



**FLUX** INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS  
REVIEW

## LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*Flux* operates out of Montreal, located on the traditional territory of the Kanien'keha:ka, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. The Kanien'keha:ka are the keepers of the Eastern Door of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. In writing about political science and international relations we strive to incorporate diverse voices and bear in mind the forces, including (neo) colonialism, which have shaped the way we understand international relations. We encourage all readers to inform themselves on and actively resist, in the diverse forms that resistance can take, (neo) colonialism in Canada and abroad.

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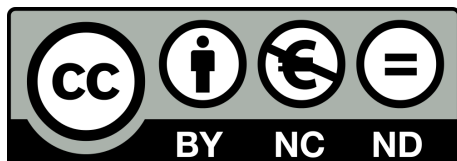
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Volume 9 Flux: International Relations Review

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# FOREWORD

I am honoured to introduce the first ever mini-journal for *Flux*, Volume 9. The mini-journal contains the abstracts for the 13 articles which make up Volume 9. You can find the full articles on our website [fluxirr.mcgill.ca](http://fluxirr.mcgill.ca) and at [irsam.com/flux](http://irsam.com/flux). This volume covers a breadth of international relations issues, from migration to classical analysis of conflicts, to discussion of international relations theory and the international economy.

Our editorial team has worked all year to produce, for the first time, two issues in one year, they have been supported by our peer reviewers and copyeditors. Each team of editors and authors worked tirelessly during midterm season to prepare polished, clear, and thorough academic pieces, whose abstracts are showcased here. Furthermore, our graphic designers have also worked to create a creative and

professional aesthetic to present the work. I extend many thanks to all of them for their time and effort to make this volume our best yet.

I would also like to thank Alexandra Kohn, Jennifer Lynne Innes, and Jessica Lange at the McGill Library for their help with developing our licensing policy and work on helping us move to the Online Journal System. Thank you also to our faculty advisor Vincent Pouliot for bearing with the journal and supporting our work for the past years. Thank you to SSMU for providing funding for us to print the mini-journal. Last, I would like to thank IRSAM and the Board of Directors and our sister publication, the *McGill International Review* (Online), for their continued support.

I hope you find the papers as insightful as I did and that they inspire you to seek out more international relations literature.

Marie Fester  
Editor-in-Chief

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Marie Fester

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# Willful Blindness: Franco-American Relations and Escalation of the Vietnam War

*Olivier Bergeron-Boutin*

HIST 438: Topics in Cold War History

## **Author's Note**

*Archival research on American involvement in the Vietnam War provided me with an insight into diplomacy that grand theories of international relations often neglect: decision-makers are, at the end of the day, individuals with unique characters, motives, and cognitive strategies in the face of uncertainty. Delving into the day-to-day communications between American and French diplomats at the height of the Cold War highlighted the vulnerability of human reason to a variety of biases and, quite depressingly, the plain incompetence of some officials. I thank Professor Lorenz Lüthi for his judicious advice on this topic and for his repeated exhortations to take the power of individuals seriously in the study of international relations.*

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The long and stable Franco-American diplomatic rapport was undermined throughout the American escalation of the Vietnam War. This paper specifically examines French President Charles de Gaulle's increasing discontent at his ally's involvement in Southeast Asia and analyzes the decisions of successive American presidents to ignore him. Beginning in 1961, with the inauguration of American President John F. Kennedy, the paper proceeds chronologically to 1964, by which point transatlantic relations had worsened considerably as a result of de Gaulle's growing confrontation of the Indochina question. Using archival diplomatic documents from both countries, this paper seeks to explain why the United States government refused to comply with De Gaulle's requests. This paper makes two main conclusions: American policy makers were willfully blind to their ally's suggestions and the French proposal for the neutralization of Vietnam was not realistic. These findings are supported by various policy decisions made leading up to the war, relying heavily on primary sources to demonstrate the failings of both the French proposal and the American willingness to consider the perspective of a crucial ally.

