel for the New York City Law Department. Austin holds a Bachelor's degree in political science from Grinnell College, a Juris Doctorate from Columbia University School of Law, and a Master's degree from the Columbia School of Journalism. She serves on a number of boards including Riverdale Country School, New Alternatives for Children, Women's Sports Foundation, and previously Girls Inc. of NYC. Austin has received a number of honors for her work and community service including The Foundation for Judicial Friends Leaders in Law in 2013, The Network Journal's 25 Influential Black Women in Business in 2008, Top Diversity Executive by Black Enterprise in 2011, and Girl Scouts Council of New York Woman of Distinction in 2010.

What is the Cost of Caring?

Isaiah Simmons

By the time you reach a certain age, the world we live in becomes a dark, frightening place. Every now and then though you experience a moment where you feel the darkness is tailored just for you. In the summer of 2015, I had one of these moments.

I spent the summer of 2015 working as a counselor at a Christian sports camp in Hollsopple, PA. It was a fairly expensive camp where I was one of three black people out of roughly seventy staff. You weren't allowed to have your phone at camp unless it was your day off or a weekend where campers weren't present. So, I was by myself in my cabin when I read about a young man who walked into a church in Charleston, South Carolina during a Bible study, much like the ones I had been leading all summer long, and killed nine people who were all black—senseless hatred in an act of domestic terrorism.

At that moment, I had never felt more despair in my entire life. I began to question the validity of my faith in God since not even my faith—or my First Amendment freedom of religion rights for that matter—could shield me from racism, a lesson many African Americans in this country before me had learned. I also began to question the validity of my experience as there were only two other people at my job who could actually understand what I was feeling. The worst part is that deep down I knew nothing would happen to remedy the situation.

When I read about the March 15, 2019 mosque shooting in Christchurch, New Zealand, where people trying to live their faiths were senselessly murdered out of pure hatred, I couldn't help but flash back to my memories of Charleston. Except for this time, something was done about the hatred: an immediate ban on assault weapons less than seven days after the tragedy. This was a hopeful moment to me because as I reflected further, I noticed some of the most notable tragedies in US recent history have impacted populations who have been the most vulnerable, making the lack of meaningful response even more damning.

On Valentine's Day of 2018, when a former student walked into Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School and killed 17

students, the aftermath saw a community devastated with classes shut down for two weeks. Students returned to campus with fewer entrances, clearer bag policies, and shorter classes. Staff members were tasked with providing emotional support to students, a task beyond the scope of these staff members' roles. Students who chose to speak out and organize were criticized as bullies, irrelevant, or even crisis actors.

Even now over a year later, the aftermath of this tragedy still reverberates as two students have taken their lives after struggling with survivor's guilt and post-traumatic stress disorder. These were high school students, a group of citizens already with limited rights, who found it necessary to utilize their voices and organize due to the numerous failures they'd seen from lawmakers in the past, nationally and in their own state.

In June 2016, about three hours from Parkland in Orlando, Florida, a US citizen who pledged allegiance to ISIS with a documented hatred toward to LGBTQ community went to Pulse nightclub described as a haven for members of the LGBTQ community, with a semi-automatic rifle and killed 49 people in the worst mass shooting in United States history. In the aftermath of this event, the conversation shifted from gun laws to mental health.

The then Republican nominee Donald Trump decided this occasion was an opportune time to introduce the idea of a Muslim ban. Once again the critical conversation around gun violence failed to take place. High school students, members of the LGBTQ community, black worshippers, and even small children as we learned from the Sandy Hook shooting would not be enough to shift the direction of this conversation.

In December 2012, a gunman with a troubled past of social exclusion, hatred toward humanity, and an AR-15 as well as two handguns entered Sandy Hook elementary school and killed 27 people, 20 of whom were 6- and 7-year-old children. If any, this tragedy should have had the power to change the course of American discussion on gun regulation and reform; after all, these were 6- and 7-year-old children. However, no such change from lawmakers came, not in 2012 nor in any of the years that followed.

This tragedy, although more removed in time than the rest, still carries weight for these families, as one father took his own life in March resulting from his personal struggle with post-traumatic stress disorder. These tragedies, no matter when they take place, have incredibly real impacts on communities, families, and individuals that extend far beyond the news cycle in which they are covered, which makes the search for a solution even more pressing.

When I reflect back on Charleston, one initial concern I had was that nothing would be done; yet I underestimated the fact that legislators were not the only ones capable of acting. The survivors of these tragedies would rally in incredible ways to create change.

The Charleston community took a role in shaping conversations on racism, the nuances of forgiveness, and civil rights, with President Obama speaking at the funeral for the pastor of their church. In the aftermath of the Parkland shooting, students organized countless protests, walkouts, most notably, the March for Our Lives protest where hundreds of thousands of people nationwide flooded the streets of the United States protesting gun reform.

This protest actually prompting Florida laws to be changed, raising the minimum age for buying rifles, establishing background checks, and banning bump stocks with \$400 million of funding for implementation. After Sandy Hook, parents organized to form the Sandy Hook Promise which provides nationwide training to parents and community organizations to promote training on recognizing and preventing signs of gun violence. These communities all responded resiliently, yet it shouldn't be the sole responsibility of citizens to pursue justice.

Comparing these past scenarios to the New Zealand shooting and the government's swift response to ban all military-style semiautomatic weapons, assault rifles, and high-capacity magazines less than a week after the tragedy begs the simple question: Why can't the US do the same? The answer to this question is complex because of the various differences in the cultures and makeups of these two nations.

While the answer to this question is complex, because of the various cultural and political difference in the two nations, the United States needs to confront the lack of change that we have faced, as mass shootings continue to happen. In the face of all the lives lost to gun violence, we must consider the price we continue to pay and challenge our nation to change. Compared to all the lives lost, what is the cost of caring?

Isaiah Simmons is a native of Virginia Beach, VA who received his undergraduate degree in Psychology from the College of William and Mary. Isaiah also earned Master of Public Policy from the University of Southern California in Spring 2019, where he will be pursuing his PhD in Education

Policy beginning in Fall 2019. In his spare time, Isaiah enjoys watching and playing basketball, as well as attending concerts and trying new restaurants.

Monumental Leadership

Interview with Dr. Wanda Austin by Brooke Adams

When we show up, act boldly, and practice the best ways to be wrong, we fail forward. No matter where we end up, we've grown from where we began.

- Stacey Abrams

PEOPLE

I sat in closely packed white plastic chairs at the University of Southern California's (USC) 2019 Commencement Ceremony this May as Interim President Dr. Wanda Austin approached the podium. The 136th USC Commencement speeches were laced with allusions to the need for "the buck to stop here," for USC to be better, for higher education at large to be better. In this time, where leaders—whether people or institutions—seem to throw values to the side and fail to illuminate a path forward, Dr. Austin spoke to the massive crowd about hope for the future and the necessary changes required.

Assuming the role of Interim President of USC last August, Dr. Austin began this leadership role in what was only the prelude to a tumultuous season for the university. "For individuals and institutions, change can be a force of good. It can provide us with new perspectives, new energy, and new opportunities," Dr. Austin said. As a key piece of the "new" for USC this past year, Dr. Austin has used her position of leadership to be that "force of good."

Dr. Austin epitomizes, "Exceptional leadership. Uncommon dedication," as described by USC Trustee Chair Rick Caruso when presenting her with an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters at the 2019 Commencement.

While some may rather not be associated with USC at the moment, Dr. Austin reminded the crowds of the great achievement of finishing a university degree. "Learning is a foundation of a life filled with purpose and meaning," she said addressing over 19,000 graduates. These themes of learning and purpose characterize Dr. Austin's leadership.

In April, I sat down with Dr. Austin to discuss her monumental roles as the first female and first African American president of The Aerospace Corporation (both a "first" for her time at USC as well) and member of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST) during the Obama administration.

As public diplomacy seeks to inform and influence audiences, Dr. Austin provides valuable lessons on how confidently leading with a focus on building trust with others can create monumental outcomes.

BROOKE ADAMS (BA): As President of The Aerospace Corporation, what was your personal goal for your tenure?

DR. WANDA AUSTIN (WA): My personal goal was to strengthen the discipline around our processes for mission assurance, which is how we defined a product being delivered on time and working within the standards it is supposed to. In terms of the delivery, this is the actual launch and placement of the satellite operating in orbit the way it was designed, and for the length of time it is supposed to be up there. In the late 90's, we'd had three major launch failures. Each launch is more than a billion dollars in government money; plus, you have a mission capability you can't replace because there is not a duplicate satellite readily available to relaunch.

Having had those failures, there was a real focus on what we could do to make sure we were successful. For example, strengthening the hardware to make sure it would endure through everything. If you are trying to reduce costs, you might cut corners and processes or change materials and sometimes you insert a birth defect, which is something that causes you to have a failure. At the end of the day, it's about delivering the mission in a high integrity way.

BA: What did being a 'pioneer' in the position of President at The Aerospace Corporation mean to you?

WA: You are breaking new ground and you're in rooms you never dreamed you'd be in. I'd be in meetings in the Pentagon talking about national policy and what we need to do. Similarly, I would find myself in meetings in the White House, or having conversations in Colorado Springs, thinking about the safety of the nation. You see this awesome opportunity to really have an impact. When you're coming up in your career people say, 'I want to impact society, I want to make sure I'm making a difference.' One day you wake up and realize you are. When you speak, you are speaking to people who will make decisions that change the course of what happens.

It's a tremendous responsibility, but it's also a phenomenal opportunity to influence thinking to be more inclusive to a range of options that might not be considered if you weren't there.

BA: When working with people in this field who have different perspectives than yourself, how do the relationships play out as you pioneer this leadership role?

WA: It's a trust relationship that evolves over time. These are people who value technical excellence. If you bring your expertise to the room and you demonstrate you have done your homework and read the material, that you're up to speed on what you need to be, then when you make a comment you are recognized for adding value. Over time, it is less about you being a pioneer and more about you just being one of the team. You are someone they know they can count on to do their part and be ready to engage in whatever tough decisions have to be made.

BA: I like what you are saying about building trust. I think sometimes it's assumed leaders will be given trust without earning it.

WA: When I am the quote-unquote leader in the room, one of the things I try to practice is creating an environment where people feel safe to express their opinions. It doesn't do me any good for people to sit in a meeting and nod like a bobble head, only to say, 'I think that's a terrible idea, I had a better idea but I didn't want to speak up,' when I leave the room. That's a missed opportunity. A leader has to create an environment where they feel free to say, 'I want to hear other opinions.' If you say 'go left' and everyone says, 'Yes, left is exactly what I was thinking,' you're not coming up with anything new.

Leaders have to be intentional about making sure they reward people for being innovative in their ideas or in identifying the risks associated with going down a particular path. Sometimes you still make the decision to go down the difficult path, but if you know what the risks are, you can work to mitigate them. If someone didn't tell you what those are, you would blindly go off doing something and get blindsided because it wasn't well known or well understood.

BA: Could you explain what being a member of PCAST entailed?

WA: It's the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology and different presidents use it differently. It's a group of about nine or ten people who become special government employees. For us, we got together every other month, but sometimes working in between, to address whatever science and technical issues the President might have concerns or questions about, or to bring forth ideas about things he could do that would be impactful for the whole country. So, you would do research, go out and interview people, reach out across the nation for experts in a specific area, and then write a report. That report would be vetted by the other members of the council and then presented to the president.

BA: How did your experience in this role shape your perspective of leadership and diplomacy as you were a leader talking to the top leaders in the country and in the world?

WA: The first thing it taught me was as a leader, you have to continuously learn. I was really impressed with President Obama because in the course of a day, this is a man who deals with hundreds of issues. But when he would walk into the room, he would lock in on whatever the topic was. He would ask thoughtful questions and it would be clear he had been doing some reading and research, or someone had given him a paper since the last time we'd been there. He'd say, 'Well, what about this' or 'I was thinking about that.'

To find a leader who has a thirst for knowledge in the way he did impressed me. It taught me that you have to constantly pull for information and get people to help you think about things in different ways because ultimately, it will help you make better decisions.

It was a huge lesson for me to watch the way he interacted with each of us, so clearly focused, having done his homework, and being able to turn off whatever the last issue was so he could lock in on whatever we were addressing.

On the diplomacy side, one of the studies I worked on was an action to protect against biological attack. This is clearly something from a science and technology perspective you want to think about as a nation; and then from a diplomacy perspective you have to think about Zika, influenza, or how when someone on the other side of the world sneezes, someone

here catches a cold, and vice versa. Our team had the idea that we needed to go talk to the U.K. about its approach to national health care. How did they, for example, prepare for an outbreak that could potentially impact the food supply, whether we're talking about humans or animals or something like hoof and mouth? How do you track that? How do you figure out what it is and how do you communicate with people what to do? These things spread very quickly. We have to think about somebody getting on an airplane and spreading a virus to the U.S., and we can't put up a border wall that's going to protect us from biological attack.

As a result of being on that team, I led the U.S. delegation to the U.K. to meet with the U.K. team. I never anticipated when we started that initiative, that it would culminate in a productive two-day conference. They showed us tactics and techniques they use and we talked about what we were doing and what we were focusing on. It was a great leadership opportunity and also a great diplomacy opportunity, because we have more in common than we think in terms of what we are worried about. It gave us another perspective on the problem and we were able to use what we learned to benefit the U.S.

BA: It sounds like you were using trust and learning then too, building trust by being willing to learn from them, and in turn they can learn from you.

WA: Absolutely. You have to be willing to share your own weaknesses and how we were trying to address them. You don't go with the idea that we have all the answers and you've got all the problems. In this case, we had common problems, and even more common opportunities to figure out a way to help our countries.

BA: As a female leader in the world of business, government, policy, and STEM, what advice would you give to other women pursuing leadership roles such as this?

WA: I would say two things: bring your big ideas. Don't be reticent to say, I don't know if other people will like this or if other people have thought of this or will laugh at it. Bring your big ideas. You are capable, you are trained, you've got insights that other people don't have.

The second thing, particularly for women, is to sit at the table. By that I mean when you're in the room, fully engage. Assume that you belong there. Assume you're in the right place. I see many times that women will come in the room and there will be seats at the table, but they will say, 'I'll just sit in the back. Maybe somebody else should sit there,' as opposed to saying, 'I'm part of the team, let me come and take a seat and contribute like a full-fledged team member'. If you put yourself in the position of being viewed as a backbencher who lacks confidence, don't be surprised if that's how you're treated.

BA: Any final thoughts you would like to share about diplomacy or if you're speaking to leaders in the international world pursuing diplomacy and changing the world.

WA: My experience both at Aerospace, certainly here [at USC], and in PCAST, is start by understanding what you have in common, what you can agree on. We tend to focus immediately on 'I disagree on this' or 'You're wrong on that.' If you start by asking, 'What are the things where we have alignment and common understanding,' then I think you find that the parts you disagree on, are not as broad as they otherwise might appear. That way, you can get a better appreciation of why we might be on opposite sides of a specific issue, or why we are coming at it from different perspectives. I think it's really good practice for personal relationships, business relationships, and international relationships to start from a basis of what we have in common.

BA: I think this is often missed because you start the diplomacy or the conversation when there is already a problem and you're trying to fix what someone did wrong.

WA: Yes and with an 'I want to win' attitude. It can't be win-lose. It has to be how can we help each other. I think just

putting yourself in the other person's shoes and asking why they are seeing it that way brings a lot of understanding.

Brooke Adams is a Master of Public Diplomacy (USC '19) with a B.A. in English Literature from Azusa Pacific University. Brooke has worked with community development projects in Mexico, South Africa, and Uganda, and has participated in study abroad programs in South Africa and Thailand. This international experience has led to a passion for empowering others to create lasting change. Brooke uses storytelling to advocate for the development of programs related to poverty alleviation. She is the Project Manager & Global Engagement Coordinator for Health Together, a public health education initiative in Uganda, implementing health education programming in a private clinic and school with local partners for the purpose of preventing disease. Brooke is pursuing opportunities in international development, specifically in Africa.

Brooke will be traveling across the US this summer with a travel grant from GRAFT Lab, a German based architecture firm, telling stories of people unbuilding walls where they are at. From differences in religion, race, socioeconomic status, or political view—to name a few—she will explore how people have overcome these divides. Follow her journey at: wildlikewind.com or on Instagram @unbuildinghere.



Photo courtesy of Eric Abelev, Executive Director, Public Relations Projects, Office of the President

“Ripples of Hope Campaign” - A Public Diplomacy Campaign of Commemoration

Elizabeth McKay

In 2016, Acting Deputy Chief of the U.S. Mission to South Africa Elizabeth McKay presided over the 50th-anniversary commemoration of Robert F. Kennedy's historic visit to South Africa. The commemorations included an inspiring social media challenge and a full six-day program retracing the U.S. Senator's steps during his five-day trip in June 1966.

Nelson Mandela's autobiographical “Long Walk to Freedom” tells the story of the South African people's heroic struggle for liberation. Mandela shares his personal journey from a rural childhood village, through the crucible of apartheid to his unlikely election in 1994 as the country's first post-Apartheid president. His legacy of courage in the face of overwhelming opposition is commemorated worldwide in the form of statues, street names, parks, squares, and educational institutions.



Master of Public Diplomacy candidate Jasmine Kolano '20 (left) posing with a classmate in front of a 2-story tall Nelson Mandela statue in Ramallah, Palestine, 2016. Picture courtesy of Jasmine Kolano.

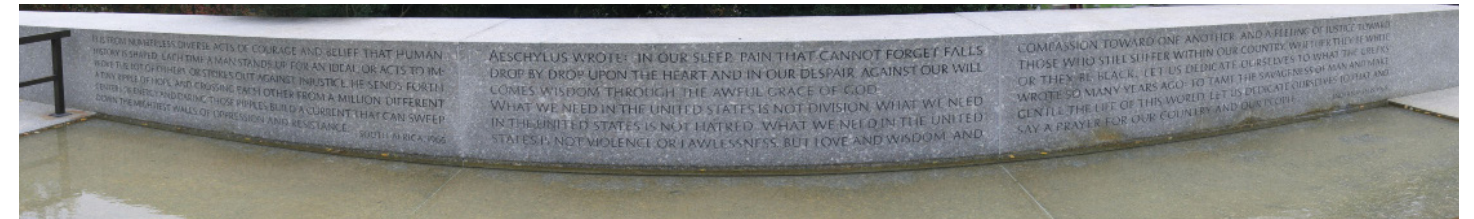
and nations who stood in solidarity with South Africa through its violent turmoil and unrelenting challenges.

The United States' involvement in this liberation movement was complex and, reflected the Cold War geopolitical dynamics of the time. In today's soundbite and Twitter world, this narrative is too often condensed into the short-sighted observation that the United States was on the wrong side of history in this epic story. Rarely mentioned is Congress's override of a Presidential veto allowing passage of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act that imposed economic sanctions and pre-conditions for their withdrawal to accelerate the end of Apartheid as state policy.

This incomplete perspective does a disservice to the thousands of American men and women, public officials and private citizens, who actively supported the South African people throughout their march to freedom and opposed their own government's stance. One such American was Robert F. Kennedy, Senator, scion of a political dynasty, and future presidential candidate.

In 1966 Kennedy went to South Africa at the invitation of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a multiracial South African student group. It is important to recall the historical context of this visit. In the U.S., the Civil Rights movement was demanding change; in South Africa, an increasingly discredited regime maintained its grip on the country while the liberation movement's leadership was imprisoned, banished, or in exile.

Robert Kennedy said he came to South Africa to listen and learn from all sides. During his visit, he met with students and political and business leaders. He seized the opportunity



Quotes from Robert Kennedy's speech delivered in Cape Town are inscribed on the memorial wall near his grave at Arlington National Cemetery.

Image Credit: Wikipedia Commons

to provide rare words of inspiration to the disenfranchised who gathered by the thousands to hear him speak. He gave five formal speeches at the universities of Witswaterand, Stellenbosch, Natal, Cape Town, and the Johannesburg Bar Council. Kennedy's speech at the University of Cape Town (UCT) on June 6, 1966, is considered one of the great civil rights speeches of all time.

By 2016 Kennedy's visit and support of individual Americans for South Africa's liberation were largely forgotten by those who lived through that tumultuous period and unknown by younger generations. As part of its Public Diplomacy outreach, the U.S. Mission in South Africa sought to commemorate the 50th anniversary of RFK's visit in a way that would resonate with young South Africans today. The “Ripples of Hope Campaign” was named after RFK's UCT speech which read in part:

Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

The campaign launched with a social media challenge, #MakeARipple, featuring South African exchange-program alumni who had demonstrated their commitment to others. Passionate about giving back to their country, we invited these contemporary young leaders to share their inspiring stories on Embassy social media platforms, and in turn, challenged viewers to “Be a Ripple of Hope” in their own communities.

As a prelude to the anniversary events, Larry Shore, scholar and filmmaker (*RFK in the Land of Apartheid*), returned to South Africa for speaking engagements with historians, journalists, and university students to share his expertise on RFK's visit and its impact. The Embassy leveraged various media engagements to further set the stage for an event-filled week surrounding his visit. One of South Africa's largest networks broadcast Shore's documentary during prime time hours.

In June 2016, U.S. Ambassador Patrick Gaspard invited Kerry Kennedy, Senator Kennedy's daughter and President

of *Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights*, representatives of the bipartisan Faith in Politics Institute, and a senior Congressional delegation to participate at a series of events commemorating the anniversary. Especially poignant was Civil Rights icon and U.S. Representative John Lewis' participation. The presence of a multi-generational contingent of Kennedy family members also spoke to the lasting impact RFK's visit had in the personal and public sphere.

Over the course of six days, the Embassy collaborated with its contemporary contacts to ensure the entourage would retrace many of RFK's footsteps in South Africa and wherever possible, including South African individuals who had personal recollections of his visit.

In 1966, RFK delivered remarks from the roof of an automobile at the Catholic Church in Soweto, the Johannesburg township where black South Africans were forced to live as they were banned from other parts of the city. The 2016 commemoration began at Soweto's Regina Mundi Catholic Church with an informal procession and Mass for several thousand worshippers.