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*Edited by Hannah Drinkell and Liz Wagner*

# Proxy Warfare's Effect on Securitization: the Case of Saudi-Iranian Rivalry

*Pauline Crepy*

POLI 360: War and Peace

## **Author's Note**

*My paper analyzed the current rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran which has aggravated the region's never-ending cycle of persistent authoritarianism, militia violence, and sectarianism. By studying the rivalry's impact in Yemen and Syria, I explore the strategy of proxy warfare employed by the rivals and how that has led to the sectarianization of the Middle East. I find that proxy warfare has fortified the sectarian shift within the region and has increased the risk of confrontational war between Saudi Arabia and Iran, by exacerbating already-existing religious strains across the region. Writing and researching this paper wouldn't have been possible without the guidance of Professor Daniel Douek. Many thanks in believing in me and for being such a fantastic professor!*

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**T**he Saudi Arabian and Iranian rivalry has torn the Middle East apart, aggravating the region's struggles concerning persistent authoritarianism, militia violence, and sectarian tensions. This paper explores the impact of proxy warfare on sectarianization by studying the case of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry in both Syria and Yemen.



It analyses the reasons for using the proxy warfare as a means to further assert rival dominance in the Middle East and examines how the rivals use existing sectarian tensions to further their cause, leading to further division. The paper finds that proxy warfare has fortified the sectarian rift in the Middle East, increasing the risk of confrontational war between Saudi Arabia and Iran and exacerbating already existing religious strains across the region.

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*Edited by Cassandra Moschella and Madeleine Northfield*

# From the Bush to the Office: Renamo's Sustained Support Base During and After the Mozambique Civil War

*Suraiya Foss-Phillips*

POLI 360: War and Peace

## **Author's Note**

*This paper is about popular support for the National Mozambique Resistance (Renamo) party during and after the Mozambican Civil War. Since this is a party which has commonly been dismissed as a foreign-managed terrorist group, I wanted to look closer at some of the reasons behind its survival during the war as well as into an age of democracy. In comparison with the portrayal of contemporary terrorist groups, the tendency to demonize and over-simplify is very much still the norm, but understanding the deeper reasons for participation in mass violence remains crucial especially in our age.*

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**T**he Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) is commonly understood as a Cold War-era puppet terrorist group that was intent on destabilizing the nascent socialist government in Mozambique. Since Mozambique ended one-party rule in 1994, this organization continues to serve as the leading democratic opposition to the majority government of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). This paper argues that, contrary to common understanding, external actors had a limited role in RENAMO's development and success relative to often neglected internal factors.

Through an examination of RENAMO's external support base, its evolution, and its recruitment patterns, as well as popular discontent with FRELIMO, this paper will explain the party's successful transition to democratic politics.

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*Edited by Cassandra Moschella and Alicia Wilson*

# Fishery Depletion and the South China Sea

*Jaymes MacKinnon*

POLI 360: War and Peace

## **Author's Note**

*In lieu of the publication of *Flux*: 2018-19, I would like to thank Eva and Rachel, my kind and dedicated editors, for turning my paper into something worth reading. Infinite thanks to Alyssa Bishop, for always being my second pair of eyes, even for the roughest of drafts. Finally, I would like to sincerely thank Professor Daniel Douek for his willingness to shed light on difficult subjects. There's a reason why so many of the papers in this year's journal are from his classes!*

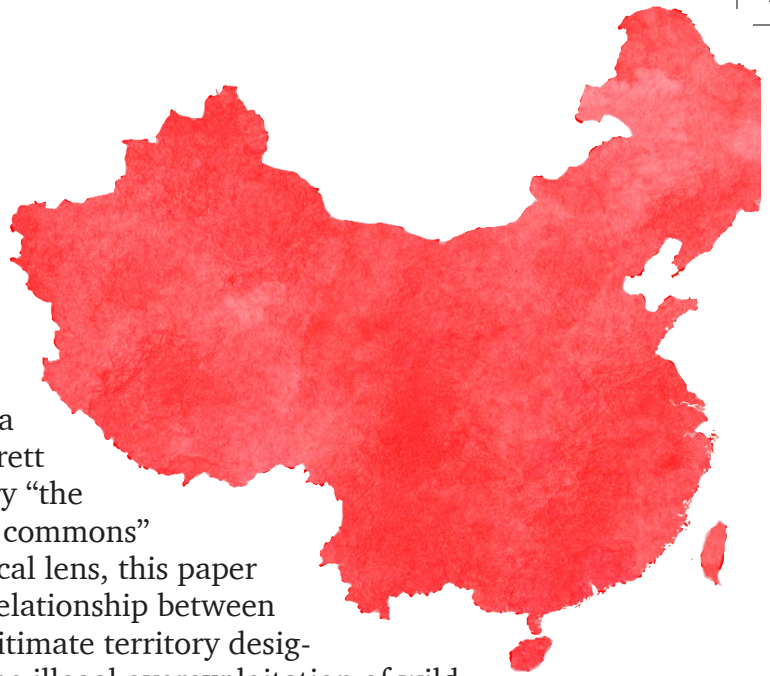
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**F**ishery depletion is a driving force in the militarization of the South China Sea. Using Garrett

Hardin's theory "the tragedy of the commons"

as an analytical lens, this paper explores the relationship between the lack of legitimate territory designations and the illegal overexploitation of wild fish stocks. It argues that China, as the regional hegemon, has triggered conflicts by pursuing an agenda of maritime territorial expansionism. Some Southeast Asian countries, affected by these resource-driven incursions, defend their exclusive economic zones through military buildup. Therefore, the rising violence and decreasing availability of fish force some non-commercial fishermen to pursue piracy as an alternate form of income. The findings of this paper suggest that increased militarism of the South China Sea has not only predominantly affected the lives of non-commercial fishermen but also negatively impacted the regional environmental health. In the future, without multilateral resource management, this militarization will only worsen.



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*Edited by Ewa Nizalowska and Rachel Nixon*

# Conditional Love and Canada's Care Regime

*Alec Regino*

HIST 397: Canada: Ethnicity, Migration

## Author's Note

*Thank you so much for reading this work. My inspiration for taking on this topic came after reflecting on my own immigration experience. I came to Montréal in 2016. When I connected with the local Filipino community, I found that many moved here to take on work in the care sector. Their stories of sacrifice led me to take the time to learn more about the way a state can invisibly institutionalize prejudice to prey on a population. I hope by examining the history of care work we can reconsider how we conceptualize and treat migrant workers. I'd also like to thank Professor Jennifer Elrick for encouraging my academic interests in this field.*

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ollowing a shift in gendered norms during the latter half of the 20th century, domestic work, and the Canadian Care Regime more generally, has become a sector dominated by migrant women. As migrants, these women lack basic protections by either state involved, making them one of the most vulnerable populations even in developed countries, such as Canada. This paper addresses this precarious reality by undertaking a critical discussion of Canadian public policy. Through a historical lens, it will show how laws and social practices enforced by the state have institutionalized gendered and racial discourses that assign statuses of inferiority to particular groups, specifically that of migrant women. In examining government documents, newspapers, and immigrant novels to outline the evolution of care work in Canada, the paper will demonstrate how the Canadian state, through its political, social and economic practices, continues to reproduce the subservient and exclusionary position of migrant domestic workers for its own benefit.

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*Edited by Kara Anderson and Feodora Chouakri*

# The Safe Third Country Agreement and Global Order

*Zoë Wilkins*

POLI 599 (Internship)

## **Author's Note**

*My work on the Safe Third Country Agreement began while I was interning with the Canadian Council for Refugees. I would like to thank them first and foremost for introducing me to the myriad issues surrounding refugees' rights in Canada, and internationally. Once classes started again at McGill, Professor Megan Bradley supervised my independent study based on my internship, and also taught 'Politics of the International Refugee Regime', which supplemented my independent study. I am incredibly grateful to her for all the support she gave me throughout the term and since.*

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**T**he Safe Third Country Agreement (SCTA) is a bilateral agreement between Canada and the United States that involves the mutual recognition of each party as an effective refugee host. This paper argues that although the agreement appears to be pro-refugee protection, in practice it functions as a non-arrival measure, barring refugees from entering Canada. The paper invokes the English School approach to investigate how both parties use the STCA to capitalize on values of order, while appearing to empower the principles of justice prevalent in international refugee norms. Using SCTA provisions, different theoretical approaches, and a thorough inventory of international refugee regime norms, the analysis seeks to contextualize the SCTA. The paper concludes that civil society's push towards justice and refugee protection forces governments to consider values outside of order, with the potential of addressing both concerns harmoniously.