RFK's daughter Kerry Kennedy addressing a crowd at the University of Witswaterand (WITS) in Johannesburg, South Africa, as part of *The Ripples of Hope Campaign* tour in 2016.

Image Credit: U.S. Mission South Africa



Kerry Kennedy (center) at the University of WITS with US Ambassador Patrick Gaspard (left), Director of WITS Theatre Gita Pather (second from left), former President of South Africa Kgalema Mothlanthe, (second from right), and acting vice-Chancellor WITS University Tawana Kupe (right).
Image Credit: U.S. Mission South Africa

Just as her father had done, Kerry Kennedy spoke at the University of Witwatersrand to a packed forum on freedom and human rights. She was joined by former South African president Kgalema Mothlanthe (2008 to 2009) and other distinguished speakers.

In 1966 RFK met with the Johannesburg Bar Council while in 2016 the American delegation met with freedom stalwarts at the historic Liliesleaf Farm. Liliesleaf had served as a safe house for the underground anti-apartheid movement until its leadership was arrested there in 1963.

In Durban, the Kennedy family and Embassy officials visited the home of Nobel Prize winner Albert Luthuli just as RFK had met with the banished chief years earlier.

Finally, in Cape Town, the group visited the memorial on Robben Island. RFK could not visit the island as it was, in 1966, the site of the notorious prison where the leaders of the African National Congress, including Mandela, remained incarcerated for years.

The climax of this commemorative tour occurred at the University of Cape Town where Ms. Kennedy challenged the audience to live her father's legacy and speak out against injustice. Fittingly, when protestors temporarily interrupted this event, she defended their right to free speech.

As a public diplomacy campaign, the 50th-anniversary events received significant coverage in the U.S. and in South Africa. Its importance, however, stemmed from the retrospection

given to RFK's heroic words and actions, as well as the courageous work of so many others during his time. U.S. Senator Chris Coons' (D-Delaware) remarks, delivered upon his return from the South Africa commemorations and entered into the Federal Register, memorialize the enduring relevance and universality of Robert Kennedy's message as well as his commitment to human rights and basic freedoms for all. Monuments forged in bronze and civic institutions named for great men and women are testaments to deeds past. However, the active recollection of inspirational words offered in dark times can create living legacies, which is what made this public diplomacy program so remarkable, as it provided the younger generations of South Africans with examples of RFK's power of principles, ethical leadership, and willingness to go outside the political norms to do what is right in a global context.

Elizabeth McKay is the Public Diplomat in Residence at the University of Southern California's Center for Public Diplomacy and Master's in Public Diplomacy program. Prior to her assignment to USC, Elizabeth was the Deputy Chief of Mission (acting) and formerly the Minister Counselor for Public Affairs at the U.S. Mission to South Africa. As the acting



DCM, she was responsible for overseeing the day-to-day operations of the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria and the U.S. Consulates in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. As the Minister Counselor for Public Affairs, Elizabeth directed public diplomacy outreach, programmatic initiatives, and engagement between the peoples of the United States and South Africa.

Elizabeth's overseas assignments have included Rome, Ankara, Mexico City, Vientiane, San Jose, Chiang Mai, Bangkok, and Calcutta. She also served in Washington, D.C. as the Director of Public Diplomacy for the State Department's Bureau of Europe and Eurasian Affairs (EUR). In that position, she oversaw EUR's Public Diplomacy operations for 50 diplomatic missions in Europe (2009-2012). Elizabeth also served as the Deputy Director for the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement's Office of Africa, Asia and Europe (2003-2005).

She is married to retired Foreign Service Officer Robert McKay. They have two children.

Elizabeth has a B.A. in Journalism from the University of Central Florida and a Masters in National Security Strategy from the National War College. In addition to multiple State Department Superior Honor and Meritorious Honor awards, she has received interagency recognition for her achievements. Her languages are Spanish, Italian, Thai, Lao, and Turkish.

Orange County Cleric Forms Historic Diplomatic Partnership

Douglas Morino

The rain began to fall at dawn.

First in small drops, one after the other, pooling in the boat's hull and filling the thirsty refugees' cups. Some sipped slowly, cherishing each drop. Others drank as fast as the rain fell.

Then morning broke. The clouds began to darken. Rain came down in sheets, soaking their tattered clothes and sunburnt skin.

The afternoon brought wind. First an initial gust, chilling their tired bodies. Then a gale, sending rain sideways and churning the angry sea. The small boat rose and fell with the swell. Waves as big as buildings. Clouds that blackened the sky.

Together, the refugees huddled together for warmth in their boat. When night came, they could not see the stars or the moon.

In despair, they began to pray.

Facing persecution for their spiritual beliefs by Vietnam's ruling Communist Party in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the refugees had narrowly escaped their native home. They were among a great flood of refugees to flee the war-ravaged country in search of freedom. It was 1979.

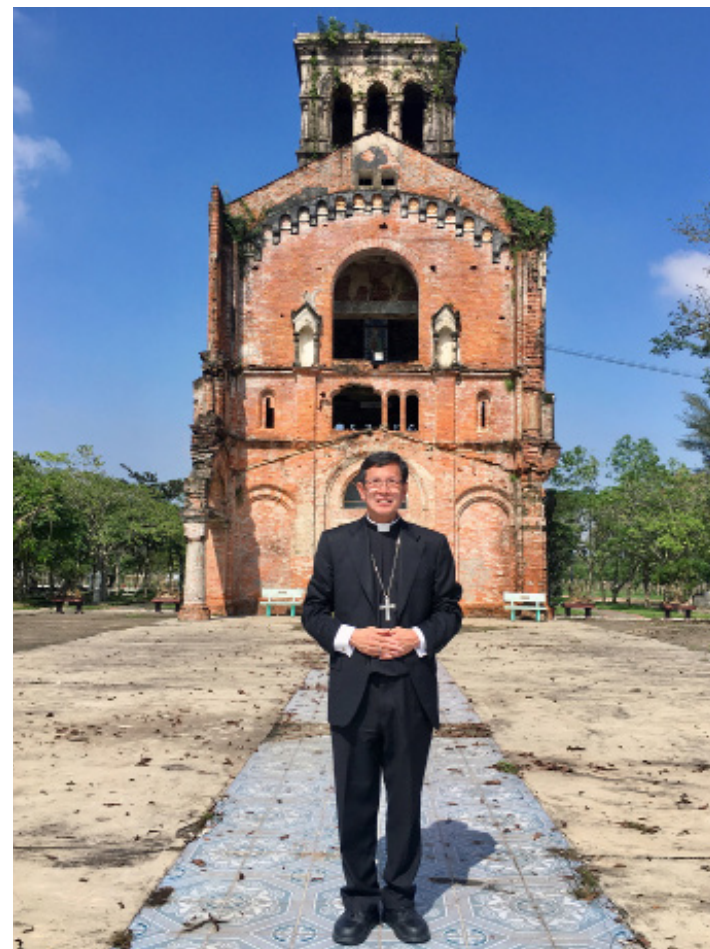
Now they were in a boat without food in the middle of a tropical storm swirling across the South China Sea. The rain did not stop for 10 days. They prayed their Rosary each morning and night, asking Mary, the mother of Jesus, to safely guide them to a new home.

Among the refugees was Thanh Thai Nguyen. The young man prayed with the others and went further. He made a personal vow: *Save us, Blessed Mother, and I will dedicate my life to working in your service.*

The refugees, 26 members of the Nguyen family, survived

the storm in their 28-foot boat. On their 18th day at sea, they spotted land. Despite their hunger, they rowed, safely reaching the Philippines. After 10 months in a refugee camp, they arrived in Texas. Their new life in the U.S. had begun.

Thanh Thai Nguyen kept good on his word. He became a Catholic priest.



Bishop Thanh Nguyen visited the Our Lady of La Vang Shrine in central Vietnam as part of a recent diplomatic and spiritual mission. All images courtesy of Douglas Morino.

Today, he is the highest-ranking Vietnamese Catholic prelate in the U.S., serving as Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Orange, one of the largest and most diverse faith communities in the U.S. Many refugees who fled their homeland during the Vietnam War settled in Orange County, California, and today the region is home to the largest Vietnamese population in the world outside of Vietnam.

Among Bishop Thanh Nguyen's priorities is strengthening ties between Catholics in Orange County and Vietnam, a country with a long and bloody history of religious persecution. Although Vietnam's ruling Communist Party has appeared to make strides in creating a spiritually-open society, religious persecution—especially against Christians—remains high, according to Open Doors USA, an Orange County-based non-profit tracking religious freedom across the globe. Outspoken Catholics are targeted, arrested and sentenced, and Catholic congregations have had their land taken by the government for development and financial gain, according to the non-profit.

Traveling in the country can be challenging for clerics, who often face questioning and see their passports scrutinized by Customs officials at Vietnamese ports of entry.

This type of persecution does not stop the faithful from



Bishop Thanh Nguyen in La Vang. He is the highest-ranking Vietnamese Catholic in the U.S.

attending church, and there are about 4 million Catholics in Vietnam. In December 2018, Hanoi's new Archbishop, Joseph Vũ Văn Thiên, was formally installed at St. Joseph's Cathedral in the capital city's Old Quarter, the celebration attracting high-ranking Catholics and officials from the secular government.

Among the attendees were Bishop Thanh Nguyen and Bishop Kevin Vann, who lead the Diocese of Orange. Their attendance at the ceremony marked a renewed commitment for a historic relationship with their counterparts in Vietnam. The two Orange County bishops are leading an effort to create a "sister diocese" partnership between the Diocese of Orange and the Archdiocese of Hanoi centering on clergy training and opportunities for charitable work among lay Catholics. Priests will have opportunities to gain pastoral experience working in Vietnamese parishes, while Orange County Catholics can participate in outreach with the poor, teach English to students, and support schools in northern Vietnam.

The partnership is expected to be officially ratified this summer.

"We may be separated by an ocean, but our Catholic communities share a strong bond," Bishop Thanh Nguyen said. "We're excited for this historic opportunity to work together toward common goals – education and spiritual growth. Our sister diocese partnership will create new opportunities to strengthen our communities and further the important work being done globally by the Catholic Church."

The partnership will build on work already happening in Vietnam by Catholics in California. New schools with a curriculum based on Western-style teaching methods are sprouting in rural regions of Vietnam. Among them is a preschool in northern Vietnam's Thái Bình Province. The newly-built school sits next to a Catholic convent enrolls about 130 students from mostly low-income households and is supported with funding by an Orange County Catholic nonprofit called Companions in Grace.

Binh Minh Preschool exposes students to Western-style education methods in a Communist-run country experiencing rapid population growth.

About 23 percent of the country's 97 million inhabitants are under the age of 14, according to United Nations data. Vietnam's economy is also growing rapidly, but residents often struggle to pay tuition to send their children to good schools. Many families with students at Binh Minh receive financial aid directly through the preschool and Companions in Grace. Students' parents work as farmers, mechanics, and in the nearby factories.

At the school, students learn to read and write in English, are exposed to basic science concepts, and encouraged to express themselves through art. Run by the Dominican Sisters of Thái Bình, the school uses a curriculum based on Montessori teaching methods and is modeled on St. Columban Catholic School in Garden Grove. The school's goal is to give Vietnamese students the tools they'll need to compete in the global marketplace.

"This is a new method of teaching in Vietnam," Sr. Maria Mai Diep told me as we walked through the school's hallways, visiting classrooms that were bright, organized, and clean. Bookshelves were lined with titles in Vietnamese and English.

"Students are being introduced to English and given opportunities to focus on problem-solving which requires them to pay attention," Diep added. "We see that students are more focused through the day."

For Bishop Thanh Nguyen, the trip to Vietnam in December was his third trip back to his native country since he originally fled nearly four decades ago, and his first traveling in the country openly as a priest. Among the stops on his journey was the Shrine of Our Lady of La Vang in rural central Vietnam.

The shrine, considered the country's holiest site, represents an apparition of the Virgin Mary shared by a group of Vietnamese Catholics in the late 18th century fleeing religious persecution. A shrine dedicated to the apparition is being constructed at the Christ Cathedral Campus in Garden Grove, California, the seat of the Diocese of Orange.

At a small outdoor chapel next to the shrine in Vietnam, Bishop Thanh Nguyen celebrated Mass—one of the most important and solemn responsibilities of a Catholic priest. His homily focused on suffering and grace.

"Human suffering and divine grace are at the center and the essence of the story of Our Lady of La Vang," he said. "It's a story that continues today and why so many people flock here — to seek divine grace so they can rise above their suffering."

After Mass, Bishop Thanh Nguyen prayed at the base of the shrine and met with pilgrims, many of whom had traveled many miles. Then he reflected on his own journey.

"I'm grateful for the opportunity to travel Vietnam," he said, "it feels like I have returned home."

Douglas Morino is a writer based in Los Angeles. He earned his master's in Communication Management in 2018 from USC Annenberg. He can be reached at dmorino@gmail.com.



Binh Minh Preschool provides students with a Western-style education focusing on problem-solving, critical thinking and individual learning. Many families with students at Binh Minh receive financial aid directly through the preschool and from Companions in Grace, an Orange County Catholic nonprofit. Students' parents work as farmers, mechanics and in the nearby factories.

A Global Cultural Superpower in Our Own Backyard: Mexico's Public Diplomacy

Interview with Ambassador Carlos García de Alba by Gemma Stewart

Los Angeles is Ambassador Carlos García de Alba's eighth foreign posting for Mexico. He moved from Ireland, a country with just a few thousand Mexicans and an embassy staff of 16, to overseeing Mexico's largest diplomatic outpost. In fact, Los Angeles is the second largest Mexican city outside Mexico City. Of about 11.7 million Mexican-born people in the United States, around four million live in Los Angeles County.

Ambassador García recently sat down with *Public Diplomacy Magazine* to discuss Mexico's deep connection with Los Angeles and monumental moments throughout his career, both the good and the bad.

Gemma Stewart (GS): Los Angeles has prominent Mexican roots, historically, culturally, and demographically. Can you give a brief background on Mexico's impact on Los Angeles?

Ambassador Carlos García de Alba (CG): Los Angeles is, historically, deeply connected with Mexico. The city of Los Angeles, the name is Spanish. The city was founded when it was still a part of Nueva España. You can go to Plaza Olvera to read the plaque that says that it was originally founded by a group of people coming from South New Spain, most of them from Sinaloa, some from Jalisco. Los Angeles was declared the capital of upper California and the capital of the Northern part of Mexico. So historically, there is a deep connection between Los Angeles and Mexico.

Nowadays, LA County has the largest concentration of Mexicans. About 48% of the population of LA County, roughly 10 million people, are Hispanics, not all Mexicans, but demographically speaking the presence of Mexicans

is strong. Many parts of LA in its culture, food, and urban landscape are clearly connected with Mexico. In brief, there is a strong, old connection between Mexico, Mexicans, and Los Angeles. That makes Los Angeles a very special city for Mexico, and I guess the opposite is true for LA: For Los Angeles, Mexico is a very special country.

GS: You mentioned the plaque in Plaza Olvera. Los Angeles is filled with plaques, landmarks, buildings, street names, and more with Mexican heritage. What role do such monuments play in serving as a visual for Mexico's impact on Los Angeles, and how do they engage the public here in Los Angeles?

CG: Monuments are very visible and in public spaces. And monuments clearly indicate the historical presence or factual importance of something or somebody. It's a kind of small museum. It's a good way to remember people, not only for the inhabitants of that city but for the tourists who visit the city as well. Monuments show that there was a person, a chapter, or an episode that was important to the city to the point that the authorities decided to make a monument to remember. Every city has monuments, even small towns, to make a kind of homage to a person, event, or historical fact.

GS: How can these monuments and "small museums" serve as a form of diplomacy for Mexico?

CG: Well UNESCO, the most important cultural institution in the world, decided to set up a list of tangible and intangible heritage. Every country, every culture, every people has something special to be proud of. For me, there is no doubt that Mexico is proud to show Los Angeles specific people

because most of Mexican monuments here are related to people or characters of Mexico that have had an impact in the city of LA. This is public diplomacy. The way Angelenos see people like Anthony Quinn, Benito Juarez, or the mariachi music bands, is positive. Mexico, through this list of national heroes or characters, is influential. I can feel it every time I speak with Angelenos about these Mexican people that are commemorated in monuments or squares or parks. Public diplomacy is an intangible way of promoting the good name of a country, and that's why all these monuments help the Consulate, the Mexican government, to set up a good reputation for my country.

GS: Does the Mexican Consulate use monuments to commemorate specific events or influence narratives of national events going on?

CG: Not always, but sometimes yes. We are continually celebrating the Mexican heritage and history here in LA. We typically look for places where this is already visible. For instance, if we want to celebrate El Día de La Bandera (Mexican national flag day) or Benito Juarez's birthday, we pick places that have monuments that are specifically devoted to these episodes of Mexican history. You go to Plaza Mexico, Parque de Mexico, Plaza Olvera, and usually in all those squares are monuments. There are sculptures, paintings, and murals throughout LA that show what I want to show to Angelenos on such days of celebration and commemoration.

GS: Like you said earlier, the presence of monuments can be very effective forms of public diplomacy. But, can monuments also be controversial and cause difficulty in trying to portray your message?

CG: Oh, absolutely. Not so much here in Los Angeles, but in other parts of the U.S. I used to be Consul General in Dallas, Texas from 2004 to 2006 and we had the idea of putting a monument of Benito Juarez in Dallas. I spoke to the local authorities at the time and they liked the idea. But, as soon as this idea came out to the public, there was clear opposition from the people. People said things like, "We are not in Mexico; we are on U.S. soil." It was a big controversy, to the point that in the end we sadly could not make the Juarez statue a reality. I remember at the time when I was trying to garner public support for the Juarez statue, I stated how in Mexico, we are so proud to have monuments dedicated to U.S. heroes, such as Martin Luther King, Abraham Lincoln, and John F. Kennedy, because they are universal heroes.

Why the people of Dallas would oppose a statue of Benito Juarez in their city when many Americans see Juarez as a

friendly, Mexican president to the U.S. may be because there is a very short, limited vision of history. And so, I did not want to polarize the public opinion of the city for that was not the original purpose of the statue. The purpose was to connect, link, and reach the people of Dallas with Mexico, so I had to give up on that project at the time. That being said, monuments are not always natural and accepted. But things in Dallas are different now. I was in Dallas recently and was talking to the current Mexican Consul General there. He said the relationship between Dallas and Mexico has grown for the better and additionally Texas is changing demographically. The incumbent mayor of Dallas has made several trips to Mexico, and, when I was the Consul General there, I invited the mayor of Dallas to visit Mexico but she never did. Maybe the time to propose the Benito Juarez statue is now!

GS: You have served in Mexican embassies and consulates outside the U.S., in countries like Ireland and Italy, with small Mexican populations and very few Mexican monuments. What forms of public diplomacy did you use to engage with the people when there was not a constant visual of Mexican influence like here in Los Angeles?

CG: UNESCO classifies world heritage in tangible and intangible assets of a country. The tangible assets are the visible ones, like monuments, squares, museums, and pieces of art. Intangible are things that are a part of a culture, such as food, music, and dancing. And let me tell you, Mexico culturally speaking is a superpower. If you

go not just to Italy or Ireland, but if you go to South Africa or India, or any country in the world, there will be some Mexican restaurants, some Frida Kahlo-oriented fashion, tequila, Mexican movies, and more. This is the intangible presence of Mexico and it is one of the strongest tools of Mexican public diplomacy. And Mexico is becoming more and more conscious of this tool, and we need to use it more. Mexico is a cultural power worldwide, not just because UNESCO recognizes this, but because Mexican culture is already accepted, recognized, and expanded by the people. That's why Mexico has the most intangible elements on UNESCO's list of countries in the Americas.

GS: Mexico has these valuable, intangible assets that can be accessed all over the world. But do you think it's still easier to perform public diplomacy in cities like Los Angeles?

CG: In a city like LA, you don't need the consulate to realize how deep Mexico's presence is. In some places like Ireland, you need the Mexican embassy to make Mexico's presence known in the country. In LA, the consulate can help and does help. But suppose you don't have a Mexican consulate in Los Angeles, you will still have a strong visible and invisible Mexican presence in LA on a daily basis.

GS: What has been a monumental moment of public diplomacy in your time as a career diplomat?

CG: I was in Italy, in the beginning of my career in the early 1990s. I was invited to go to the island of Sardinia in the Mediterranean Sea for a trade seminar. An Italian mentioned a small village there called San Salvatore to me. This isolated, Sardinian village was transformed to look like a Mexican village. Many decades ago, film producers were looking for a place whose landscape resembled that of Mexico in order to film Westerns. These producers went to the small village of San Salvatore and asked the people if they wanted to transform their village into a Mexican town. The reaction of the people was absolutely yes; they were delighted to be Mexicans in Sardinia, Italy. They invested huge amounts of money to modify this small town into a Mexican village.

We drove two hours to visit San Salvatore and when we arrived at this town, I was really surprised to see a Mexican village in the middle of nowhere on an island off the coast of Italy. I was introduced to the locals and all the people were excited because I was the first Mexican diplomat, perhaps the first full-blooded Mexican, to visit their village. I became a celebrity out of the blue because I was a Mexican and we had a big party. For me, that experience was unforgettable because it showed me how strong Mexican identity is. Although it was clearly a stereotype, a type of Hollywood-Mexican village, it was a Mexican village nevertheless and the people of San Salvatore were extremely proud to be "Mexican." It was a monumental moment of Mexican public diplomacy and I have very fond memories of that incredible experience.

GS: With the new Mexican administration, what are some key public diplomacy initiatives you and the consulate plan to carry out for 2019?

CG: I'm not thinking of the coming year; I'm thinking of the coming weeks. Right now we are organizing a weekend cultural festival. We want to show Mexican art that is not typical, such as poetry in indigenous languages, for this is the world year of the native languages. The consulate also wants to connect the Chicano culture with the Mexican culture; sometimes people think that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are the same thing. But that is not the case and this is a challenge.

We also want to emphasize how the Mexican Consulate belongs to the city of Los Angeles because sometimes Angelenos see foreign consulates as distant institutions. A good way to show Angelenos that LA is home for us as well is having the Mexican Consulate collaborate with local Angeleno artists to decorate a wall outside the consulate that will be changed every 3-6 months. We have taken down some fences surrounding the consulate and have constructed a wall for this purpose, and as I like to say that will be and is the only wall Mexico will pay for. Initiatives based on art and

culture are a good way to connect the people of Los Angeles with Mexico and that is what is on our agenda for 2019.

Ambassador Carlos García de Alba is a career diplomat from Guadalajara, Mexico. He has been in the Mexican Foreign Service for over thirty years and was promoted to Ambassador in 2006. Although he was set to serve in the United Arab Emirates after his five-year ambassadorship in Ireland ended in 2016, then-Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto reshuffled his U.S. diplomatic corps and García de Alba was ratified by the Mexican Senate as Consul General of Mexico in Los Angeles in April 2016.

Gemma Stewart is a Southern California native and Master of Public Diplomacy (Spring 2019) at the University of Southern California, with a B.A. in International Studies and Communication from Boston College. Her love for diplomacy and international affairs began when she studied abroad in Glasgow University in Scotland and was the only American in a course titled, "The United States' Foreign Policy and the World." Since then, she has taught English in Costa Rica, worked at an immigrant rights NGO in Dublin, Ireland, and interned at the Mexican Consulate of Los Angeles in the Cultural and Educational Affairs Department. These experiences have grown her love and appreciation for cultural exchange and dialogue as a means to understand and solve the world's problems. She is currently a Communications Project Fellow at the Pacific Council on International Policy in downtown Los Angeles where she writes newsroom articles and manages social media on all things international.

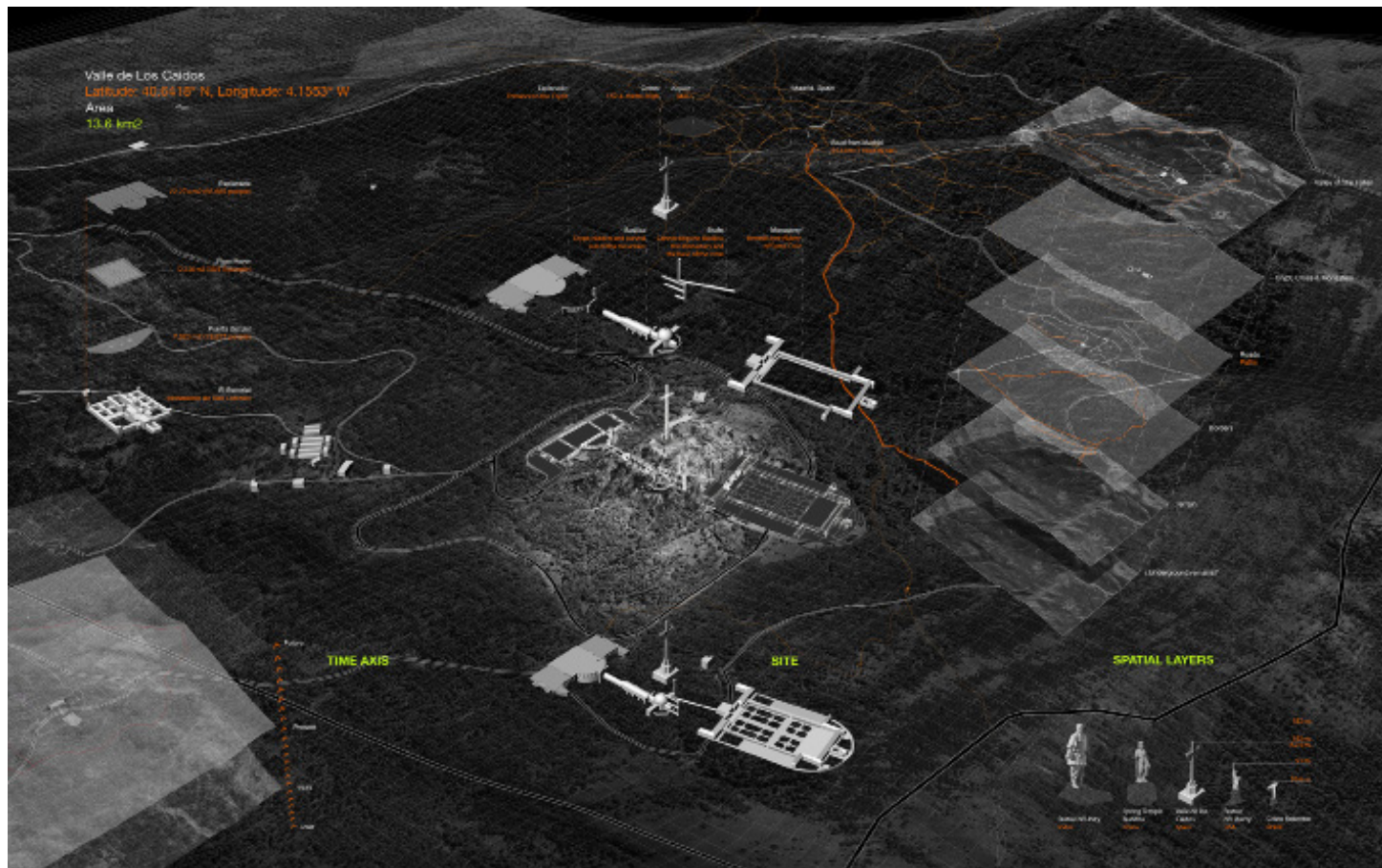
Creative Crossovers: Negotiating Past and Future

Elizabeth Sikiaridi and Frans Vogelaar

Creative Crossover: Monument Re-signification

Monuments stand as a tangible testimony to what is untouchable: memory and history in their collective dimension. As vehicles of meaning, monuments are ambassadors affecting the public negotiation of narratives.

Several monuments present opportunities to engage the process of negotiation of a collective, public narrative in response to the controversy and discourse facilitated by the monuments. To creatively address these narrative-building processes, Hybrid Space Lab launched the long-term, international “Deep Space” exploration, and intervention program. This program first focused on memory politics and the resignification of controversial monuments and heritage



Project “Deep Space: Re-signifying Valle de los Caídos” © Hybrid Space Lab

through a case study of the Francoist monument of Valle de los Caídos (“Valley of the Fallen”).

Built between 1940 and 1959, Valle de los Caídos is a large-scale memorial monument in the Sierra de Guadarrama mountain range close to Madrid, dedicated to the “fallen” of the Spanish Civil War. Conceived by the Spanish dictator, Francisco Franco, and partly built by Republican prisoners of war, it has stirred heated public debate, mainly on its future and on the appropriate location for Franco’s remains. It stands as one of the world’s most divisive, active monuments.

The workshop “Deep Space: Re-signifying Valle de los Caídos” that took place in October 2018 in Madrid focused

history, and political science. Integrating and combining tools and concepts from a variety of backgrounds, the workshop used creative crossover methods to crack open future visions for the monument.

To resignify controversial memory landscapes, the workshop participants proposed new meanings and envisioned creative processes with the potential to alleviate the controversy. The workshop relied on artistic practices and applied disciplines across the art field to approach the monument’s controversial heritage. The interaction amongst disciplines shed light on how diverse methods may favorably overcome historical wounds and controversies.

Creative Crossovers: Against Standstill

By means of creativity, Hybrid Space Lab’s approach paves the way towards more integrated, collective processes of memory- and meaning-making. Bringing creativity into controversial situations informs engagement with contentious landscapes, negotiation stasis, and political reticence. As such, “Deep Space” is indicative of an interdisciplinary approach, whose potential has implications reaching further than resignification of heritage, influencing other controversial contexts.

Coupling free-floating creativity and tradition is relevant for other institutions as well. This kind of future-oriented creativity bridges the gap between creative processes and static institutions and debates. For instance, it echoes the aim for innovative negotiation and diplomatic processes. A creative approach to diplomacy can unlock new ways of thinking

and problem-solving beyond the ordinary diplomatic tools.

In the context of Hybrid Space Lab’s work, “crossover” is both a method and a strategy, drawing on the recognition that transferring ideas from one field to another is a recipe for cultural innovation. Working within a crossover framework entails daring to combine unexpected elements, coordinating concepts that may not traditionally fit together. Uprooting concepts and tools from their original context and applying them elsewhere favors adaptive thinking and unprecedented, hybrid solutions. Crossover promotes the development of new synapses. Thanks to its versatility, the crossover method is relevant in several controversial landscapes, promoting exchange, mutual learning, and openness.

Creative Crossover: Hybrid Diplomacy

Applying creative thinking to conventionally less creative fields can liven up inert diplomatic institutions and processes, supporting adaptive solutions in a fast-evolving political landscape. To address the need for innovative and



Embassy Lab Co-curating the City at the Dutch Embassy in Berlin, 14-10-2016, © Hybrid Space Lab

on creative processes, digital tools, and strategies to expand the monument’s representation and narrative. The workshop developed ideas for transforming the site by means of networked digital tools without physically touching the monument. These tools enable the integration of sidelined voices within a polyphonic monument, counterbalancing the site’s totalitarian narrative.

On a broader scale, such an archive underpins the current digital turn in memory-making, transforming the monument’s tangible sphere and the negotiation of collective narratives. These tools favor redefinition processes that engage multiple actors, rendering monuments and memory-making more democratic.

Hybrid Space Lab’s transdisciplinary workshop brought together practitioners from a variety of fields, including artists, architects, landscape architects, art curators, media designers, performers, sound artists, theatre-makers, and technology experts. The workshop also engaged experts in psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, forensic archeology,

experimental forums in large organizations, Hybrid Space Lab launched the “Hybrid Diplomacy” program.

This program creates inspirational spaces to speculate on possible diplomacy applications by transferring innovative solutions from numerous fields. For instance, a “Hybrid Diplomacy Lab” co-organized with the Dutch Foreign Ministry’s Director General for Europe, the innovation team of the Ministry (DARE), and Hybrid Space Lab in January 2018 aimed at “strengthening creativity,” focusing on the issue of migration. Entitled “A Reset Button for the Debate on Migration,” this lab facilitated a fresh start for a more nuanced discussion about this urgent matter.

“Hybrid Diplomacy Lab” engages design thinking and research methods and tools. Creativity and solution-oriented design research investigate freely on what things can be, rather than attempting hyper-specialized, scientifically complex answers on what things are. The crossover innovation method applied at the January 2018 workshop focused on the development of a ‘Hybrid Migration’ platform, inspired by the transfer of concepts from existing digital platforms such as Helping (a London-based online platform for booking cleaning services), Uber, Airbnb, and SnappCar (a European car-sharing platform). Today, as digitalization is the common denominator that brings about major change in virtually every field, the transfer of digital innovation concepts can optimally promote innovative creative thinking.

Because of the importance of experiencing creativity as a process rather than as the product of the individual genius, “Hybrid Diplomacy Lab” utilized a variety of participatory methods in its group activities. For instance, the Lab relied on visual notations (consisting of drawings and words) to stimulate the participants’ most intuitive thought processes and to spark engagement. The simultaneous observation of drawings—as opposed to reading words in a sequence—helps develop unexpected connections and synapses and, thus, ideas.

The conceptual output of “Hybrid Diplomacy Lab” was “Hybrid Migration,” standing for digitally managed migration and outlining a yet unoccupied “third field” open for innovative ideas. This kind of free speculative thinking meets the need for genuine out-of-the-box ideas to unlock the standstill debate on migration.

Creative Crossover: Embassy Lab

As an interdisciplinary crossover initiative aimed at bringing innovation into embassies, the “Embassy Lab” program at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Berlin was initiated in 2015 and has since then been curated by Hybrid Space Lab. As

a crossover, “Embassy Lab” brings together the traditional institution of the Embassy with the innovative potential of a creative Lab, producing “creative diplomacy.”

The “Embassy Lab” format draws on design thinking and creative speculative research methods. As such, the program addresses urgent need for creativity in governance at a time where acceleration and complexity, and thus unpredictability, are increasingly prominent features of society. Faced with unpredictable developments, creativity and ingenuity are needed in order to craft new contexts, to frame issues anew, and to provide new solutions.



Workshop “Embassy Lab” at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 02-02-2018, © Hybrid Space Lab

The “Embassy Lab” series featured a variety of programs, from “Crisis Design,” “Smart City Governance,” and “Sharing Economy” to “Co-Curating the City” and “Future Diplomacy.” This lab establishes new models for interactions by opening up embassies to many innovative actors and offering an interdisciplinary, co-creative space in and with the Embassy.

In the current age of globalization and digitalization, there is the need (and opportunity) for embassies to reimagine their role and reframe their historical function. The “Embassy Lab” at the Dutch Embassy in Berlin provides such a model and prototype for experimenting with future function and scope of an embassy’s work.

Crossover DMZ: From De-Militarized to Diplomacy-Making Zone

The crossover method not only enables large, well-established institutions to reinvent their methods and approaches, but also allows new, creative formats to unfold in unexpected places. Crossover generates new thinking about long untouched debates and landscapes. Testing the crossover method’s



Hybrid Diplomacy Lab, The Hague, 18-01-2018, © Hybrid Space Lab

adaptability, Hybrid Space Lab is working on a project in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) between the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North and the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South.

Established at the end of the Korean War in 1953, the DMZ is a 250 kilometer-long, four kilometer-wide military demarcation stretching from the Sea of Japan to the Yellow Sea. Since 1953, the DMZ has become a negative space, a negation of habitation as well as war violence, letting the void replace conflict. The DMZ embodies politics as distance, as the latter is materialized in the no-go land strip.

As a consequence of the absence of human activity for more than 65 years, the land strip has become a verdant 984-square-kilometer nature reserve where endangered flora and fauna species have had the chance to regain space. Considering the evolution and establishment of the DMZ, Hybrid Space Lab’s project “DMZpace” draws on the tension between nature’s generous patience and the nervous, unreconciled historical wounds.

This approach promotes the development of a creative outlook in favor of collaborative visions for the future of the DMZ. By opening up the significance and multi-layered meaning of the demilitarized buffer zone, the project “DMZpace” aims to facilitate co-creative engagement with the future of contentious physical place as well as its possible digitally supported features.

The outcomes of creativity and innovation are often limited by various political developments. Yet creative crossover

supports collective memory-processing before the window of opportunity is lost to fast-unfolding international relations. As the crossover method utilizes diverse processes, engagement with power relations and agents at work in the DMZ is necessary for creative approaches to negotiations. Indeed, any intervention in the local context must be conceived as shaping public diplomacy, a creative act capable of transforming the current narrative and stimulating negotiation efforts.

At the DMZ, meanings of border, memory, and monument merge and interact. At the same time, monuments and public diplomacy mirror each other as they both convey complex, layered histories and power relations. The “DMZpace” project is a further opportunity and testing ground to validate the crossover method’s ability to transform narratives and break through prejudices in order to negotiate the past and open up the future.

Hybrid Space Lab is a Think Tank and Design Lab, a cultural breeding ground for incubating breakthrough concepts and fostering innovation contributing to positive societal and environmental change.

The Berlin-based interdisciplinary platform Hybrid Space Lab is founded by Professor Elizabeth Sikiaridi and Professor Frans Vogelaar.

Website: <http://hybridspacelab.net>
Contact: office@hybridspacelab.net

The Gringo Ambassadors Who Saved Face with Mexico

Gemma Stewart

The relationship between Mexico and the United States has had monumental ups and downs, to say the least. Many Americans do not realize that much of what makes up present-day California, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, and Arizona was actually a part of Mexico. The Mexican-American War, which started in 1846, put a politically divided and militarily unprepared Mexico against the “Manifest Destiny”-minded United States.

When the war ended in 1848, Mexico had lost about one-third of its territory and the United States had successfully invaded and expanded from sea to shining sea. This rightfully led to a long-standing distrust of the U.S. government by the Mexican people and in the 1920s, the United States and Mexico found themselves on the brink of war yet again.

However, war did not break out thanks to public diplomacy implemented on behalf of a U.S. diplomat named Dwight Morrow. In 1927, Morrow was appointed by President Calvin Coolidge to be the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico. This came at a crucial moment of external tension with the United States and internal tension within Mexico itself. During this time, the Mexican Revolution had taken place and the United States had made policy attempts to protect U.S. private oil investors in Mexico. At one point, U.S. citizens owned half of the oil production in Mexico and Mexican revolutionaries wanted a fair share of the oil produced on their land, leading to crisis and distrust on both sides.

Morrow’s mission was to help to settle the oil, debts, and claims problems and ultimately prevent armed conflict between the United States and the new Mexican government that arose after the revolution. In order to do this, Morrow had to establish trust and show the Mexican public and government that the United States was not out to take their land, oil, or money. In other words, the U.S. ambassador to Mexico had to implement public diplomacy. One of Morrow’s first acts of public diplomacy in Mexico was to change the sign identifying the embassy from “American Embassy” to “United States Embassy.”

This change of words may seem like an insignificant act of public diplomacy, however, it was anything but insignificant. Designating the words “America” and “American” to refer solely to the United States has irritated Latin American countries, including Mexico, for centuries. In the Spanish language, “America” refers to the continents of North and South America and “Americano” refers to a person from any country in North or South America. Therefore, the United States’ use of “America” and “American” as referring to only people of the United States implies a sense of arrogance and superiority, two characteristics that have long tainted U.S. relations with Spanish-speaking countries south of its border.

Morrow truly listened and recognized the people and culture of his host country, which are critical aspects of initiating effective public diplomacy. Morrow commissioned Mexican artist Diego Rivera to paint murals in the former Cuernavaca palace of Hernán Cortés, the Spanish conqueror of Mexico. These murals were not only a great piece of art, but they were painted by Rivera as a chronicle of Mexican history and colonialism from a post-Mexican Revolution point of view. In addition, Morrow invited popular U.S. humorist and columnist Will Rogers to accompany him on a tour of Mexico. In doing so, Rogers learned about the people and sent favorable human-interest stories about Mexico and Mexicans back to U.S. papers, helping to change negative U.S. perceptions and stereotypes of Mexico.

Not only did Morrow meet and connect with the Mexican people, but he got to know Mexican President Plutarco Elías Calles as well. Morrow traveled with President Calles throughout Mexico and initiated a series of breakfast meetings where the two would discuss a range of issues, such meetings were dubbed “ham and eggs” diplomacy in U.S. papers. Even the tone of the Mexican press reflected this positive effort on behalf of the U.S. government vis-à-vis Ambassador Morrow’s public diplomacy, with President Calles telling reporters how he considered Morrow a friend and there were improvements in relations between the two countries.

Morrow positively influenced perceptions Mexicans had about the United States, and perhaps more importantly, he helped change the perception people in the United States had about Mexico. During his time as ambassador, Morrow coordinated visits by professors, invited journalists, increased the publication of informed articles about Mexico, and arranged exhibitions of Mexican music and art in the United States. Morrow was one of the earliest diplomats to recognize cultural exchange as an effective tool of public diplomacy and it was one of the many strategies he used to bring a sense of peace and understanding between the United States and Mexico.

While Morrow set an exemplary precedent in the late 1920s as to how a U.S. Ambassador to Mexico should act and do public diplomacy, it wasn’t until 2016 when the United States had another ambassador to Mexico that openly and actively embraced Mexican culture and diplomatic relations.

Roberta S. Jacobson was confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Mexico on April 28, 2016, and sworn in on May 5, 2016. Like Morrow, Ambassador Jacobson acquired and demonstrated a real fondness for the Mexican people. During her time as ambassador, Jacobson made it a point to publicly dress in clothing that reflected Mexican culture and attended events that highlighted Mexican music and art. Furthermore, like Morrow, Jacobson appreciated and respected Mexico’s point of view and sovereignty. She understood the need to recognize not only Mexico’s cultural identity but its political identity as well.

While exchange programs under Ambassador Morrow were focused on art and journalism, exchange programs between the United States and Mexico under Ambassador Jacobson were not limited to culture and education. Formally implemented in Mexico in June 2016, U.S. federal judges and attorneys engaged with Mexican federal judges and magistrates, prosecutors, investigators, and forensic experts to explore multiple themes related to the accusatorial justice system. According to the U.S. State Department, such programs helped participants to identify common challenges and share best practices.

But unlike Morrow, who had the support of the then U.S. President Calvin Coolidge, Jacobson did not have the support of President Donald Trump. What had started out as a monumental moment of a return to public diplomacy became a monumental moment of despair when Jacobson announced she was leaving her post as ambassador in May of 2018 because Trump’s words and actions essentially made her job impossible.

In an opinion piece published by the New York Times in October 2018, Ambassador Jacobson wrote how she first-

hand observed Trump’s chaotic decision-making style that undermined America’s diplomacy and national interests in Mexico. “Over the past three decades, successive American administrations have worked diligently to vanquish the anti-American DNA in Mexico,” said Jacobson in the op-ed. “We were overcoming the suspicions that a history of invasion, territorial loss, and imperial intent had bequeathed. That kind of trust is slow to build and remarkably easy to destroy. It is being destroyed now.”

Today, the United States finds itself in a monumental moment of public diplomacy crisis yet again with Mexico. Between President Trump’s derogatory rhetoric of Mexicans and his harsh tactics at the U.S.-Mexican border, all public diplomacy both sides has done up to this point has been partially or completely diminished. In addition to this, the United States still has not filled the ambassador post to Mexico after Jacobson’s departure. In fact, many diplomats have been dismayed by Trump. Since his inauguration in January 2017, around sixty percent of the State Department’s highest-ranking diplomats have left.

Nevertheless, Trump will not be in power forever and it is important for Mexico and the United States to look back at the positive monumental moments throughout the years and what can be carried out in the future. Ambassadors Dwight Morrow and Roberta Jacobson made it possible for the United States and Mexico to come together at various points in history and used public diplomacy in order to do so. Hopefully, we can reach a point of dialogue and understanding again, respecting all Americans in the Western Hemisphere, from Canada all the way down to Argentina.