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# Neoliberalism's Effects on Asian Immigration: A Gender Based Analysis of Systemic Inequality in Canadian Immigration Policy

*Esli Chan*

POLI 499: Honours Thesis

## Author's Note

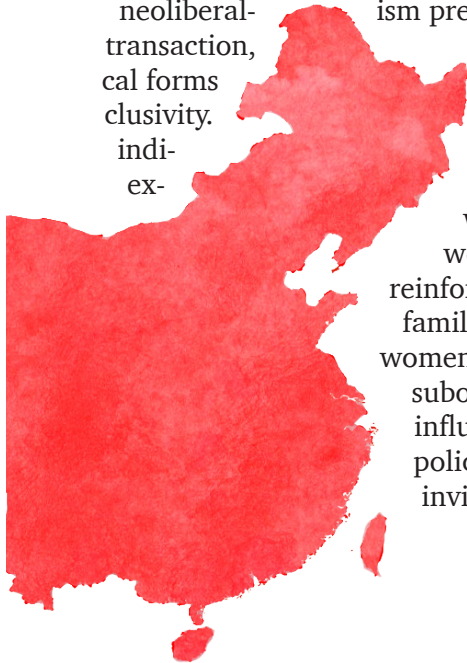
*Canada prides itself on eliminating racialized and gender-based discriminative immigration practices; however, highly inequitable outcomes still persist in ways that work against the migrant women. As a child to immigrant Chinese parents, it is not forgotten to me the complex realities that immigrant women must overcome. The immigrant story is not one that is easy or linear. As we move towards a more inclusive society, our understanding of immigration and multiculturalism must question the ways that race, gender, and sexual orientation intersect in various ways that create barriers or opportunities for Canadians.*

*I'd like to acknowledge my grandmother, 鄭麗珠, who has been the foundation of my family and has inspired me to inquire into my own cultural history and intersecting Canadian-Chinese identities. I'd like to also acknowledge my parents, 彭美玲 and 陳鎮才, who have demonstrated strength and sacrifice in immigrating to Canada to provide my brother and I with a greater future. I'd like to thank my thesis supervisor, Professor Kelly Gordon, who has provided me guidance throughout my studies, and to the Flux team: Marie Fester, Feodora Chouakri, and Cassandra Moschella, for their hard work and dedication.*

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Canada's immigration policy was historically checked with discriminative regulations, namely posing restrictions on potential Asian migrants and their potential path towards citizenship through The 1885 Chinese Immigration Act. In 1967, The Immigration Refugee Protection Regulation ("IRPR") was introduced, claiming to eradicate all explicitly discriminative provisions and provide a new pragmatic point-based system to objectively assess all potential migrants. Despite this shift towards multiculturalism and equality, Canada's immigration regime still continues to reinforce racial and gendered inequalities. This paper argues that the rise of neoliberalism presented immigration as an economic transaction, reproducing and reinforcing historical forms of inequality as subterfuge for inclusivity. A focus on market structures and individualistic points-based assessment exacerbated global oppressions of women in labour, privatizing migrant women into domesticity. IRPR further reinforced heteronormative and traditional family unit, perpetuating the notion that women are predominantly dependents and subordinate to the man. As a result, the influence of neoliberalism on immigrant policy resultantly left immigrant women invisible in the Canadian public sphere.



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# Too Little, Too Late: The Constraining Effect of Traditional Peacekeeping Norms On the UN Protection Forces and its Consequences

*Avery Franken*

POLI 360: War and Peace

## Author's Note

*"The desire to understand the world and the desire to reform it are the two great engines of progress, without which human society would stand still or retrogress."*

*– Bertrand Russell*

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**D**uring the Bosnian War (1992-1995), despite the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), thousands of lives were lost in heinous attacks on Bosnian

Muslims, perpetrated mostly by Bosnian Serbs. Using a constructivist approach, this paper investigates why the United Nations (UN) failed in their mandate to protect the Bosnian people. To do so, it examines the deeply entrenched norms that have traditionally guided UN peacekeeping – namely, impartiality and non-use of force. By tracing the key events that defined the UN's involvement in this conflict in relation to existing theoretical models of norm emergence and evolution, the paper finds that the UN's strict adherence to these principles significantly contributed to their failure to achieve their objectives. This is evidenced by the limited capacity of the UN peacekeepers during the conflict, the swift improvement of conditions following the replacement of UNPROFOR with the NATO-led Implementation Force, and the developments within the UN that ensued in the following years. The paper concludes with potential implications of these findings and suggestions for further research.