Gemma Stewart is a Southern California native and Master of Public Diplomacy candidate (Spring 2019) at the University of Southern California, with a B.A. in International Studies and Communication from Boston College. Her love for diplomacy and international affairs began when she studied abroad in Glasgow University in Scotland and was the only American in a course titled, “The United States’ Foreign Policy and the World.” Since then, she has taught English in Costa Rica, worked at an immigrant rights NGO in Dublin, Ireland, and interned at the Mexican Consulate of Los Angeles in the Cultural and Educational Affairs Department.

These experiences have grown her love and appreciation for cultural exchange and dialogue as a means to understand and solve the world’s problems. She is currently a Communications Project Fellow at the Pacific Council on International Policy in downtown Los Angeles where she

Today, the United States finds itself in a monumental moment of public diplomacy crisis yet again with Mexico.

writes newsroom articles and manages social media on all things international.

Special thanks to Professor Pamela Starr of USC who not only gave Gemma guidance on writing this particular article but in classes on public diplomacy in Latin America as well.

Rebirth of a Nation: The Gains of Rwandan Women in the Halls of Power

25 years after the genocide, Rwandans navigate the way forward under the leadership of women.

Dena Taha

This year marks the 25th commemoration of the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda. In 1994, Rwanda was drowning in a sea of blood. Starting on the evening of April 6th, and over the course of 100 days, 800,000 to 1.2 million people were slaughtered in the country, in what was deemed the fastest genocide in modern history. The genocide

was a systematic campaign by the Hutu ethnic majority targeting members of the minority Tutsi group.

Immediately following the genocide, the entire country was devastated by what were deliberate policies to destroy not just



Photo courtesy of Sara Brown

infrastructure and buildings, but also nature and livelihoods, such as cattle and livestock, thus ensuring genocide survivors would suffer greatly in its aftermath.

One might expect the country to be a mournful place, but the scars are less obvious today. Rwandans have come so far in a short period of time. Sara Brown, a postdoctoral fellow at USC Shoah Foundation, said, “1994 Rwanda and 2019 Rwanda are like night and day. The hills might be the same, but other than that, the changes are very dramatic.”



Sara Brown in Rwanda. Photo courtesy of Sara Brown.

The country has done an impressive job of rebuilding its institutions and economy. As Brown describes, “25 years later, Rwanda has become a magnet for politicians, activists, leaders, academics to visit and reflect on reconstruction ideas and themes. That says something about how far the country has come.”

Brown’s work at USC Shoah Foundation focuses on the power of testimony, especially by women, harnessing USC Shoah Foundation’s Visual History Archive and free education portal, IWitness University, to foster empathy, understanding, and respect through testimony. The more than 55,000 audiovisual testimonies collected and housed in the USC Shoah Foundation’s Visual History Archive provide college and university faculty, students, and staff a unique opportunity to access highly tellable narratives about lived experiences during genocide and mass atrocities. In addition to working with student leaders to utilize testimony to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion on university campuses, Brown works with faculty around the globe to integrate testimony into course instruction to help students localize the experiences, thus allowing them to foster interpersonal connections with events in history, including the Rwandan genocide.

The Visual History Archive contains the testimonies of 87 Rwandan genocide survivors and rescuers. Starting in 2004, they were recorded in Rwanda and the United States by the



Kigali Genocide Memorial, Rwanda. Photo by Paul Stafford for TravelMag.com.

Kigali Genocide Memorial Center and by the USC Shoah Foundation. Brown currently works on integrating testimony into effective teaching resources.

Power to the Capable

During the genocide in Rwanda, thousands of people were wounded and up to a quarter of a million women experienced sexual violence. The genocide destroyed many of the social norms that in turn dictated gender norms. As a result, some women actively participated in the perpetration of genocide while others risked their lives to rescue the victims. After the genocide ended, new opportunities opened up in personal and political life for women to exercise agency and take leadership roles. Today, a quarter of a century later, Rwanda has a new vanguard of leaders: women who have played a central role in all aspects of the country’s rebuilding.

After the genocide, women made up 60 to 70 percent of the Rwandan population. They had to assume their post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation roles. The patriarchal nature of the society in Rwanda was also a catalyst for women to realize their power to survive day-to-day life in the absence of a male figure. “It was time for women to take over and take a meaningful role in the reconstruction of the country,” said Brown. “A lot of women were desperate, and in that desperation came great innovation and also agency.”

After the genocide, influential women were determined to create space for other women in the public and private sectors. They played a key role in drafting the 2003 constitution and ensuring a revision of the Family Law that initially designated men as the head of the household and placed numerous restrictions on women. In 2008, Rwanda became the first country ever to have a female-majority parliament, a monumental achievement not only because of Rwanda’s history but also in terms of global governance. That same year, the legislature adopted a progressive law, making domestic violence illegal and mandating harsh prison terms for rape. As of 2018, women comprise 50% of the 26-seat cabinet.

Rwanda today presents an example of effective gender-inclusive, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. This model does not need to be an anomaly. It can and should be replicated elsewhere in the world in post-conflict nations. This starts by listening to women and putting their stories front and center. “We should always be mindful, listen to women, foreground their stories, and give them the time and space to tell it in their own words,” said Brown.

Dena Taha was Co-Chair of the Eleventh Annual Master of Public Diplomacy Conference, *Reconstructing National Identity Post-Conflict: An Examination of Public Diplomacy Methods*. The conference was broken down to three panels: *Collective Remembering, Moving Forward, Creating a New Identity, and Identity Transcending Borders*,



through which the panelists explored the nation branding efforts of post-conflict countries, and whether or not they have been successful. Through the lens of six countries – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Colombia, Iraq, Armenia, and Vietnam – the closing consensus was there is no one solution or method that countries should follow to rebrand themselves, but it is vital to truly understand the historical and cultural context of the conflict when trying to do so.

Her interest in nation branding went beyond post-conflict nations and led her to study the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’s rebranding efforts, a novel field that has not been explored in depth yet. Her paper gives an overview of the rise of digital diplomacy and its use for nation branding in the Kingdom, with a focus on the tourism sector and destination branding, and provides some recommendations for Saudi Arabia moving forward with its nation branding efforts

Dena Taha is a USC Master of Public Diplomacy. During her time at USC she served as Communications Chair of the Society of Public Diplomats. Her areas of interest include global communications, nation branding, tech and science diplomacy, and the Middle East.

Obelisks don't grow from the soil, and stone men and iron horses are never built without purpose.

- Vann R. Newkirk II

PHYSICAL

Monument and Memory: Spain's Valley of the Fallen

Jacqueline Sheean

On April 1, 1940, a year after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the dictator Francisco Franco issued a decree: He would erect a grand monument commemorating the war in the harsh mountainside of the Sierra de Guadarrama, just 50 kilometers from central Madrid. The stones of this monument, he declared, must “defy time and forgetting” to “perpetuate the memory of the fallen in our Glorious Crusade.”¹

In the eyes of the Franco regime, the civil war had been a crusade or holy war to restore Spain's moral and religious order. In fact, the war began in 1936 as a military uprising against the democratic government of the Second Spanish Republic and the bloody conflict continued through 1939, when Franco's rebel forces succeeded in overthrowing the Republic. Fundamentally, the conflict centered on the ideological struggle between democracy and fascism.

Because the two conflicts featured similar ideological struggles, the Spanish Civil War is often studied by historians as a prelude to World War II. Unlike the rest of Europe, fascism ultimately prevailed in Spain, leading to nearly four decades of repressive military dictatorship. Franco's grand monument, called the Valley of the Fallen, was meant to commemorate this victory and honor those who were killed in the war.

Monuments—from the Latin *monumentum*, meaning “to remind”—compel us to remember by presenting a particular historical narrative. In this sense, the Valley of the Fallen “defies time,” in Franco's words, by rendering memory into the permanence of stone. There is no doubt that the Valley was conceived by the regime as a memorial site to establish the civil war as the foundational historic moment upon which to legitimize the dictatorship and to materialize its political ideology; it is, in essence, a form of dictatorial memory.

¹Decreto 1 de abril 1940: Boletín Oficial del Estado, my translation. Available at <http://www.memoriahistorica.gob.es/es->

Built in part by prisoners of the war, the Valley's monumental complex includes a basilica, a Benedictine abbey, and a mausoleum. The monument extends strikingly from the mountainous landscape; everything about it is massive. An impressive 410-foot-high, 200-ton stone cross—one of the largest in Europe—dominates the expansive forecourt and entrance to the basilica.

Below this, the enormous basilica is carved deep into the mountainside. Upon entering the austere space, visitors are dwarfed by the size of the main nave, which is larger than Saint Peter's Cathedral in Rome. Yet without windows or natural light sources, the basilica's cave-like interior emits a palpable chill even on the hottest summer days. In fact, the monument seems designed to produce a physical effect on visitors. Entering the cool, dark structure is enough to provoke goosebumps.

Looking up, the visitor will see statues of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael standing guard at the entrance and armed with swords. The warrior-like statues were cast using the metal from artillery used during the war. This unsettling and distinctly bellicose religious iconography is repeated throughout the basilica: Sculptures representing the armed forces line the transept, while prominent chapels within the nave honor the patron saints of the armed forces, the navy, and the air force.

Interred behind the walls of the transept are the remains of over 40,000 soldiers killed during the civil war; these remains were transported from graves around the country nearly two decades after the conflict in order to fill the mausoleum. When Francisco Franco died in 1975, he was also interred in the basilica. Finally, Franco's remains lie prominently at the altar of the culminating section, making clear that the Valley is a monument to the power of the regime and its leader.

It is perhaps fitting that the greatest monument to the Spanish Civil War produced by the dictatorship should be

the pharaonic mausoleum of the Valley of the Fallen.¹¹ Death played a double function in the regime as both a cause for the conspicuous memorialization of its heroes and the principle strategy for political repression. The regime was built on a policy of death involving the torture and execution of thousands of political dissidents.

By historian Paul Preston's account over 200,000 people were sentenced to death during the dictatorship and thousands more were executed extrajudicially. These killings—and the many unmarked graves left in their wake—represent an instrument of state terror which effectively erased the Republican order. This was a forced forgetting, a *damnatio memoriae*. The Republicans who died during the war had no memorials, and those executed afterwards simply disappeared from history. Meanwhile, plaques and memorials in villages and cities across Spain commemorated those fallen on the Francoist side, those “fallen for God and for Spain,” as the plaques read.

Monuments serve as a potent mnemonic tool for a particular construction of history. Thus toppling these symbols of power and ideology is often a central part of a regime change. Examples of the material and symbolic reconstruction of memory abound across the European continent: the multiple resignifications of Paris' Place de la Concorde; the removal of fascist symbols in post-war Germany and Italy; the de-Stalinization of Eastern Europe in the early 1960s, which led to the exhumation of Stalin's remains from the mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square; and, later, the removal of Leninist statues and symbols after the fall of communism in the former eastern bloc.

Yet in Spain, the political transition to democracy (in the form of a parliamentary monarchy) was facilitated through the 1977 Amnesty Law, which protected the perpetrators of crimes under the dictatorship. The law provided the legal framework for a pact of amnesia in which the past would be quietly laid to rest, ostensibly to avoid provoking another civil conflict. Yet the fact that no such monumental or historical reckoning occurred during the Transition period in Spain is indicative not just of the feared instability of the early democracy, but of the deep institutional ties to Francoism that carried over from dictatorship to democracy.

While the country adopted a modern constitution in 1978, legalized political parties, and instituted free elections, there was little significant bureaucratic reform. Francoist government functionaries kept their positions, as did the police force, the army, and the judiciary. Indeed, the king himself had been appointed by Franco.

However, the early 2000s brought about a cultural and critical examination of the history of the civil war and dictatorship, spearheaded by members of a younger generation without a direct, experiential connection to the past. The movement culminated with legislative action in the form of a law passed in late 2007 that attempted to provide a legal framework for

the recuperation of memory. Known as the Law of Historical Memory, this much-debated law gives rights to the victims of the civil war and Francoist repression while formally condemning the dictatorship.

The law also calls for the removal of certain Francoist symbols and monuments, although it exempts those that contain religious or artistic merit. While the Law of Historical Memory is limited in scope—it does not hold the perpetrators accountable for their crimes, nor does it provide reparations to the victims or their families—it works to normalize the evaluation of the past as part of the construction of democratic identity and to institutionalize the memory of the victims of the war and dictatorship.

Because the Valley of the Fallen instantiates the imposed memory of the regime, it stands today at the center of this national and ongoing debate as it relates to the legacy of the Franco period. In June 2018, Spain's newly-elected socialist Prime Minister, Pedro Sánchez, took action to contest the memory of the regime when he called for the exhumation of the dictator's remains from the Valley of the Fallen. Sánchez argued that the monumentalization of Franco's grave constituted an “exaltation of Francoism,” an act forbidden under the Law of Historical Memory.

By September, the Spanish Parliament had voted in favor of exhuming Franco's remains from the Valley. Yet the proposed exhumation of Franco's body is not a simple undertaking. It requires removing the dictator's remains from underneath the weighty 1,500 kg granite slab that guards them—as well as from underneath the weight of the political opposition. Many conservatives fiercely oppose Sánchez's initiative to disturb the monument at all, arguing that to do so would reopen the old wounds of the civil war. Other opponents, literalizing the Valley's symbolic function, argued that altering the monument was tantamount to altering history.

The most high-profile detractors of the move are Franco's family, represented by the National Francisco Franco Foundation.¹² The foundation responded to the initiative demanding that, if exhumed, the dictator's remains be interred with military honors in the Almudena Cathedral in central Madrid, opposite the royal palace. This move,

¹¹ Excepting the ruins of the town of Belchite, The Valley of the Fallen is the largest Civil War memorial to this day in the Spanish state. Few new civil war memorials have been erected since the transition to democracy. While notable monuments for victims of Francoist violence can be found in A Coruña, Guernika, and Barcelona, Madrid lacks any major post-Transition monument.

¹² The European Parliament passed a resolution on the rise of neo-fascist violence in Europe on October 25, 2018, which condemned the Foundation as “an entity that glorifies the dictatorship and its crimes.” The resolution illustrates how Spain's reexamination of the dictatorship is part of a larger push in Europe to confront the legacies of fascism in the present.

however, would make the close political ties between the dictatorship, the Spanish crown, and the Catholic church starkly explicit. Franco's exhumation has been delayed several times. The Spanish government had planned to rebury the dictator's remains on June 10, 2019 in a private ceremony without media coverage in the Franco family tomb at El Pardo cemetery, where his wife, Carmen Polo, is interred. However, as this article goes to press the Spanish Supreme Court has ruled to suspend the planned exhumation.

While the exhumation would remove Franco's physical remains, the Francoist symbolism will remain inscribed in the monument. Removing the body does little to negate the dictatorial memory that the structure represents. In a conversation with the press, Prime Minister Sánchez lamented the difficulties of resignifying the Valley due to the political connotation that the monument already has in civil society.¹ Which raises the question: If the Valley of the Fallen symbolizes a form of dictatorial memory, what might democratic memory look like?

The initiative to exhume Franco's remains signals the state's renewed commitment to the construction of democratic memory. It is a recognition that, far from instigating another civil conflict, the reevaluation of the legacy Franco period may strengthen the democracy's political culture and the legitimacy of its institutions.

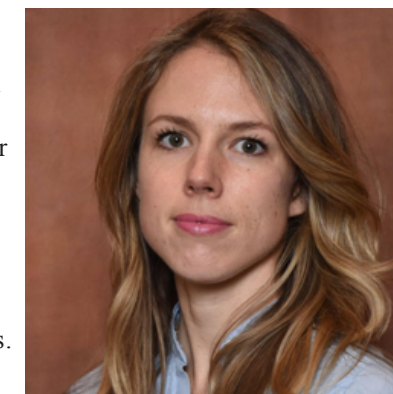
However, attempts to reevaluate the legacy of Francoism have long taken place outside state institutions. Journalists and historians of the democratic period have inquired into the dark details of monument's construction. And artists and filmmakers have created works that question the monument's legacy through various rhetorical and aesthetic strategies. From performance artist Leo Bassi's transformation of the monument into a Francoist theme park to Costus' series of pop art paintings, from experimental documentary such as Pere Portabella's 1977 *Informe general* to horror films such as Alex de la Iglesia's 2010 *Last Circus*, the monument has been reimagined from a variety of contexts. These works are an example of the ways in which the Valley has already been subject to informal and spontaneous memory-work before the current initiative to exhume Franco.

This cultural archive forms an essential component to democratic memory and to the resignification of the Valley itself. Together these works can be understood as a “counter monument,” a concept developed by holocaust scholar James Young. For Young, counter monuments reject the “didactic function” and “authoritarian propensity” of monuments and encourage contemplation over passive reception. In this sense, the cultural archive compels us not to remember a particular historic image, but a diverse set of memory narratives.

Democratic memory is formed not just through state initiatives, but through the creation of a heterogenous cultural archive. It serves to remind us that memory—even when

monumentalized in stone—is by no means fixed or stable. Memory is always mediated and malleable, for the past can only be understood from the perspective of the present.

Jacqueline Sheean is a doctoral candidate in Comparative Studies in Literature and Culture and an assistant lecturer at the University of Southern California. Her research focuses on the intersection of media theory and Spanish cultural studies. She is completing her dissertation, which examines cinematic representations of Madrid from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 through the global financial crisis of 2008. The project interrogates the relationships between politics and space, place and memory, and city and psyche. She has published articles on Iberian cinema and media in the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* and the *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*.



The Monuments of My Ancestors

Frank Vram Zerunyan, J.D. LL.D. (hc)*

I am blessed to have visited monumental sites in Armenia as part of my annual pilgrimage to teach in Armenia's universities the topics of public policy and administration, which I am honored to teach at the University of Southern California Sol Price School of Public Policy. This September 21st will mark the 28th anniversary of Armenia's independence from the Soviet Union¹. My first trip to Armenia was in October of 2007 as the President of the International Armenian Bar Association.

Since then, I have returned to Armenia five times as an educator. Especially since last April, and after the "Velvet Revolution,"² I noticed a remarkable change for the better in the governed as well as those who govern. The younger generations are unambiguously able to believe in a better future for all. I am convinced Armenia remains a beacon of hope to preserve what is left of this 3,000-year-old civilization.

The Erebuni Fortress, also known as Arin Berd (Fortress of Blood), was built in the last quarter of the 8th century BCE by the great Urartian King Argishti. Modern-day Yerevan (Ere-van), Armenia is also affectionately known among Armenians as Yerevan-Erebuni.³ This capital city of 86 square miles with more than 1 million inhabitants traces its roots to



All images courtesy of Frank Zerunyan

this Urartian fortified city, which turned 2,800 years old in October of 2018. This makes Yerevan approximately as old as, if not 30 years older than, the city of Rome.⁴

The Armenian civilization flourished in its historic homeland stretching from the Euphrates River—western Armenia (modern-day Turkey)—in the west to the mountains east of the Arax River in Armenia. Armenia was governed by several kingdoms and principalities over the span of these 2,800 years. "From mighty fortresses lodged on hilltops and mountain peaks, the Armenian kings and princes maintained a constant vigil against foreign occupation and waged dogged resistance to liberate their country whenever overrun."⁵ In 70 BCE the Empire of Tigranes the Great stretched from Tbilisi (modern-day Georgia) to Damascus and Beirut, in Syria and Lebanon respectively. With abundant natural resources, Armenians were early discoverers of metallurgy as well as cultivators of grape, pioneering winemaking.⁶

Over the centuries Armenians were noted for their art, architecture, literature, music, and dance. "Their strong sense of identity was shaped by their unique language, one of the oldest living Indo-European languages, written with a distinct alphabet, and their early adoption of the Christian religion."⁷ Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew (Saint Jude) traveled to Armenia in the 1st century to introduce Christianity.

The adoption of Christianity, in 301 CE by King Drtad, made Armenia the first nation in the world to adopt the religion as a nation. This event profoundly influenced the Armenian culture, arts, and the fate of the Armenian people. Armenians

became experts in working the tufa stone as sculptors, masons, and architects. The monuments they created captured the spirit of a small but resilient and productive nation.

Especially in the context of Christian Architecture, Armenia's churches and monasteries have acquired world prominence. Today, UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Armenia include the monasteries of Haghpat and Sanahin, built in the 10th and 13th centuries. These monasteries represent the best of Armenian religious architecture, which is quite unique in the world. External domes of cylindrical or geometric shape tower the churches in the monasteries. The cathedral of Etchmiadzin was built in the years between 301 and 303 by the founder of the Armenian Church, St. Gregory the Illuminator. The cathedral replaced a pagan temple signaling Armenia's conversion from paganism to Christianity. The cathedral was rebuilt in the 5th century and became the Catholicosate for all Armenians in the 15th century.

Now the seat of the Armenian church, the cathedral at Etchmiadzin undergoes constant renovation to preserve its historic meaning and architectural beauty. The Monastery of Geghard with numerous churches on the cliffs of Azat Valley, Armenia, represents medieval innovations in carving structures into the rocks of the valley. The monastery is famous for and is named after the relic that Apostle Thaddeus is believed to have transported with him to Armenia. The spear ("Geghard" in Armenian) that is believed to have wounded Christ on the cross is the monastery's most important and cherished possession.⁸

The evidence of strong Christian architecture, culture, and art persists in modern-day Armenia, but unfortunately, it has been ruined in western Armenia or modern-day Turkey. Thousands of churches and stone crosses were built across historic Armenia, even after the Ottoman Empire's conquest of historic Armenian lands. The great monuments of my ancestors, worthy of all world distinctions and dating back several millennia, are in fact endangered today in most of Anatolia.

Despite constitutional protections for religious beliefs and convictions, and despite Turkey's status as a secular democracy, according to the U.S. Department of State's International Religious Freedom Report, religious freedom in Turkey remains a challenge for various religious minorities.⁹ One of the common features of modern-day Turkey seems to be its intolerance for other cultures and religions. On top of this list is Turkey's intolerance for churches.

The approximate number of churches in Ottoman Turkey before 1915 stood at 2,300. The number of active churches in Turkey today is 34. Of these 34, 28 are in Istanbul and six are in Anatolia.¹⁰ The remaining balance has been desecrated or defaced. In some instances, these holy sites have been as target practice in an effort to culturally marginalize and devastate the Christian minority after the Ottoman Empire's failed attempt to eradicate the Armenian race in the early

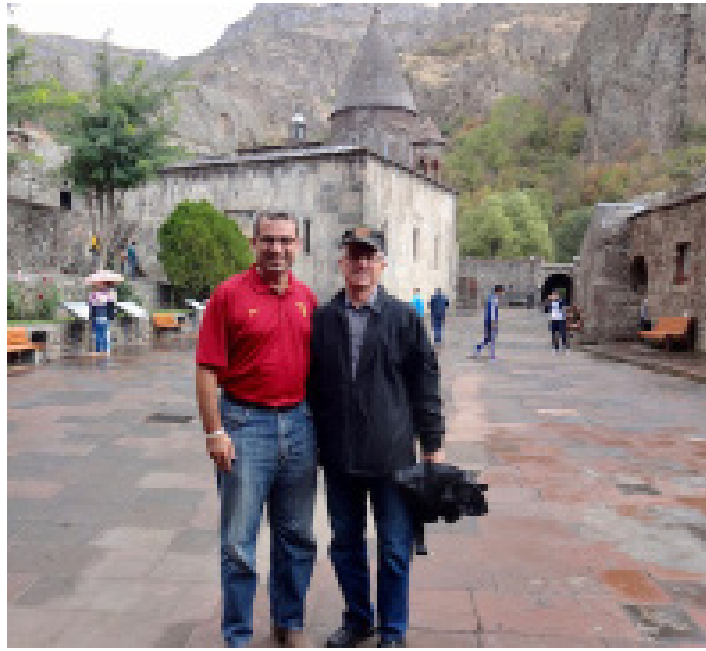


parts of the 20th century.

Armenians lived in peace with their Ottoman rulers for about 500 years. In the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire experienced its worst decline under the rule of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, who was forced to give up power to a group of young leaders known as the Young Turks. While promising equality to Christian minorities in the Empire, the Committee of Union and Progress led by Young Turk leaders Enver, Talat, and Jemal Pasha began creating a modern state with Turkish nationalist ambitions. There was no place for Christian minorities as, according to the Young Turks, "Turkey [was] for Turks."

On April 24, 1915, Turkish officials arrested, deported, and executed 250 Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople. Able-bodied men were disarmed and slaughtered across the Empire. My great-grandfather, a school board member, and my great-uncle, a university professor, were among them. Women and children were marched to death, sold into slavery, raped, and killed. My paternal grandmother marched over 200 miles into the desert witnessing atrocities that no 7-year-old, and for that matter, no human being, should witness.

I am the great-grandson of a victim and the grandson of a survivor of this genocide. Ironically, I live today as the



Making, an Interdisciplinary Center USC Marshall USC Viterbi and USC Price (DECIDE). For his influential work over the past five years at American University of Armenia, Yerevan State University and Public Administration Academy in Armenia, he was awarded LL.D. Doctor of Laws – Honoris Causa by the Public Administration Academy of the Republic of Armenia. Frank is a three-term Mayor and still serves as a Council member in the City of Rolling Hills Estates, California. As a gubernatorial appointee under Governor Schwarzenegger, Frank was a state regulator serving on the Medical Board of California in the Department of Consumer Affairs.

direct result of the kindness of Turkish families, who had the humanity to shelter my maternal grandfather and my paternal grandmother. In various public speeches I give every year about this topic, I never forget to applaud the humanity of Turks, who were remarkably influential in saving the lives of their Christian friends and neighbors.

Many Armenians, like me, live today because of their kindness. May their humanity live on and be an example to Turkish officials, who continue this atrocity today by denying a historical fact and who take every opportunity to erase the monuments and therefore the spirit of my ancestors. However, the future remains bright for Armenia and Armenians. No better words can describe the Armenian spirit than those of Armenian-American poet William Saroyan who passionately wrote:

I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, literature is unread, music is unheard, and prayers are no more answered. Go ahead, destroy Armenia. See if you can do it. Send them into the desert without bread or water. Burn their homes and churches. Then see if they will not laugh, sing and pray again. For when two of them meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a New Armenia.

Frank Vram Zerunyan is a Professor of the Practice of Governance at the University of Southern California Sol Price School of Public Policy and Director of Executive Education at USC Price Bedrosian Center on Governance and The Neely Center for Ethical Leadership and Decision

The Little House Where California Was Born

Alexis Cruz

The Campo de Cahuenga is an unassuming place. It is a little adobe house that sits in an area carved out from a parking lot surrounded by a brick wall with a wrought-iron fence. For most of the time, the lot is empty. The well-maintained lawn with benches under shady trees is inviting, yet rarely sees visitors. The place seems trivial, but close to the fence there are ruins jutting out of the ground and a sign cluing visitors in that something interesting had happened there.



The adobe house at the Campo represents another house that used to be there. In the northern entrance to the Cahuenga Pass, there once was a ranch. After the Americans conquered California, the ranch was sold off and developed while the house crumbled without any occupants. Most of the area where the house stood has been paved over with Lankershim Boulevard. On that street, there are decorations that mark its foundations.

The Campo de Cahuenga has seen almost little to no recognition but at the original house in 1847 the Mexican Californians, the Californios, surrendered to the American army and handed over control of Alta California to the United States in the middle of the Mexican-American War. The war continued for another year until the Americans invaded Mexico City, when the war in California ceased its historical

trajectory changed.

Having been born and raised in Los Angeles, I had no memory of ever learning about this place. Lessons on California's pre-American history centered on the missions. After the Americans took over, teachers made a bigger deal out of events such as the Gold Rush and how it contributed to the state's massive growth. Those two periods needed a pivotal point of transition which happened at Campo de Cahuenga where the little adobe house has a museum depicting the events.

I noticed the Campo when driving on Lankershim Boulevard and saw the rectangular street decorations. I thought they were misplaced and continued until I found the park. I read the sign by the entrance and was astounded. I could not recall hearing about the Campo even though the men who signed the Capitulation of Cahuenga, Andrés Pico, and John C. Frémont, have their names plastered throughout California.

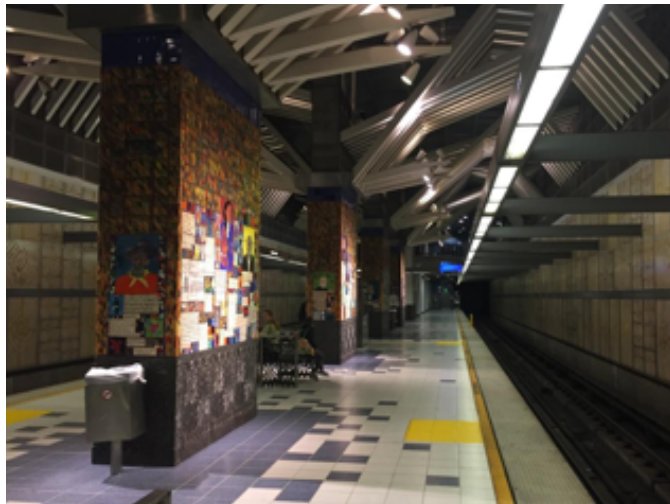


In a stunning coincidence, the Campo is surrounded by a plethora of Los Angeles' more iconic 'monuments.' A block away is the 101 freeway, which was paved over a portion of El Camino Real between Los Angeles and San Jose. Across the street is the entrance to Universal Studios. The Comcast-Universal Building towers above the house, a flashing billboard advertises rides and you can even see a minion from

the Despicable Me franchise looks towards the hillside.

The Campo has trudged through history with obscurity. It is a monument given little attention. Thirty years into American rule, the house was reduced to rubble with no one seeming to recognize what event occurred there. It does not help that there are other events in the same period hogging the spotlight.

The birth of California is sometimes associated with the Bear Flag Revolt when several Americans seized a fort in Sonoma County and declared an independent republic. The flag they created later became the state flag but in reality, the insurrectionists were just a gang of obnoxious Americans with little influence, even if they had the approval of American officials like Frémont.¹



The other event that outshines the Capitulation of Cahuenga is the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which officially made all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains part of the United States. That has a very legitimate claim to fame. Although, many terms of the treaty come from the Capitulation of Cahuenga, including granting Californios equal protection as American citizens.² The Capitulation of Cahuenga made a treaty between the United States and Mexico possible.

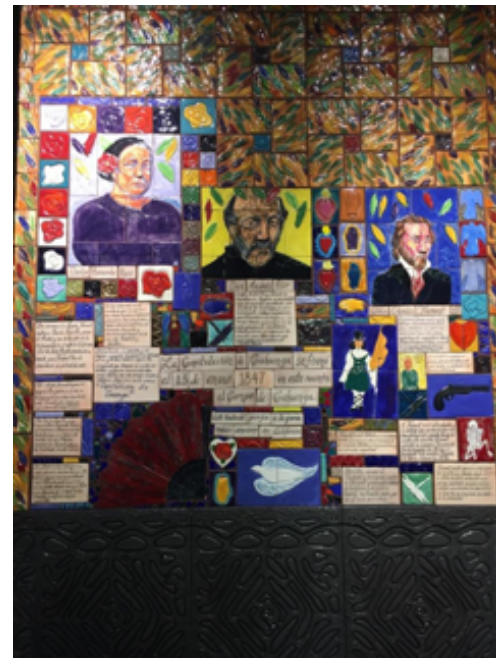
Yet, the Campo lingers on. The site has become a Los Angeles monument through the efforts of benefactors over the years. In 1922, a historical society persuaded the City of Los Angeles to buy the land and set up a museum. However, it did not bring attention. In 1950, the original museum building was torn down and the City built the small adobe house that occupies the park today.³ It is a wholly inaccurate representation of the original, but the Spanish revival style was determined as more suitable.

Even when construction on the Red Line subway led to the discovery of artifacts and the original stone foundation of the house, people rarely gave it a second thought.

Its lack of recognition has partly to do with the museum only being open on the first and second Saturdays of the month.

Also, Los Angeles is littered with much more engaging sites like the amusement park across the street.

Nevertheless, the anniversary of the Capitulation is celebrated every year in a reenactment. Participants dress up, the Americans come in blue army uniforms and the Mexicans flashy ranch clothing. The women wear exquisite flowery dresses and the men dress as caballeros, marching into the park like some long-lost aristocracy. Two men dress like Andrés Pico and John C Frémont and debate war, nationalism, and liberty. The reenactment portrays the men as differing on many issues yet capable of finding a common understanding. A cannon is fired to commemorate the signing at the reenactment. That part is historically inaccurate as neither side could lug their cannons through the mountain passes into the San Fernando Valley, but the boom blends well with the screams of people riding the Jurassic Park ride nearby.⁴



The reenactment is a happy occasion. People celebrate with music and food and the actors portray Americans and Mexicans with camaraderie. In hindsight, this can be misleading. This was a foreign conquest and there is no sense of the hardship

that will befall the Californios. One of the stipulations of the Capitulation of Cahuenga added to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was that the Mexican citizens were treated equally as Americans. The American government never followed through on this and it produced a long period of anguish for Californians of Mexican and Latin-American descent.

The actors portray both sides as eager for peace and looking forward to a new partnership with the Americans. In real life, The Californios were definitely eager for peace, but their thoughts on American rule were mixed. What this reenactment does represent is the growing melting pot of people that will inundate California the moment the United States has complete control over it.

California has been home to people of different backgrounds since the Spanish colonized the land while accompanied by mestizos, Africans, and indigenous people. The American conquest launched a new cosmopolitanism. Los Angeles today is made up of dozens of ethnic groups. There are now

more than 200 languages spoken in Los Angeles besides English and Spanish. All of the newcomers who came after the Capitulation of Cahuenga contributed something significant to the city and culture. They formed unique communities that transformed the city, making it evolve constantly.

The subway stop at Universal City, the stop for the Campo, reflects the Campo de Cahuenga Museum. The subway platform has four rectangular pillars depicting the history of California under Spanish and Mexican rule. Murals of people and events adorn the pillars. One side of the pillars have writings in English and the other side is in Spanish.

The last pillar describes the events of the Capitulation of Cahuenga and has three portraits: Andrés Pico, John C. Frémont, and Bernarda Ruiz. The latter was a respected woman who lived in Santa Barbara. Although she was not present at the signing of the Capitulation, she helped broker the peace between the two men. Many of the terms outlined in the documents came from her, the ideas which formed the basis of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. These three people changed the history of California and are commemorated on a subway stop for passers-by to see.

I have been around the museum a couple of times. Looking at it makes me reflect on my experience living in Los Angeles. I grew up drenched in multiculturalism, always passing through different languages, cuisines, and customs in my daily life. These experiences are not unique, they are shared by the same people that inhabit the same city and the same state.

One of the events that made those experiences possible is hardly recalled and the place where it occurred spends most of the year in quiet remembrance. In 1847, Los Angeles was a small pueblo in far-flung territory. The following decades brought steady growth through businesses, an influx of creative minds, and millions of people from different parts of the world. All that is LA today has roots in a deteriorated house that once stood as the monument to Mexican American history.

Alexis Cruz is a Master of Public Policy Candidate at the University of Southern California (Spring 2020). A lifelong resident of Los Angeles, his policy interests include social equity and international. Prior to USC, he worked as a freelance writer and primarily mentored journalism students at a student-run publication at Loyola Marymount University. He is fluent in



English and Spanish and has an intermediate knowledge of French. He holds a Bachelor's degree in History and Political Science from Loyola Marymount University.

The Center of Our City, *Los Pobladores*: A Monument to Los Angeles' First Families

Jasmine Kolano

The city of Los Angeles is a sprawling place, its critics calling it a “city without a center.” But, for those who weary from the search: start at the beginning.

The beginnings of Los Angeles are a lot closer than one would think. A mere 4.3 miles away from USC’s Center on Public Diplomacy is the Los Angeles Plaza Historic District nestled between Chinatown and Little Tokyo.

The District is residence to the city’s most historic churches, museums, and restaurants. Yet, the District’s center—the Plaza—is a mostly a quiet, unassuming space often overlooked by visitors perusing the kiosks on Olvera Street, a neighboring marketplace attracting over 2 million visitors each year.¹

Lively or not, this is the birthplace of Los Angeles. The Plaza marks the approximate center of the very first Spanish *pueblo*, town, in Southern California.



Image Credit: Jasmine Kolano

The *pueblo*, named *El Pueblo De La Reina de Los Angeles Sobre El Río De La Porciúncula*, The Town of the Queen of the Angels by the Portiuncula River, was established on September 4, 1781.

This would be the starting point for the metropolis that has blossomed into one of the world’s largest economies, even surpassing nations like Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Belgium.²

Accompanying the city’s stunning economic progress in the 20th century was increasing waves of migration. In 1980, the U.S. Census indicated that Los Angeles would soon become the nation’s second-most populous city.³ Amidst the excitement, a special history task force named the *Los Angeles 200 Committee* was commissioned to spearhead the city’s festivities leading up to the bicentennial celebration of its founding. The Committee, headed by Jane Pisano, a former White House Fellow and subsequent dean of USC Price, consisted of 44 prominent civic and business leaders.

At the culmination of their activities, the *Los Angeles 200 Committee* dedicated a bicentennial plaque honoring the city’s pioneers. It was completed in time for the celebration of the city’s two-hundredth birthday on September 4, 1981.⁴

The Bicentennial Plaque titled *Los Pobladores*, The Townspeople, is almost undetectable, overshadowed by large trees and an ornate gazebo. It tells a story, however, that is essential in an era of Los Angeles’ changing identity.

On the plaque are the forty-four names of the *pobladores* who were the first builders of Los Angeles. These forty-four names make up 11 families who hailed from New Spain,



On March 13, 2019, USC Public Diplomacy students visited The Embassy of Mexico in Washington D.C. Pictured left to right: Christina Chilin ('20), Emily Jenq ('20), Nikki Burnett ('20), Tracy Naviochoque ('20), Deputy Chief of Mission Jose Antonio Zabalgoitia, Soo Lee ('19), Jasmine Kolano ('20), and Sabrina Gill ('19).

Image Credit: Jasmine Kolano

present-day Mexico. If one looks closely, embossed next to the fading gold-varnished names are the corresponding races of each townspeople.

William M. Mason, a former distinguished Los Angeles and Early California historian, said of the forty-four settlers:

Of the 44 original *pobladores* who founded Los Angeles, only two were white...[o]f the other 42, 26 had some degree of African ancestry and 16 were Indians or *mestizos* [people of mixed Spanish and Indian blood].⁵

The colony’s multiethnic members were recruited from the provinces of present-day Sinaloa and Sonora in Mexico during Spain’s colonization efforts of Alta (Upper) California. They left Los Alamos, Sonora, on February 2, 1781, and arrived in the summer of 1781.

According to the plaque’s inscription, the *pobladores* worked as farmers, artisans, and stock raisers, providing the food necessary to sustain Spanish soldiers stationed at nearby forts, or *presidios*.

Mason continues about the *pobladores*:

If history is any judge, the *pobladores* were far from useless. In fact, considering their tiny numbers, the early years of their little agricultural colony were remarkably productive. Within four years of its founding, Los Angeles was producing enough grain to enable the governor to halt imports from Mexico. By 1802, the

settlement’s grain surplus was large enough for Los Angeles to request permission to export to Mexico itself.⁶

While life for the *pobladores* went on, much was changing on the political scene. Mexicans eventually won their independence from Spain in 1821 and ruled Los Angeles officially for 26 years, beginning in 1821. The city was, however, ceded to the U.S. in 1847 after the Mexican-American War broke out the previous year. In 1848, Mexico formally relinquished California to the U.S., making Los Angeles’ *pobladores* U.S. citizens. The city was made an official municipality in 1850.⁷

When USC Public Diplomacy students met with Jose Antonio Zabalgoitia, Deputy Chief of Mission at The Embassy of Mexico in Washington D.C., he lamented, “U.S. children don’t have a clue about this war,” something that continues to put a strain on Mexican-American relations.

Though Mexico is its immediate neighbor, Zabalgoitia says that the U.S. has traditionally viewed it as a problematic “fly-over country” that drains federal resources when in fact in 2017 Mexico purchased 15.7% of total U.S. exports and became the U.S.’s second largest trading partner—outranking China.⁸

Jerrold D. Green, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Pacific Council on International Policy in Los Angeles, told Public Diplomacy students in a meeting last month that in terms of proximity, “Los Angeles has more in common with Mexico than with the capital of Washington D.C.” Even the name ‘Los Angeles’ evokes ties to our southern neighbor. He may be right—but one could easily forget amidst a rapidly gentrifying Los Angeles unless one got right back to the city’s center.

The *Los Pobladores* bicentennial monument is an anchor that reflects this city’s efforts to remind its constituents of a past that can be conveniently forgotten in the midst of turbulent U.S.-Mexico relations.

Gustavo Arellano, LA Times feature writer and author of *Taco USA: How Mexican Food Conquered America*, is passionate about mobilizing a generation of Angelenos who understand that at the heart of Los Angeles is a story that is often overlooked. An Angeleno myself, I did not know the monument existed until Arellano introduced me to it earlier this year.

On a tour of Los Angeles Plaza Historic District, Arellano shared that the Plaza was initially revitalized in the mid-1920s by Christine Sterling, a socialite who “did not want it so much to be a historical monument about Los Angeles” but an idealized “Spanish fantasy heritage.”

On the other hand, Arellano pointed out that in the same Plaza is also the *Ámerica Tropical*, a mural reflecting the darker

parts of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Though the mural was whitewashed after its completion in 1932, there are efforts today to restore the work of David Alfaro Siqueiros, one of the greatest Mexican artists of the last century.⁹

Arellano said the restoration of *Ámerica Tropical* is a sign that more people today embrace Los Angeles' Mexican heritage rather than feel embarrassed by it. He is optimistic about the future, particularly as Mexican food becomes more indispensable to LA's culture.

Hungry local and international visitors were spotted ordering hand-rolled *tacquitos* at the nearby *Cielito Lindo*, a landmark Mexican restaurant located on the edge of the Plaza. "Food is an important tool," Arellano asserted as we lined up for our own *tacquitos*. Recognizing that food is society's common denominator, Arellano said that restaurants like *Cielito Lindo* are an opportunity for Angelenos, "to learn more about the people who make the food."

It is hard to believe that on a small street running parallel to LA's Union Station, gastrodiploacy and art diplomacy simultaneously thrive alongside the *Los Pabladores* bicentennial monument that sheds light on a story that arguably ties it all together.

Monuments like this are hidden in plain sight, but if and when they are discovered, they communicate important messages that can withstand the volatile nature of binational politics and guide the course of future centennial celebrations.

Jasmine Kolano is a current Master of Public Diplomacy candidate ('20) at the University of Southern California. She received her Bachelor's Degree in Communication Studies and Honors Humanities at Azusa Pacific University (Spring '18). She is fluent in Mandarin with elementary proficiencies in Cantonese, Arabic, and Hebrew. In 2016, she lived abroad in Jerusalem where she engaged in field study work in Ramallah and Jordan. Additionally, she has been a participant on multiple international exchange teams to Poland and China. Her experiences overseas have cultivated in her a passion for youth empowerment, impactful storytelling, and global reconciliation. Her aspirations are to work as a Public Diplomacy Officer in the U.S. Department of State and to author a book on transformative diplomacy.



Slouching Beasts: The Question of Confederate Monuments

Chandra Manning

If you happen to drive past the Pentagon, you will do so on a roadway called the Jefferson Davis Highway. Perhaps you might note the incongruity of naming a public thoroughfare that brings you to the United States Department of Defense after the Commander in Chief of the portion of the United States that once engaged in armed rebellion against the U.S. Then again, perhaps the name fits right in with the other 1,747 memorials to the Confederacy dotting the U.S. landscape. What's a highway among 780 monuments, 103 schools, 10 U.S. military bases, and more?