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*Edited by Ewa Nizałowska and Maëna Raoux*

# A Narrative of Coercion and Repression: The Impact of the US War on Drugs & Economic Pressure on Peruvian Society

*Sara Gangbar*

POLI 319: Politics of Latin America

## Author's Note

*This paper gave me the opportunity to dig deep into research on the War on Drugs and its implications on the Peruvian coca-producing population. The complex, multi-faceted topic allowed me to analyze the domestic, economic dynamics within this society, as a direct result of a larger fight against communism within the Cold War context. It was fascinating to learn about the experience of small-scale farmers and understand how global foreign affairs affects the individual. I would like to thank Professor Douek for introducing me to Latin American politics and broadening the scope of my academic interests beyond local Canadian politics.*

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**I**n 1971, US President Richard Nixon declared an official War on Drugs at the international level.

This complex campaign sought to shift blame for the proliferation of drug abuse in the US onto coca-leaf producing Latin American countries, like Peru. This paper analyses the way in which the US government applied intense economic pressure to Peru through threatening to retract vital aid, to interfere with the country's internal politics. It emphasizes the anti-communist Cold

War climate which resulted in the aggressive targeting of Peruvian campesinos due to the perception that they were part of the leftists, guerilla group, Sendero Luminoso. The article analyzes the detrimental outcomes of this financial coercion, seen through the uprooting of livelihoods in the eradication of coca crops, mass human rights abuses inflicted onto citizens, and the subsequent sense of distrust in modern Peruvian political institutions.

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*Edited by Kara Anderson and Alicia Wilson*

# Economic Freedom and Citizen Repression were Two Sides of the Same Coin in 1980s Latin America

*Elisabeth Hedström*

POLI 319: Politics of Latin America

## **Author's Note**

*My name is Elisabeth and I am a U2 student in Economics, Political Science with a concentration in Finance. I was thrilled by the opportunity to combine my interests in Latin America and economics when tasked to write this paper exploring the multifaceted impact of Chicago-style neoliberalism on the political development and economic growth of Chile and Argentina in the 1980s. Through the experience of writing and editing this piece, I recognised the importance in considering multiple variables across several cases before coming to grand conclusions about topics in international relations. I hope to continue to refine my comparative and analytical skills in the future through further writing on the intersection of economics, policy and international relations in Latin America.*

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**A**s the Latin American political landscape shifted in the 1970s to include several right-wing and authoritarian juntas, social and economic factors caused these regimes to turn to neoliberalism to stimulate their economies and solidify their power. Over the next three decades, neoliberalism impacted most of the region with differing degrees of penetration and longevity. It will be argued that various actors contributed to the rise of neoliberalism in Chile and Argentina, including each nation's military, key political figures and the University of Chicago's Economics Department. The way in which power was distributed following the coups of Chile and Argentina decisively determined the entrenchment of neoliberal policies in each nation. It was not until the 1980s debt crisis the stark divergences in neoliberalism's effectiveness would come to light as each nation fought to recover. Finally, the region's pattern of economic growth following the crisis will be explored to understand how the legacy of neoliberalism remains intact.

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# Courting Asylum: How Asylum Claimants in Greece are Using Judicial Power to Combat neo-Refoulement and the EU-Turkey Safe Third Country Agreement