In the first decades of the 21st century, the peculiar phenomenon of Confederate memorialization seemed to melt invisibly into the landscape for many white Americans, but the same cannot be said now. A riot has torn through Charlottesville, Virginia. Richmond is embroiled in major civic conflict over the colossal statues that give Monument Avenue its intentionally magnificent name. In fact, cities throughout the United States debate what to do about concrete shrines to Confederate leaders. Municipal and state authorities generally focus on how local identity and civic well-being are affected by a particular statue, but the collectivity of 1,747 monuments raises questions about the impact of Confederate memorialization as a whole, both inside and outside the U.S. What difference do they make?

A logical place to begin such an inquiry is at the beginning: when did all these monuments appear? While a spare few markers to Confederate dead appeared in the 1860s shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War, by far the vast majority of Confederate memorials were erected in two (much later) waves. The first one ran from the 1890s to 1920s, peaking from 1909 to 1911. These years marked the Jim Crow era when lynchings of African Americans hit an all-time high and states passed and enforced strict segregation laws and constitutional amendments disenfranchising black voters. A second, smaller wave coincided with Massive Resistance to the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Particularly in the Jim Crow wave, a favorite location for the erection of Confederate monuments was courthouse lawns.

The towering, glowering statues served quite literally as concrete reminders of the intimidation and violence built into segregation laws.¹

It does not take much reading between the lines to see that intent. Take the example of Julian Shakespeare Carr. In 1899, Carr, a Confederate veteran and wealthy businessman active in the campaign to rid North Carolina of what he called the "crime" of black voting, delivered an address "under the banner of white supremacy" urging passage of an amendment to the state Constitution "to take the ballot from the ignorant vicious negro" in order "to restore the old-before-the-war-time feeling between the white man and the colored man," the "feeling," in other words, of a time when white people owned, bought, sold, abused, and exploited black people with complete support of the law rather than extra-legally.¹ The amendment passed, and the black vote vanished. Enforcing white supremacy through disfranchisement soon seemed insufficient to men like Carr—after all, what if it slipped from anyone's mind in between trips to the ballot box? A permanent reminder could fill the gaps between elections. Carr thus launched on a series of speeches and addresses delivered at the dedications of Confederate memorials around

¹For a useful visual graphic illustrating building years, see this chart in "Whose Heritage?" a report released by the Southern Poverty Law Center available here: https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage_timeline_print.pdf. A quick overview on lynching can be found at <https://www.naacp.org/history-of-lynchings/>.

For more on violence in the Jim Crow era, see James Allen, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000); Philip Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (New York: Modern Library, 2003); Steve Luxenberg, *Separate: The Story of Plessy v. Ferguson and America's Journey from Reconstruction to Segregation* (New York: Norton, 2019); and the classic Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases* (1892).

the state. For example, at a ceremony dedicating a statue of a Confederate soldier on the campus of his alma mater, the University of North Carolina, Carr declared:

The present generation, I am persuaded, scarcely takes note of what the Confederate soldier meant to the welfare of the Anglo Saxon race during the four years immediately succeeding the war, when the facts are, that their courage and steadfastness saved the very life of the Anglo Saxon race in the South—When “the bottom rail was on top” all over the Southern states, and to-day, as a consequence the purest strain of the Anglo Saxon is to be found in the 13 Southern States—Praise God. I trust I may be pardoned for one allusion, howbeit it is rather personal. One hundred yards from where we stand, less than ninety days perhaps after my return from Appomattox, I horse-whipped a negro wench until her skirts hung in shreds, because upon the streets of this quiet village she had publicly insulted and maligned a Southern lady, and then rushed for protection to these University buildings where was stationed a garrison of 100 Federal soldiers.²

The problematic nature of these monuments within the United States—the way they announce national values and priorities, the way they seek to sanitize the past and silence the very ones who have borne its burden, the way they issue grim reminders of the violence that awaits any person of color who questions his or her “place”—has been addressed in multiple venues, but what, if any, difference do those statues make beyond U.S. borders?¹¹ In one interpretation, they enable the overseas transmission of white supremacy as a particularly toxic made-in-America export.

Sociologist Felicia Bevel, for example, has written about Confederate monuments and consumer products like Aunt Jemima syrup and Uncle Ben’s rice as global exports washing up on foreign shores in such guises as the anti-aboriginal White Australia movement.³ Surely she is onto something, but the “export” metaphor suggests something uniquely American shipped abroad on an influence stream that goes in only one direction, a “dark side” to American exceptionalism to be sure, but still American exceptionalism.

In another interpretation, the statues on our courthouse lawns and the monuments lining our streets might not be quite so unique, but rather local expressions of a larger force creeping across the globe in the grim company of things like the imperialism celebrated by the Cecil Rhodes statue erected

¹¹For an introduction to some of the most recent writing on the subject of Confederate memorialization’s national impact see <http://cwmemory.com/civilwarmemorysyllabus/>

in South Africa in 1908, the year before the first U.S. wave peaked, and Nazism in Europe in the 1940s, just before the second wave of U.S. building started in the 1950s and 1960s, much like W.B. Yeats’ terrible beast slouching toward Bethlehem in a constant, prowling search for places to be re-born.

Whether the impulse originated in the United States or was merely replicated there, the question of “who started it” is ultimately less important than the irrefutable truth that the gap between professed egalitarian ideals and concrete symbols to violent white supremacy weakens the ability of the United States to exert pro-democratic influence abroad. To put the point another way, wherever white supremacy first came from, it is tough to export egalitarian and pro-democracy influence in the same shipping containers with it.

Communist propaganda in the Cold War famously, and effectively, pointed to racial discrimination in the segregated South as a way of discrediting the United States in the global battle for hearts and minds waged between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the second half of the twentieth century. Even earlier than that, Confederate monuments in the U.S. provided aid and comfort to Nazi sympathizers before and during World War II.⁴

Right now, that beast keeps on slouching. Anti-immigrant rhetoric helped fuel Brexit, Far-Right parties use anti-refugee, anti-Islamic, and anti-Semitic rhetoric to make gains across Europe, and Jair Bolsonaro won election to the Brazilian presidency after a campaign filled with racist, misogynistic, and homophobic remarks. Meanwhile, the President of the United States waxes sentimental about statues to men once engaged in armed rebellion (against the country that he is sworn to protect and defend) for the purpose of establishing a nation founded on the “cornerstone” so frankly described by Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens as “the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.”⁵

But also right now, cities and public institutions in the United States and elsewhere are truly looking at those statues, as if seeing them anew, and in some cases have begun to act when they don’t like what they see. Since white supremacist Dylann Roof killed nine worshippers at an African American church in Charleston, SC in 2015, roughly 100 Confederate monuments in the United States have come down.⁶ On May 23, 2017, the scion of a prominent New Orleans family (and mayor of that city) Mitch Landrieu explained why four Confederate monuments in his city were coming down in this way: “These statues are not just stone and metal. They are not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These

monuments purposefully celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy; ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for,” and moreover, “they were erected purposefully to send a strong message to all who walked in their shadows about who was still in charge in this city.”⁷ After the “Rhodes Must Fall” movement made the case that “for black students and staff arriving at the university, the statue was a constant reminder of how and for whom the university was designed,” the 1908 Cecil Rhodes statue was removed from the University of Cape Town.⁸ London newspapers have begun debating the removal from British public spaces of statues to imperialists like Rhodes and slavers like Edward Colston.⁹

None of which is to say that we are all better now. But maybe now is a moment when ever-present but submerged contradictions have finally come to the surface. Maybe it is a moment when the weight of the contradiction between the Declaration of Independence and Confederate memorials simply cannot be borne without forcing a reckoning. Maybe it is a moment when there is no choice but to confront that things can be opposite and impossible and true, all at the same time. If the United States could lead by example of humble and contrite introspection, that would be a fruitful influence to exert abroad. But if such thinking is too wishful, maybe one statue removal at a time can at least slow down the slouching beast.

Chandra Manning is Professor of History at Georgetown University and the author of *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery and the Civil War* (Knopf, 2007) and *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War* (Knopf, 2016).

National Parks are Truly “America’s Best Idea”

Marya Skotte

National parks are the best idea we ever had. Absolutely American, absolutely democratic, they reflect us at our best rather than our worst. - Wallace Stegner, 1983

Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Biosphere Reserve and Dark Sky Preserve, covering 1,766 square-miles and offering over 700-miles of hiking trails in the Northern Rockies.¹ The park boasts steep glacier-carved valleys and hidden alpine lakes colored turquoise, emerald, and magenta fed by glaciers millions of years old. Every year thousands of people from outside North America visit this park including foreign students, diplomats, and business people.

When foreign visitors come to the park in spring or summer, fields of wildflowers carpet mountain meadows and the streams and brooks are flowing at full strength from melted

snow and ice. One might even spot a grizzly bear. In fall, the trees at low altitude explode in color, while smaller animals scurry about stocking up for winter hibernation. This park truly deserves its nickname, “Crown of the Continent.”

Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park straddles the border of Alberta in Canada and Montana in the United States. The park was designated in 1932 “to commemorate the long history of peace and friendship between Canada and the United States, and to emphasize both natural and cultural links.”² In this corner of the North American Rocky Mountains, the park shares a common landscape, migratory wildlife, rivers, and lakes that know no man-made border. Park rangers on both sides of the border have always worked

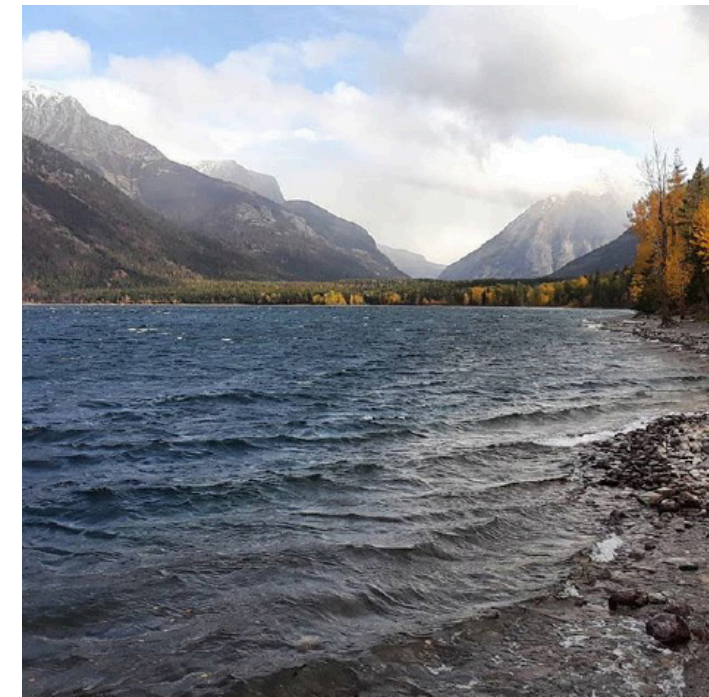


Fall foliage in Glacier National Park. Image Credit: Marya Skotte

together to conduct search and rescue, manage wildfires, and serve visitors.

Initially, Glacier National Park in Montana and Waterton National Park in Alberta were separate, but early park rangers and superintendents in both the United States and Canada endorsed the idea of an international peace park to commemorate the longest undefended border in the world.

The Cardston Rotary Club in Alberta called for a meeting with other local clubs and with Montana Rotarians to discuss and propose the International Peace park designation in 1931.



Glacier Park’s largest lake, Lake McDonald, frozen over. Image Credit: Maxwell Kincaid

This initial meeting created a rallying cry and soon rotary members, local community members, and park rangers were visiting, calling, and lobbying their local and congressional government officials to merge both parks. The United States approved the designation in May of 1932 and the Canadian government quickly approved the resolution a few months later.

The designation of the park was based on a loosely structured cooperative management structure between U.S. and Canadian park authorities. The more informal nature of this cooperative agreement means that American and Canadian park rangers need to communicate and meet regularly to share the burdens, challenges, and surprises that might arise in the park during any given season.

Over the years, the coordination, constant communication, and commitment to shared values between Canadian and U.S. park staff and communities are a source of immense pride for both countries. America and Canada continue to work

together to tackle the most pressing challenges faced by the park to ensure that valuable natural resources are protected and maintained.

To add to the complex fabric of the maintenance of the park, Canadian and U.S. park authorities have, in recent years, engaged with and worked closely with local Native American tribes bordering the park. In particular, the U.S. National Park Service is working with the Blackfoot Tribe to develop a new and shared vision of land conversation, “The Iinnii Initiative,” to bring native buffalo back to the eastern side of the park.

American bison used to run in large herds throughout much of North America, including Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. First Nations like the Blackfeet, Blood, and Kinai have called the land that is now the International Peace Park their home for thousands of years. Waves of white settlers, fur trappers, and gold miners ensured the total destruction of American buffalo in this part of North America and pushed native tribes off their natural homeland and out of the park.

The Iinnii Initiative (“Innii” means “buffalo” in the Blackfoot language) brought 88 plains bison from Elk Island, Canada to Glacier National Park in 2016.³ The animals are just the start of what the tribal elders envision to be herds of wild buffalo roaming freely throughout the park, the surrounding lands, and the first nations’ reservations. The Park Service and tribal leaders will work together to assess how the re-introduction of the herd will impact native flora and fauna to inform the course of future reintroductions of buffalo into the region.

The longstanding collaboration between the U.S. and Canada, along with the more recent coordination with the Blackfoot people, have created a rich fabric of trust, respect, and understanding in managing one of the most precious natural places on earth. Each party brings unique strengths to the table making the park and the visitor experience better for all.

The efforts to designate and manage Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, as well as the recent efforts to reintroduce native bison, were initially started by average people with a shared love for the park. Average citizens from the U.S., Canada, and the Blackfoot tribe came together to protect something special for all to enjoy regardless of race, status, gender, or nationality.

Roughly three million people visited Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in 2018, part of a larger trend in increased visitation to national parks, especially amongst international travelers. In 2015, 13.6 million international tourists visited U.S. national parks and monuments with experts predicting that this trend will only increase.⁴ People from all over the world regularly come to the U.S. for the sole purpose of visiting our national parks. We should view this as an incredible opportunity to share our history, culture, natural resources, and the spirit of conservation with people from all corners of the globe. Simultaneously, we can use

this as an opportunity to learn from others as we foster public diplomacy.

In our own communities, national parks can serve as neutral ground for connection, understanding, and respect amongst our fellow citizens at a time when Americans are more disconnected and polarized than ever before. National parks were created by the people, for the people, embodying the utmost virtue of democracy. We collectively decided a little over a hundred years ago, with the creation of the National Park Service, that conservation, preservation, and protection of natural resources matter because future generations of Americans deserve to enjoy these special places.

Like the rest of the world, current and future generations of Americans, Canadians, and First Nations are tasked with daunting and complex challenges like climate change. National parks are often at the frontlines of such challenges. Unfortunately, national parks are some of the first places to experience the negative effects of warming temperatures. About one hundred years ago, Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park had roughly 110 glaciers.⁵

Today, only 30 glaciers remain with these quickly shrinking. In recent years, wildfires have been more common and destructive, placing a heavy strain on park staff. As more foreigners visit Waterton-Glacier and other national parks, how can we use the parks as vehicles for productive conversations on our shared responsibility regarding the changing climate and conservation?

It may have surprised our U.S. National Park Service founders to know that many millions of non-Americans today are enjoying U.S. National Parks. Among those millions of non-American visitors are decision-makers, business people, academics, and foreign diplomats. These visitors leave to return home with new ideas about conservation and the value of untouched nature.

Sometimes, our parks even inspire the creation of parks overseas. For example, Hong Kong has established national parks to preserve its native flora and fauna. What started as a local affair has developed global dimensions. What began with an emphasis in preservation may play a more serious role in saving critical parts of our natural world and mitigating the more serious effects of climate change.

The parks are a tool of public diplomacy and can help foster a love of the environment. The shared experience of America's national parks by visitors from around the world might be one of the best tools for fostering endearing partnerships and protecting the environment worldwide.

I had the privilege of visiting Glacier National Park in Montana this past fall. The colors of the trees were incredible, and I let myself stand alone at the foot of a lapping turquoise lake. A glacier, as old as the earth itself, fed the lake. I remained still and in reverential silence for many minutes.

Soon, a family of beavers woke me from my reverie. They were swimming nimbly across the lake while carrying twigs in their mouths to build their winter lodge. A brown bear then appeared, ambling along the far side of the lake, unaware of my existence. I heard rustling in the bushes and trees around me and could make out several varieties of birdsong.

At that moment, I immediately recognized this place was a treasure and worth protecting in perpetuity. Glacier, like many of our national parks, is truly America's best idea.

Marya Skotte is the Senior Coordinator for Community Partnerships at the National Park Foundation (NPF), the official charitable partner to the National Park Service. Marya was selected as an Emerging leader in Conservation at the 2017 SHIFTx Festival for her work on NPF's Community Partnerships team. Prior to her time at NPF, Marya was an AmeriCorps VISTA at the International Rescue Committee in Oakland, California where she served as a financial coach for refugees and asylees resettling in the Bay Area. Marya holds a bachelor's degree in political science from Azusa Pacific University and recently completed HBX CORE, a business certificate program for working professionals through the Harvard Business School. Marya resides in Washington, DC and is an avid outdoor enthusiast and national park lover.



Teaching Humanity through the Murals of The Butterfly Project

Mitzi Salgado

Jonathan Shulman, the founding Director for the Center for Excellence in Citizenship at La Jolla Country Day School, tells us about his mission to help paint 1.5 million butterflies.

In 2006, Cheryl Rattner Price and Jan Landau started the Butterfly Project at the San Diego Jewish Academy as an international program. Their mission is to raise awareness of the over 1.5 million children who died during the Holocaust. The Project is a call to action through education and the arts, creating memorials that represent resilience and hope. The goal is to paint as many butterflies as the number of young lives taken during World War II and to display them in memoriam.

Last year, Jonathan Shulman and the students at La Jolla Country Day School spent an entire month learning about respect, citizenship, and dignity through the understanding of the butterflies to begin their own butterfly-painting project. The students at Country Day learned about the butterflies' role in nature as a symbol to explain their significance. Every teacher has a different approach to how they teach the significance of the Butterfly Project. Students learn about

their fragility, diversity, and role of the butterflies in their ecosystem. "Depending on their age, we teach our young students that each butterfly is different from each other, that they are beautiful, and deserve the same dignity and respect," says Shulman.

At Country Day, the goal of the Butterfly Project is twofold. First, for the students to collectively build a legacy, and second, to serve as a reminder that too many children are affected by war. Shulman explains that it is a celebration of the lives of children who were killed in political or ethnic violence. Most importantly, he adds, "it is about committing to the dignity of the individual when painting these butterflies [and forming these displays]."

Shulman expresses excitement knowing that students as young as three years old are painting butterflies the school will install, becoming part of this legacy at a young age. He says that as the students get older, they will come to understand what the butterflies represent in this context. As students grow, they will deepen their understanding of the heinous crimes that humans can inflict on one another. The hope is that these children will have a commitment to the dignity of every human life as a result of participating in the project.

Painting butterflies is only the start of this project. Once enough butterflies are completed, Mr. Shulman plans to cover the halls of Country Day School with large mural installations of the butterflies designed by each generation of students, starting with the first generation of students who painted 2,000 butterflies last November. Shulman hopes that these students will one day return to their alma mater and share with their children their pledge to uphold the mission of the Butterfly Project.



La Jolla Country Day School at their first Butterfly Day on November 9, 2018

Source: La Jolla Country Day School, San Diego, CA



Elementary students at La Jolla Country Day painting butterflies on Butterfly Day
 Source: La Jolla Country Day School, San Diego, CA

Country Day does as much as they can to engage the students in the process of creating the murals. The students help to design the murals and assist in choosing where to display them on campus. Last November, Country Day students visited the Jewish Academy to get ideas on how they want to show the butterflies at their own school for the installation. Shulman views the Jewish Academy as a role model for leading the mission of the Butterfly Project, saying, “Everywhere you look, you see butterflies.”

Shulman envisions the Butterfly Project becoming a part of Country Day’s identity and hopes to ingrain its principles into the walls of the school. Shulman believes that, by displaying the butterflies, the school is sending a message to whoever walks through its doors: The school does not stand for hate. He explains, “The display makes it very clear where we stand on dignity and where we stand against hate.” By taking a stance, the school is empowering present and future generations to live in a place where people respect the dignity of others. “You paint the butterfly, and that becomes your [symbol] of contribution [to] dignity and citizenship,” says Shulman. The hope is that, if young people are taught this human right, they will assume responsibility for the treatment of others.

Since the project began, over 200,000 butterflies have been displayed worldwide. Thousands of people from around

the world have come together to paint a ceramic butterfly to honor a child. Students at Country Day have painted butterflies with students and instructors from India, Germany, El Salvador, and Panama before their school painted them on Butterfly Day, November 9, 2018. Country Day has a formal partnership with *Bewegte Grundschule*, a school in Cottbus, Germany and *PANAMUN*, the Model United Nations Conference held by the International School of Panama. A delegation of political leaders from South Asia even contributed to painting butterflies. In Fall 2019, students from Country Day will be visiting *Bewegte Grundschule* to paint even more butterflies. “[While there is] still a long way to 1.5 million, that’s the point, they are a lot of people,” says Shulman.

Shulman is on a quest to inspire as many people as possible to paint butterflies and display them around the world. For Shulman, the Butterfly Project brings together important principles of citizenship, dignity, and democracy, all while raising cultural and social awareness of a higher, better global society.

The purpose of creating these murals is to raise awareness and engender conversations that spark diplomatic collaborations, keeping us from repeating the past. For the Butterfly Project, that past is the 1.5 million lives that were taken during the Holocaust. The Project continues to raise awareness about one of the most horrific acts of violence in history, in a world where horrific acts of violence continue. In this context, the role of these individual ceramic butterflies sends a message about the decisions we make daily. We cannot forget that these events do not happen in isolation. The Holocaust could not have occurred without millions of people actively participating or living in compliance amidst



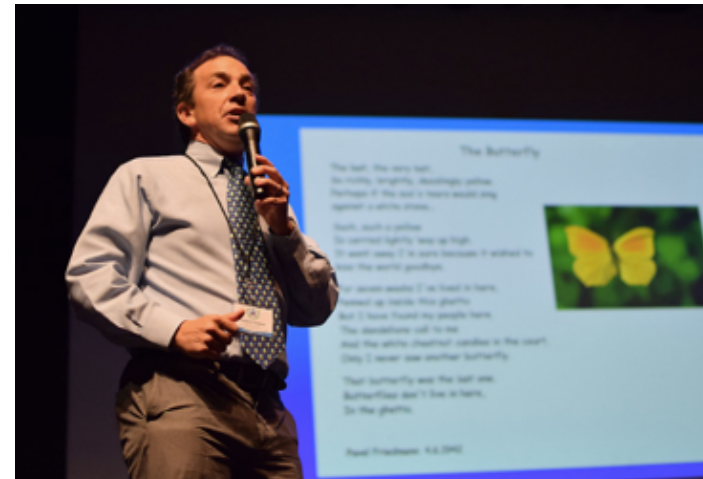
Picasso Meets Jerusalem Mural
 Source: San Diego Jewish Academy, San Diego, CA



High school students and instructors painting butterflies
 Source: La Jolla Country Day School, San Diego, CA

the horrific events.

As a society, we must memorialize tragedies like the Holocaust to remind ourselves of the past, to honor lives lost, and to positively shape the future. From the eyes of Mr. Shulman, such a powerful memorial can be as simple as a ceramic butterfly.



Mr. Shulman explaining the Butterfly Project in Panama during the PANAMUN Model United Nations Conference
 Source: La Jolla Country Day School, San Diego, CA

For more information on the Butterfly Project go on their website: <https://thebutterflyprojectnow.org>

Mitzi Salgado is originally from San Diego, California. She grew up on the border of San Diego and Mexico. Now earning her Master’s degree in International Public Policy and Management from the Price School of Public Policy, she recently launched the first student-run program focused on US-Mexico border policy, planning, and development at USC.

In the summer of 2018, she completed Price on the Rhine, an immersive program focused on German and European Public Administration with an emphasis on the European Union. Prior to attending USC, Mitzi worked in San Diego implementing in-class and after-school programs for low-income, minority students.

She earned a Bachelor’s degree from the University of California, Riverside in Women Studies, and founded a service organization when she was 19 years old focused on empowering diverse women into leadership positions. Mitzi is currently the Co-Chair of Price Latino Student Association and an associate Leadership Director of Partnership for Equitable Los Angeles. Upon graduation, Salgado plans to work in the international development sector or in Human Rights creating better immigration policies in the United States.



Monuments to Mobility in an Urban Era

Ian Lundy

With every easy step on an open sidewalk, or forced circumnavigation of someone on one that's more narrow, city-goers interact with distinct urban values. Such simple elements of the physical landscape—e.g. sidewalks, bike lanes, bus stops—explicitly facilitate movement, but also implicitly communicate values and memorialize societal priorities. A city's seemingly ubiquitous physical and spatial elements are not just conducting traffic; they are the physical manifestations of perspectives on transportation—they are monuments to mobility.

All city monuments play an important role as cultural signifiers that convey societal values. However, the symbolism is usually more obvious in traditional monuments as a result of their immensity or historical designation. Take the entry halls of Grand Central Station or the original Pennsylvania Station, built during New York City's Gilded Age.



A walk through these atriums imbues visitors with the sense that society holds both trains and their passengers in high esteem. In contrast, visitors to the much-maligned, subterranean maze that comprises the modern Penn Station experience far less grandeur. They can clearly glean that the sixties-era society that approved the demolition of the original Penn Station and its reconstruction did not share the priority set of the Gilded Age.



New York City has evolved in many ways since the sixties, and its notable structures are now protected by countless organizations dedicated to appreciating the cultural heritage. These are organizations that would likely wage a small war to prevent an architectural demolition like that of the original Penn Station from happening today. However, the kinds of value-based conversations and collective levels of focus that ensure this protection—in New York City and elsewhere—are not always conducted with respect to more commonplace structures.

The sidewalks, bike lanes, and bus stations of our urban experience have just as important a role conveying a message about who and what is valued. Whereas traditional monuments typically aim solely to memorialize a moment, person, or contribution to society, these monuments to mobility are both symbolic and functional.

Their meaning and functionality have higher stakes than ever in the current era. As the world rapidly urbanizes,¹ pedestrian and cyclist fatalities are increasing at alarming rates.² How we share and allocate public space is the conversation that will define this trend, for better or for worse. This vital conversation is most informed not by what we say, but by the symbols we build that integrate our values into our urban spaces. The monuments to mobility that cities build to facilitate transportation can implicitly imbue residents and tourists alike with a subliminal understanding of which forms

of mobility are valued and where they are prioritized.

For example, the monuments we build to bikes can take many forms, but an analysis of three iterations of bike infrastructure makes clear how significant the physical symbolism is to the resulting function. While it is generally understood that bikes are allowed on most urban roads, painting a string of bike insignias onto the road patently sends a signal that this is a road for bikes as well. A bike insignia on the road symbolizes that bikes are not infringing upon automotive space, but have an equal right to use that road to travel.



Now, if the insignias are accompanied by a solid white line on the edge of the same road, thereby creating a bike-sized lane, these two symbols jointly communicate that bikes have a dedicated place of their own. In privileging bikes, this sliver of the road now excludes cars, a symbolic shift from the former value structure in which all road-space was also in some part car-road-space.



Finally, a bike lane can be further distinguished from automotive lanes with not only a painted line but also a physical barrier that cannot easily be crossed by cars not abiding by the rule-of-paint. In providing additional security, this barrier prioritizes bikes to a heightened degree. The

protected lane solidifies their place on the road and clarifies their value in this shared space. While none of the three aforementioned physical decisions about the treatment of the road changes the status quo (that bikes are allowed), each new symbol provides clarity regarding the value of bikes on the road.



The clarity provided by symbols like bike lanes is an implicit statement about the ranking of users in that public space, and consequently in that society. In many cases, it can even lead to heightened functionality of the infrastructure itself. For example, research has shown that relative to painted lanes, protected bike lanes encourage more vulnerable demographics like women and children to ride bikes on the road.³ The barriers forming the protected lane communicate to these populations that their safety is a priority, which then encourages them to bike. This transportation decision is both better for their health and less harmful to the environment.⁴ These simple monuments to mobility speak to our conscious and unconscious experiences. They change how we feel we are allowed to operate within cities, and thus, change how we do.

Decisions about the symbolism communicated through monuments to mobility can in this way have broad-reaching implications for public health and public lives. In Los Angeles, officials who understand this have responded to increasing pedestrian fatalities with an ambitious vision for an update to the city's core mobility landscape in the form of a sweeping #VisionZero initiative (striving for zero pedestrian fatalities).⁵ Unfortunately, three years into the initiative, pedestrian and cyclist fatalities have increased as the city has struggled to implement the physical infrastructure associated with the plan.⁶

The entrenched historical value system prioritizing vehicles throughout the city is so visible, learned, and powerful that every attempt to build in new values that challenge the status quo, with new bike lanes, crosswalks and the like, has been fiercely opposed.

The path to a less autocratic value system in the notoriously congested LA metropolis is a challenging one. However, change will only begin when, lane by lane, the symbols around the city communicate to a broad enough coalition that there is an update to the status quo, and that cars are not the only form of transportation with value. Only with the construction of these critical monuments to mobility can the #VisionZero initiative force vehicle drivers to recognize the value of the bikers and pedestrians beside them, and eventually, hopefully, achieve a reduction in fatalities.

In addition to influencing behavior within existing systems, physical symbols, or lack thereof, can play a pivotal role in the introduction of new systems and/or technologies. For instance, following the somewhat chaotic introduction of dockless scooters and e-bikes to the urban landscape, physically designated parking zones are emerging as a solution. Whereas the previous iteration of shared mobility came through bike-share systems with permanent physical docks, the introduction of scooters and dockless e-bikes has been more haphazard.

The convenience of leaving bikes anywhere served the mobility start-ups and their customers well, but it ignored, and thus infringed upon, society's pre-existing physical values and priorities related to 'anywhere'. The public reaction to this infringement has been vitriolic; with some critics moved to vandalize these new vehicles by a chorus of quasi-praise online. So in response, cities, including several within Los Angeles County, are experimenting with a return to symbols with physical permanence and thus micro-monumentality: specific, designated parking zones for scooters and dockless e-bikes.⁸



These physical parking hubs will communicate that this emerging mode of alternative transportation is now a priority, but not one with free-range over the entirety of the built environment. In creating a policy that builds physical zones and structures, cities send clear messaging about their values. This will hopefully influence future behavior and maybe, just maybe, lead to fewer scooters being vandalized and thrown into lakes by citizens uncomfortable with an unexplained challenge to the comfort of their status quo.

The human challenge of sharing space and moving around

our increasingly urban environments is dictated by the values woven into the physical landscape. These physical structures—these monuments to mobility—are inherently symbols that express priorities, guide behaviors, and enhance, explicitly and implicitly, the discourse within our cities.

Ian Lundy cares intensely about the intersection of policy and investment in the context of urban environments. He is excited by ideas that encourage growth, social equity, sustainability, and general flourishing in cities. Born and raised in Los Angeles, Lundy currently works in New York at the New York City Economic Development Corporation where he is an Associate on the Real Estate Strategy team. Prior, he worked in real estate private equity for Tishman Speyer in the New York Region. Lundy earned a Bachelor's degree from Georgetown University, where he studied urban policy and investment.



Wernher von Braun: American Hero or German Villain?

Devin Villacis

Since its inception, the United States has sought and conquered frontiers, a characteristic of the country. In fact, according to Dr. Gerald Wilson, the "Myth of the Frontier" is one of five essential myths embedded in the American dream, and, in recent history, space—the final frontier—has been among those conquerable new landscapes.¹ The storied Space Race is well known, but what about the mastermind behind American success in the space mission? Who was NASA's first George C. Marshall Space Flight Center Director, Wernher von Braun, for whom buildings have been named and busts have been erected?

Let's start with a simple list of some of the many things we know about Director von Braun: he was creative—he worked with Walt Disney on three space-themed episodes of Disneyland in 1955 and 1957; he was innovative—he was the director of the team that sent a man to the moon; and he was a known and celebrated member of the German S.S. under Hitler, yet too important an asset for the United States to give up at the close of the World War II.

In many ways, the Germans had what the rest of the world lacked when the war ended in 1945, including chemical weapons and the most advanced rockets of the time, as well as the scientists that invented them (von Braun among them). As the Third Reich fell, Russians and Americans began snatching up information, weaponry, and personnel. The V-weapons invented by von Braun were of specific importance as they were capable of carrying massive payloads across great distances.

The V-2 rocket in particular could carry one ton of explosives in its nose cone, travel at five times the speed of sound, and fly higher than any fighter jet. Historian Annie Jacobson writes of World War II, "Over time, and with the aid of Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, references to these mysterious weapons had been consolidated in a singular, terrifying catchphrase: Nazi wonder weapons,

or Wunderwaffe." The rockets had sparked fear all over Europe and while Hitler's Germany still stood, von Braun was rewarded tremendously for his efforts in creating those weapons.

Jacobson writes in great detail of one particular celebration on the night of December 9, 1944 in Castle Varlar where von Braun was awarded the Knight's Cross, the highest non-combat award, as his rockets lit up the night sky. That night, Germany was bombing Antwerp from mobile platforms close to the castle to serve as a spectacular, and fearsome, backdrop to the celebration.²

V-weapons would kill over 4,000 people in Antwerp from the time the first bomb hit on October 13, 1944 until the last launch site was captured by the Allied forces on March 25, 1945.³ Only one and a half years after the Castle Varlar celebration in April 1946, newsreels in the U.S. would show, against the upbeat backdrop of music, the "1st Pictures Nazi Rocket Tests in U.S." in White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico.⁴

Transporting the rockets to the U.S. was one matter; acquiring the Nazi rocket scientists there was another. This work was done under the direction of the Joint Intelligence Objectives Agency (JIOA), a subcommittee of multiple government agencies established in 1945 and consisting of "one representative of each member agency of the [Joint Intelligence Committee], and an operational staff of military intelligence officers from the different military services."⁵ Operation Paperclip was a controversial and secretive mission with the goal of getting scientists, like von Braun, to the U.S.

The mission was nothing if not elaborate. The JIOA argued that the status of the German scientists was a matter of national security and that the Russians would only take them in instead, thereby creating a dangerous situation for the US. A 1975 summary of paperwork entitled "Department of Justice Involvement in 'Operation Paperclip' and the Space

Program,” signed by no one in particular, delves into a trove of official late-1940s materials and reads:

Slowly, concessions were made, and a program was worked out in which the Armed Services, through the Joint Chiefs of Staff, undertook to select for permanent residence in the United States only scientists whom they could certify met three conditions that they were persons whose admission (1) was highly desirable in the national interest, (2) would aid the national security, and (3) would not be prejudicial to the interests of the United States.⁶

According to the summary, an FBI representative consistently opposed the admission of the former Nazi scientists, then the Attorney General would reverse that decision until “FBI recommendations on the subject gradually lost some of their credibility.”⁷ By 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and the CIA actively surveilled journalists and politicians who worked to uncover the number of Nazi war criminals in America. In one instance, Hoover authorized an FBI wiretap on journalist Charles R. Allen Jr., while the CIA opened Allen’s mail from the Soviet Union after he published a series of articles on the topic.^{8,9} No Operation Paperclip scientist would ever be found guilty of war crimes. The only one ever charged with said crimes, Georg Rickhey, was acquitted. Rickhey had been “a former official at the Nordhausen underground V-2 rocket factory.”²⁰ The V-2 rockets would serve as predecessors to the American Saturn 5 moon rocket.

While it is established that von Braun developed wartime weapons, a more important question is whether the former director actually had a hand in the unspeakable inhumanity that defined the Third Reich. A brief biographical article on the Director on the Marshall Space Flight Center website mentions the forced labor factories (i.e. Nordhausen) where von Braun’s never-before-seen rockets were manufactured during World War II. According to the author, von Braun’s role in those factories has yet to be determined: “Scholars are still reassessing his role in these controversial activities.”¹¹ In his 1977 New York Times obituary, von Braun is painted as a reluctant third party to Nazi war crimes, described as “An Explorer Only” who fell in love with space at a young age and would do anything to fulfill his dream of space travel, even tinkering with his own rockets in 1930 when he was only 18.

“Dr. von Braun had been a nominal member of the Nazi Party since the early years of the war. But when in early 1944 he resisted Heinrich Himmler’s efforts to draw Peenemünde under Gestapo control, Dr. von Braun was arrested and put in prison for two weeks,” the obituary explains. “Only after General Dornberger convinced Hitler that the V-2 program would collapse without Dr. von Braun was ‘the professor,’ as he was known to his colleagues then, released.” The author, John Noble Wilford, makes a point to include that shortly thereafter in early 1945, von Braun surrendered to the US. with 118 of his engineers.¹²

Historian Annie Jacobson adamantly disagrees. She writes of the discovery at Nordhausen on the morning of April 11, 1945, saying, “No amount of fighting prepared John Risen Jones for what he saw through the lens of his Leica when his unit entered Nordhausen. The photographs he took documented the tragedy that had befallen thousands of V-2 rocket laborers condemned to die as slaves in the tunnels here.”¹³ The photographs from that morning are graphic and disturbing, depicting skeletal bodies laid out on the ground at Nordhausen.¹⁴ According to Jacobson’s research though, von Braun did not run the facility. Instead, he personally “hand-selected” slaves to build a new laboratory he wanted to set up in August 1944. Earlier that same year he had approved, without objection, the enslavement of 1,800 French workers in a meeting with Rickhey, again the only tried former-Nazi of Operation Paperclip, and two others.^{15,16} From this perspective it would seem there was no question of his involvement, only of the reluctance by some to acknowledge the former director’s checkered past.

Of his surrender, von Braun was known to have said he had no fear of punishment. “We wouldn’t have treated your atomic scientists as war criminals, and I didn’t expect to be treated as one,” he said. “No, I wasn’t afraid. The V-2 was something we had and you didn’t have. Naturally, you wanted to know all about it.”¹⁷ Evidently, he was chillingly correct in his assessment. When the Times revisited their von Braun obituary in 2016, they added, “...he was also often mentioned in the same breath as Faust, for his wartime Devil’s bargain.”¹⁸ Less than 10 years after the war, he would work with Walt Disney, who was himself embroiled in the war effort not so long ago while working with the American government on propaganda films in order to save his company from bankruptcy—through the promotion and development of Tomorrowland, one of Disneyland’s four main sections. The theme park opened on July 17 1955.^{19,20}

In 1960, only 15 years after the war, von Braun would become the Director of the Marshall Space Flight Center. In 1969, the same year man landed on the moon, he testified at the West German consulate in New Orleans in a war crimes case of three men being tried in Germany.²¹ An AP video of von Braun from the consulate shows him shaking hands with officials and smiling at journalists before being led into another larger space.²² Of the V-2 rocket factory, Michael J. Neufeld writes, “...he admitted that he had seen the underground sleeping accommodations once, probably ‘in the summer.’”²³ He managed to avoid returning to Germany for the case, citing his obligations to the American space program.

Director von Braun died of cancer on June 16, 1977, at the age of 65. Today in Huntsville, Alabama, an entire complex of buildings is named for the Director at Redstone Arsenal, a US. Army Post home to 16 organizations including the Marshall Space Flight Center and the Missile Defense Agency. There he is celebrated as a scientist, someone

who had a dream and was capable of making that dream come true. As such, he joins the many figures before him, the half-heroes-half-villains, that define the never-ending, expansionist American quest for the frontier.

Devin Villacis is a Master of Public Diplomacy candidate at the University of Southern California expected to graduate in 2020. In 2014 she received her Bachelor’s Degree in History with a minor in Photography from Duke University. There she was also inducted into Phi Alpha Theta, the History Honor Society. She spent the four years after her graduation at the ABC National News headquarters in New York, before moving to Los Angeles where she continues to freelance for the west coast bureau. Her interests in Public Diplomacy range from program evaluation to the effects of cyber power in the international space. Devin hopes to be able to continue learning after USC while working in the corporate social responsibility sector.

Berlin Wall: A Wall in People's Hearts and Minds?

Julia Schäfer

For 28 years, two months, and 27 days, the Berlin Wall divided not only a city but a country and the whole world into the Eastern and Western hemisphere. It divided the German people with locals calling the easterners “Ossis” and the westerners “Wessis.”

The Berlin Wall is an example of how monuments are used by governments in public diplomacy to propagate their agenda. However, it is also an example of the ability people have to take back such monuments and turn them into symbols of freedom and peaceful revolution.

On a world stage, it was known as a symbol of the Cold War, the physical manifestation of the ideological differences Churchill referred to as the Iron Curtain. On a national level, it symbolized the limitation of fundamental civil freedoms, as a whole population got locked in by its own government overnight. For the families of the people trying to escape the oppressive regime of the German Democratic Republic, the Wall was a symbol of tragedy, as over 100 people were assassinated attempting to flee.

What once was 103 miles of fortified and concrete steel, 13 to 15 feet high, topped with razor wire, set with hundreds of watchtowers, gun emplacements, and explosive mines, is nowadays the most extended open-air set of paintings known as the world famous “East Side Gallery.” All of the 106 paintings, made by 118 artists from 21 countries, document a time of change and express the euphoria and great hopes for a better, more free future for all people of the world.

One of the paintings, which shows the struggle in dealing with the past and moving into the future as a united Germany, is called “World People. We are one People,” by Schamil Gimajew. The title refers to the slogan of the peaceful revolution which led to the German Reunification in 1990. It plays with the idea of the world being “in between” during that time period by using text in German and Russian languages to state that Berlin was between war and peace,

freedom and slavery, ultimately dividing Germans from Germans. But it also points out the values all people in the world share like music, happiness, joy, and love.

Even though the Berlin Wall was only fortified for one generation, it shaped the life of many generations ahead. In 2012—more than 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall—the average net income of a household in Eastern Germany amounted to 76% of the Western standard. Such economic and cultural differences between East and West Germany led to a “wall in people's hearts and minds.” Even after more than 28 years, Germany is reunited as a country but not as people.

The Berlin Wall is also a warning to not take our rights and freedoms for granted. We should critically ask ourselves, are the walls we build to protect ourselves really necessary? More than 240 segments of the Berlin Wall currently stand all over the world to remind people that peaceful change is possible. It is a symbol of hope for every person who might not yet be able to overcome the walls and obstacles in their lives.



Copyright Schamil Gimajew

Julia Schäfer is a progressive legal trainee who works with the General Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in Los Angeles. She believes that law is a tool to change society. Julia has worked for KPMG, the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany in Berlin and Law Departments of the State Parliaments of Berlin and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. She holds a law degree with a specialization in European Union and Public International Law from Humboldt-University in Berlin and studied at Katholieke Universiteit in Leuven, Belgium. Julia is an ambitious soccer player.

USC's Master of Public Diplomacy Class of 2019 student profiles are featured to highlight some of the quality scholarship and leadership leaving USC and heading into the world to be changemakers.

MPD 2019

Dena Taha was Co-Chair of the Eleventh Annual Master of Public Diplomacy Conference, Reconstructing National Identity Post-Conflict: An Examination of Public Diplomacy Methods. The conference was broken down to three panels: Collective Remembering, Moving Forward, Creating a New Identity, and Identity Transcending Borders, through which the panelists explored the nation branding efforts of post-conflict countries, and whether or not they have been successful. Through the lens of six countries –Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Colombia, Iraq, Armenia, and Vietnam – the closing consensus was there is no one solution or method that countries should follow to rebrand themselves, but it is vital to truly understand the historical and cultural context of the conflict when trying to do so.

Her interest in nation branding went beyond post-conflict nations and led her to study the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's rebranding efforts, a novel field that has not been explored in depth yet. Her paper gives an overview of the rise of digital diplomacy and its use for nation branding in the Kingdom, with a focus on the tourism sector and destination branding, and provides some recommendations for Saudi Arabia moving forward with its nation branding efforts

Dena Taha is a USC Master of Public Diplomacy. During her time at USC she served as Communications Chair of the Society of Public Diplomats. Her areas of interest include global communications, nation branding, tech and science diplomacy, and the Middle East.

-

Kerry Velez was Co-Chair of the Eleventh Annual Master of Public Diplomacy Conference, Reconstructing National Identity Post-Conflict: An Examination of Public Diplomacy Methods. Through panel discussions-Collective Remembering, Moving Forward, Creating a New Identity, and Identity Transcending Borders- the conference explored how and if countries can rebrand from war. Through the lens of six countries-Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Colombia, Iraq, Armenia and Vietnam- the closing consensus was there is no one solution or method that countries should follow to rebrand but it is vital to truly understand the historical and cultural context of the conflict, encourage or set-up centers for reconciliation and psychology, and to understand that it will be a decades-long process.

Kerry Velez is a USC Master of Public Diplomacy Fall 2018 Graduate and a Senior Communications Associate at Marathon Strategies in Washington, D.C. During her time at USC, she was a USC Center on Public Diplomacy Graduate Fellow and President of the Society of Public Diplomats. Her public diplomacy areas of interest include Bosnia and Herzegovina reconstruction, nation branding, tech policy, corporate diplomacy, and U.S. diplomacy.

-

Brooke Adams is a Master of Public Diplomacy (USC '19) with a B.A. in English Literature from Azusa Pacific University. Brooke has worked with community development projects in Mexico, South Africa, and Uganda, and has participated in study abroad programs in South Africa and Thailand. This international experience has led to a passion for empowering others to create lasting change. Brooke uses storytelling to advocate for the development of programs related to poverty alleviation. She is the Project Manager & Global Engagement Coordinator for Health Together, a public health education initiative in Uganda, implementing health education programming in a private clinic and school with local partners for the purpose of preventing disease. Brooke is pursuing opportunities in international development, specifically in Africa.

Brooke will be traveling across the US this summer with a travel grant from GRAFT Lab, a German-based architecture firm, telling stories of people unbuilding walls where they are at. From differences in religion, race, socioeconomic status, or political view—to name a few—she will explore how people have overcome these divides. Follow her journey at: wildlikewind.com or on Instagram [@unbuildinghere](https://www.instagram.com/unbuildinghere).

ENDNOTES

POLICY

Monumental Missed Opportunities? | Leah Fiddler

1. McArthur, J. & Zhang, C. (2018). Who is talking about the UN Sustainable Development Goals? *Brookings*. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/06/14/who-is-talking-about-the-un-sustainable-development-goals/>
2. Lamper, M. & Papadongonas, P. (2016). Towards 2030 Without Poverty. *Glocalities*. Retrieved from <http://www.bistandsdebatten.se/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Towards-2030-without-poverty-Glocalities2016.pdf>
3. Pamment, J. (2015). The PD Opportunity of a Generation. *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*. Retrieved from <https://www.uscpubdiplomacy.org/blog/pd-opportunity-generation>
4. UN News Centre (2015). Sustainable Development Goals kick off with start of new year. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/12/sustainable-development-goals-kick-off-with-start-of-new-year/>

Defining Monumental Development: Locally Led Health Education in Uganda | Brooke Adams

1. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2019). CDC in Uganda. <https://www.cdc.gov/globalhealth/countries/uganda/default.htm>
2. WHO. (2018). Country cooperation strategy Uganda. Retrieved from https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/136975/ccsbrief_uga_en.pdf?sequence=1
3. United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2019). Uganda–Global health. Retrieved from <https://www.usaid.gov/uganda/global-health>

Enough is Enough: New Zealand's Prime Minister Takes Action | Terri D. Austin

1. Saldivia, G. (2019). Number Of Dead Rises To 50 In New Zealand Mass Shooting. *NPR*. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2019/03/16/704133810/number-of-dead-rises-to-50-in-new-zealand-mass-shooting>
2. The New York Times (2019). ‘There Will Be Changes’ to Gun Laws, New Zealand Prime Minister Says. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/17/world/asia/new-zealand-shooting.html>
3. Horton, A. (2019). With strobe lights and guns bearing

neo-Nazi slogans, New Zealand gunman plotted a massacre. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/03/15/with-strobe-lights-guns-bearing-neo-nazi-slogans-new-zealand-gunman-plotted-massacre/?utm_term=.f3d8ad3d1c24

4. Saldivia, G. (2019). Number Of Dead Rises To 50 In New Zealand Mass Shooting. *NPR*. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2019/03/16/704133810/number-of-dead-rises-to-50-in-new-zealand-mass-shooting>
5. Christchurch City Council (n.d.). Heritage and its importance. Retrieved from <https://www.ccc.govt.nz/culture-and-community/heritage/heritage-and-its-importance/>
6. Morrow, B. (2019). YouTube promises to take a 'hard look' at its harassment policies amid backlash. *The Week*. Retrieved from <https://theweek.com/speedreads/832603/new-pancreatic-cancer-drug-regimen-shows-impressive-results-clinical-trial>
7. Fifield, A. (2019). New Zealand's prime minister receives worldwide praise for her response to the mosque shootings. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/03/18/new-zealands-prime-minister-wins-worldwide-praise-her-response-mosque-shootings/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.7d2d8d57a583
8. Borowski, N. (2019). 4 things to know about Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's prime minister. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2019/03/21/new-zealand-prime-minister-jacinda-ardern-leads-after-mosque-killings-christchurch/3231942002/>
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Calamur, K. (2017). Australia's Lessons on Gun Control. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/australia-gun-control/541710/>
13. New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade (n.d.). Australia. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/australia/>
14. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jacinda-Ardern>
15. <https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Asia-and-Oceania/New-Zealand-RELIGIONS.html>
16. Wallenfelt, J. (2019). Jacinda Ardern. *Encyclopaedia*

Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jacinda-Ardern>

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ministry of Culture and Heritage. (2018). Jacinda Ardern. Retrieved from <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/jacinda-ardern>
20. Gun Violence Archive (2019). General Methodology. Retrieved from <https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/methodology>
21. Itkowitz, C. (2015). Congress, campaigns, health policy, Pennsylvania politics. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/inspired-life/wp/2015/12/03/president-obamas-right-americans-might-be-growing-numb-to-mass-shootings-heres-why/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8c49d362c1aa
22. Gun Violence Archive (2019). General Methodology. Retrieved from <https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/methodology>
23. United States Census Bureau (2019). U.S. and World Population Clock. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/popclock/>
24. Williams, A. (2018). Have your representatives in Congress received donations from the NRA? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/nra-donations/?utm_term=.15f862114209
25. Mason, J. & Gardner, T. Trump backs effort to improve gun background checks. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-shooting-idUSKCN1G31K6>
26. Savage, C. (2018). Trump Administration Imposes Ban on Bump Stocks. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/18/us/politics/trump-bump-stocks-ban.html>
27. Williams, A. (2018). Have your representatives in Congress received donations from the NRA? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/nra-donations/?utm_term=.15f862114209
28. Borowski, N. (2019). 4 things to know about Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's prime minister. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2019/03/21/new-zealand-prime-minister-jacinda-ardern-leads-after-mosque-killings-christchurch/3231942002/>

PEOPLE

PHYSICAL

Monument and Memory: Spain's Valley of the Fallen | Jacqueline Sheean

1. Europa Press. (2018). Pedro Sánchez renuncia a hacer un museo de la Memoria en el Valle de los Caídos y opta por dejarlo como cementerio civil.

The Monuments of My Ancestors | Frank Vram Zerunyan

1. The Government of the Republic of Armenia (2019). General Information. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.am/en/official/>
 2. Demytrie, R. (2018). Why Armenia ‘Velvet Revolution’ won without a bullet fired. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43948181>
 3. Erebuni Historical and Archeological Museum-Reserve (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.erebuni.am/index.php?lang=en>
 4. History.com Editors (2019). Ancient Rome. *History*. Retrieved from https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-history/ancient-rome#section_1
 5. Yeghern, M. (2015). The Murder of a Nation. *Armenian Genocide Museum of America*. Retrieved from <http://www.armeniangenocidemuseum.org/#dn>
 6. Erebuni Historical and Archeological Museum-Reserve (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.erebuni.am/index.php?lang=en>
 7. Erebuni Historical and Archeological Museum-Reserve (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.erebuni.am/index.php?lang=en>
 8. WorldAtlas.com (2019). UNESCO World Heritage Sites In Armenia. Retrieved from <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/unesco-world-heritage-sites-in-armenia.html>
 9. U.S. Department of State (2018). 2017 Report on International Religious Freedom. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2017-report-on-international-religious-freedom/>
 10. Bedrosyan, R. (2011). Setting the Record Straight: List of Churches in Turkey. *The Armenian Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://armenianweekly.com/2011/08/23/setting-the-record-straight-list-of-churches-in-turkey/>
- The Little House Where California Was Born** | Alexis Cruz
1. Abella, A. (2015). California, it's time to dump the Bear Flag. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0614-abella-bear-flag-20150614->

story.html

2. Meares, H. (2014). In a State of Peace and Tranquility: Campo de Cahuenga and the Birth of American California. *KCET*. Retrieved from <https://www.kcet.org/history-society/in-a-state-of-peace-and-tranquility-campo-de-cahuenga-and-the-birth-of-american>

3. Department of Recreation and Parks (n.d.). The Campo De Cahuenga. Retrieved from <https://www.laparks.org/historic/campo-de-cahuenga>

4. Chou, E. (2019). Historical moment at the end of Mexican American War to be re-enacted at North Hollywood's Campo de Cahuenga. *Los Angeles Daily News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dailynews.com/2019/01/11/historical-moment-at-the-end-of-mexican-american-war-to-be-re-enacted-at-north-hollywoods-campo-de-cahuenga/>

The Center of Our City, Los Pobladores: A Monument to Los Angeles' First Families | Jasmine Kolano

1. City of Los Angeles (2019). History. *Historical Monument: El Pueblo de Los Angeles*. Retrieved from <https://elpueblo.lacity.org/history>

2. Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation (2019). Regions and Cities of LA County. Retrieved from <https://laedc.org/wtc/chooselacounty/regions-of-la-county/>

3. Lindsey, R. (1981). California Becomes Melting Pot of 1980's. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/08/23/us/california-becomes-melting-pot-of-1980-s.html>

4. Trinidad, E. (2014). September 1981 – Los Angeles Celebrates its Bicentennial. *KCET*. Retrieved from <https://www.kcet.org/kcet-50th-anniversary/september-1981-los-angeles-celebrates-its-bicentennial>

5. Oliver, M. (2000). William Mason; California Historian, Author. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-nov-25-me-57012-story.html>

6. Mason, W. M. (2004). Los Angeles Under The Spanish Flag: Spain's New World. *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California*, 3, 5.

7. Discover Los Angeles (2019). Historical Timeline of Los Angeles. *Los Angeles*. Retrieved from <https://www.discoverlosangeles.com/things-to-do/historical-timeline-of-los-angeles>

8. Waksman, K. (2018). Top Countries That Import U.S. Products by Dollar Value. *The Balance*. Retrieved from <https://www.thebalancesmb.com/top-countries-that-import-u-s-products-3502316>

9. City of Los Angeles (2019). History. *Historical Monument: El Pueblo de Los Angeles*. Retrieved from <https://elpueblo.lacity.org/history>

Slouching Beasts: The Question of Confederate Monuments | Chandra Manning

1. "Address, 1899," Folder 21: Addresses, 1896-1899, Scans 134-150, Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers #141, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

2. Julian S. "Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University. June 2, 1913" Folder 26: Addresses, 1912-1914, Scans 93-112, Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers #141, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. For addresses at other locations around the state, see, for example, Folder 22, Addresses, 1900-1902.

3. Bevel, F. (2017). White Supremacy is a Global Export of the Confederate South. *Quartz*. Retrieved from <https://qz.com/989922/new-orleans-has-removed-its-confederate-statues-but-white-supremacys-legacy-is-harder-to-undo/>

4. See Silber, N. (2017). Worshiping the Confederacy is about White Supremacy—Even the Nazis Thought So. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/08/17/worshiping-the-confederacy-is-about-white-supremacy-even-the-nazis-thought-so/?utm_term=.1254407b4abe

5. Stephens, A. (1861). Cornerstone Speech [Speech]. Retrieved from <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cornerstone-speech/>

6. Southern Poverty Law Center (2019). Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy. Retrieved from <https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy#executive-summary>

7. Landrieu, M. (2017). Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans [Transcript]. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html?_r=0

8. Matebeni, Z. (2018). #RhodesMustFall – It was Never Just About the Statue. *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*. Retrieved from <https://za.boell.org/2018/02/19/rhodesmustfall-it-was-never-just-about-statue>

9. Hirsch, A. (2017). Toppling statues? Here's why Nelson's column should be next. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/22/toppling-statues-nelsons-column-should-be-next-slavery>
National Parks are Truly "America's Best Idea" | Mayra Skotte

1. National Park Service (2019). International Designations. Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/glac/learn/management/international-designations.htm>

2. Thomas, I. & Mow, J. (n.d.). Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. *NaturalResourcePolicy.org*. Retrieved from http://naturalresourcespolicy.org/docs/Hands%20Across%20Borders/TBC%20Profiles/TBC%20Profile_Waterton%20Glacier%20International%20Peace%20Park_Freimund.pdf

3. Devlin, M. (2016). Border crossings: Conservationists from around the globe gather in Glacier. *Missoulian*. Retrieved from https://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/border-crossings-conservationists-from-around-the-globe-gather-in-glacier/article_f3fba75a-385f-5f4e-961a-b4fa15fae7c8.html

4. U.S. Travel Association (2016). Study: More Overseas Visitors Choosing U.S. National Parks. Retrieved from <https://www.ustravel.org/press/study-more-overseas-visitors-choosing-us-national-parks>

5. National Park Service (2019). Climate Change. Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/glac/learn/nature/climate-change.htm>

Monuments to Mobility in an Urban Era | Ian Lundy

1. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2018). 68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html>

2. Romo, V. (2019). Pedestrian Deaths Reach Highest Level In Decades, Report Says. *NPR*. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2019/02/28/699195211/pedestrian-deaths-reach-highest-level-in-decades-report-says>

3. Dudley, D. (2016). The Cities That Saved Lives With Protected Bike Lanes. *CityLab*. Retrieved from <https://www.citylab.com/transportation/2016/11/why-protected-bike-lanes-save-lives/508436/>

4. Schmitt, A. (2015). How Much Can Bicycling Help Fight Climate Change? A Lot, If Cities Try. *StreetsBlog USA*. Retrieved from <https://usa.streetsblog.org/2015/11/18/how-much-can-bicycling-help-fight-climate-change-a-lot-if-cities-try/>

5. City of New York (2019). Vision Zero. Retrieved from <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/visionzero/index.page>;
City of Los Angeles (n.d.). Vision Zero: Los Angeles 2020-2025. Retrieved from <http://visionzero.lacity.org/>

6. Smith, N. (2019). Why is Los Angeles so Dangerous for Cyclists? *U.S. News*. Retrieved from <https://www.usnews.com/news/cities/articles/2019-03-21/los-angeles-struggles-to>

curb-cyclist-pedestrian-deaths

7. Ho, V. (2018). Stolen, burned, tossed in the lake: E-scooters face vandals' wrath. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/dec/28/scooters-california-oakland-los-angeles-bird-lime>

8. Linton, J. (2018). Santa Monica Installs In-Street E-Scooter Parking Corrals. *StreetsBlog LA*. Retrieved from <https://la.streetsblog.org/2018/11/08/santa-monica-installs-in-street-e-scooter-parking-corrals/>

Wernher von Braun: American Hero or German Villain? | Devin Villacis

1. Wilson, G. (2010). *American Dreams, American Realities* [Lecture]. Retrieved from Duke University.

2. Jacobson, A. (2014). *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program that Brought Nazi Scientists to America*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

3. Smith, D. (2014). Seventy years on, Antwerp remembers the V-bomb. *Flanders Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.flanderstoday.eu/living/seventy-years-antwerp-remembers-v-bomb>

4. The Universal Archives (1946). *Universal Newsreels 1946: Part 5*. Retrieved from <http://www.aparchive.com/metadata/Universal-Newsreels-1946-Part-5/29dca68365356b37c0d3b6ba26df98fb>

5. Interagency Working Group (2016). Records of the Secretary of Defense (RG 330). *National Archives*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/iwg/declassified-records/rg-330-defense-secretary>

6. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (1975). Department of Justice Involvement in "Operation Paperclip" and the Space Program. *National Archives*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/atlanta/exhibits/item452-full.html>

7. Ibid.

8. Lichtblau, E. (2014). In Cold War, U.S. Spy Agencies Used 1,000 Nazis. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/27/us/in-cold-war-us-spy-agencies-used-1000-nazis.html>

9. Ruffner, K. (2006). Declassified Working Draft: Nazi War Crimes Research Report. *Central Intelligence Agency*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/NAZI%20WAR%20CRIMES%20RESEARCH%20REPORT%20%20%28K.%20RUFFNER%29_0001.pdf

10. Interagency Working Group (2016). Records of the Secretary of Defense (RG 330). *National Archives*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/iwg/declassified-records/rg->

330-defense-secretary

11. MSFC History Office (n.d.). Dr. Wernher von Braun: First Center Director, July 1, 1960-Jan. 27, 1970. *Marshall Space Flight Center*. Retrieved from <https://history.msfc.nasa.gov/vonbraun/bio.html>

12. Wilford, J. N. (1977). Wernher von Braun, Rocket Pioneer, Dies. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/06/18/archives/wernher-von-braun-rocket-pioneer-dies-wernher-von-braun-pioneer-in.html>

13. Jacobson, A. (2014). *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program that Brought Nazi Scientists to America*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

14. Curtis, W. B. Corpses of victims lay on the straw floor of a barrack in the Nordhausen concentration camp [Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1174243>

15. Chang, A. et al. (Producer). (2014 February 15). All Things Considered: The Secret Operation To Bring Nazi Scientists To America. *NPR*. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2014/02/15/275877755/the-secret-operation-to-bring-nazi-scientists-to-america>

16. Jacobson, A. (2014). *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program that Brought Nazi Scientists to America*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

17. Wilford, J. N. (1977). Wernher von Braun, Rocket Pioneer, Dies. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/06/18/archives/wernher-von-braun-rocket-pioneer-dies-wernher-von-braun-pioneer-in.html>

18. Roberts, S. (2016). Wernher von Braun, Rocket Pioneer With a Dark Past. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/cp/obituaries/archives/wernher-von-braun>.

19. Walt Disney Timeline. (2018). *The Walt Disney Family Museum*. Retrieved from: https://www.waltdisney.org/sites/default/files/Walt%20Disney%20Timeline_0.pdf

20. Marshall Space Flight Center History Office. (1993). The Disney-Von Braun Collaboration and Its Influence on Space Exploration. Retrieved from https://history.msfc.nasa.gov/vonbraun/disney_article.html#32

21. Neufield, M. J. (2002). Wernher von Braun, the SS, and Concentration Camp Labor: Questions of Moral, Political, and Criminal Responsibility. *German Studies Review*, 25 (1), 57-58. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1433245?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

22. AP Television. (1969). US VON BRAUN. *The Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.aparchive.com/metadata/>

US-VON-BRAUN/1621390daeca75c87cd7544b9694a9a6

23. Neufield, M. J. (2002). Wernher von Braun, the SS, and Concentration Camp Labor: Questions of Moral, Political, and Criminal Responsibility. *German Studies Review*, 25 (1), 57-58. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1433245?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

PACIFICCOUNCIL.ORG

Pacific  Council
ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Join the global affairs
conversation on the West Coast



EDITORIAL POLICY

Authors interested in contributing to *Public Diplomacy Magazine* should contact the editorial board about their proposals. Articles submitted to *Public Diplomacy Magazine* are reviewed by the editorial board, composed entirely of graduate students enrolled in the Master of Public Diplomacy program at the University of Southern California. Articles are evaluated based on relevance, originality, prose, and argumentation.

The Editor-in-Chief, in consultation with the editorial board, holds final authority for accepting or refusing submissions for publication. Authors are responsible for ensuring accuracy of their statements. The editorial staff will not conduct fact checks, but will edit submissions for basic formatting and stylistic consistency. Editors reserve the right to make changes.

Public Diplomacy Magazine seeks contributions for each themed issue based on a structured solicitation system. Copyright of published articles remains with the *Public Diplomacy Magazine* editorial board. No article in its entirety or parts thereof may be published in any form without proper citation credit.

ABOUT PD MAGAZINE

Public Diplomacy Magazine is a student-run publication of the Association of Public Diplomacy Scholars (APDS) at the University of Southern California, with support from the USC Center on Public Diplomacy and the Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism.

Its unique mission is to provide a common forum for the views of both scholars and practitioners from around the globe, in order to explore key concepts in the study and practice of public diplomacy. *Public Diplomacy Magazine* is published annually in print and on the web at www.publicdiplomacymagazine.com.

ABOUT SPD

The Society of Public Diplomats (SPD) is the nation's first student-run organization in the field of public diplomacy. It aims to further develop the field of public diplomacy through research, events, and community building.

The organization is a resource of public diplomacy knowledge for students with a budding or extensive interest in the field. Participation with this organization gives students access to insider resources on how to find public diplomacy internships, navigate public diplomacy in the digital age, launch a public diplomacy career, and dispel disinformation.

The Society of Public Diplomats has a strong connection with the Master of Public Diplomacy program at USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism; however, it is open to all students in any USC program, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Facebook: @USCSPD | Twitter: @USC_SPD