*Ender McDuff*

POLI 353: Politics of the International Refugee Regime

## Author's Note

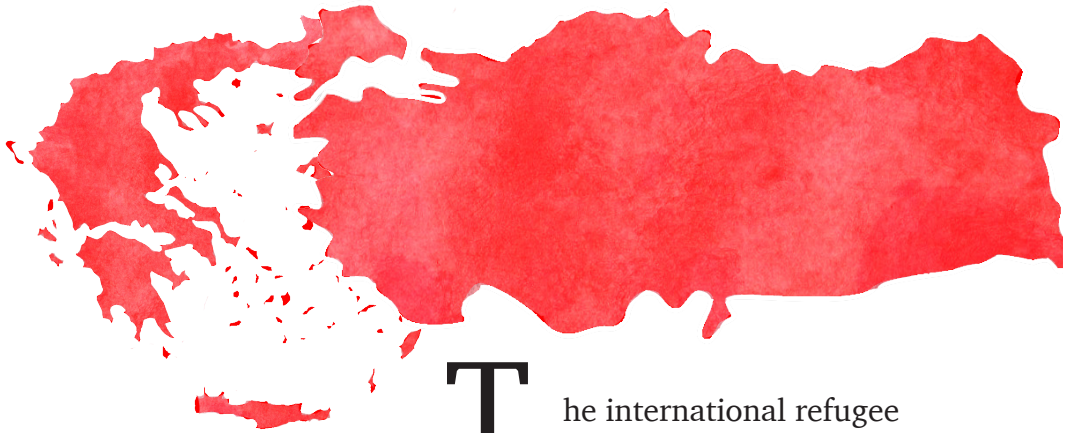
*"In upholding... three rulings, the Committees determined that the unsafe situation in Turkey is not generalized to the extent that every return to Turkey would be prohibited a priori, as instead, individual circumstance remains the deciding factor."*

*Since 1951, the right to seek asylum has been guaranteed under international law. Following the Cold War, however, state executives have increasingly undertaken measures to subvert this right in the name of securitization. "Courting Asylum" explores the place of judicial power in combating these preferences and ensuring the rights of refugees.*

*I chose to write about this topic because, in a world where refugees are increasingly demonized and made vulnerable, it was important for me to study means by which asylum seekers may still avail themselves of their legal rights. In writing this piece, I learned a great deal about the difficulties—both legal and practical—of claiming asylum and acquired a newfound understanding of the complex relationship between politics and law.*

*It was a great joy to write "Courting Asylum" and I thank all who helped me along the way. I hope that all will enjoy the article and perhaps learn something in so doing.*

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**T**he international refugee regime is marked by a widening gap between the constitutional democratic values of countries in the global north and the practices employed by their state executives. While states have committed to the rights of refugees by joining the 1951 Refugee Convention, they have simultaneously subverted the rule of law in the name of security by instituting practices that externalize asylum: neo-refoulement. The purpose of this article is to examine the extent to which judicial power can be used to combat executive practices of neo-refoulement. This article considers asylum claims heard in the Greek appellate court system pertaining to the safe third country agreement between the European Union and Turkey. The article concludes that, under a system of coequal institutions, judicial power and case law harbour the potential for necessitating the consideration of all individual asylum cases effectively disarming practices of neo-refoulement.

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*Edited by Marie Fester and Madeleine Northfield*

# Assessing Systemic Risks in the Chinese Housing Market

*Gordon Milne*

ECON 336: The Chinese Economy

## Author's Note

*I would like to thank Professor Christopher Green for his help in preparing the paper, and for providing countless notes. My work was inspired by a trip to Beijing and Xi'An, China which I organised on behalf of IRSAM through SSUNS. While there, I taught a course on the global economy and financial markets. I also had the chance to briefly visit one of the famed "ghost cities" – a new community just outside of Xi'An – which provided context for my research. For this outstanding opportunity, I thank Bertram Miao, Elaine Chang, and the whole SSUNS and WEMUN team. Without such direct experience with the Chinese economy and culture, I never could have cracked the surface of this topic.*

*Finally, I'd like to thank my editors, Rachel and Hannah, and Marie Fester for stepping out of their comfort zones and taking the challenge to work with me on international economics research. The paper has benefitted immensely from their insight.*

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**A**s prices and vacancy rates skyrocket, the Chinese housing market inspires speculation that a market correction would ripple into a global economic slowdown. This paper draws on available market data and studies the unique aspects of the Chinese housing market to determine whether Chinese home prices are overpriced, and if such a mispricing poses any threat to the global economy. This paper concludes that the social, legal and economic values suggests that prices should be driven down rather than up, pointing to a mispricing in the market. However, this incongruence does not necessarily predict an impending market crash; over time, there is potential for a market correction with appropriate adjustments in the short-, medium- and long-term time scales.

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*Edited by Hannah Drinkell and Rachel Nixon*

# Human Rights: A Cross-Cultural Conception

*Lily Jemima Redpath*

POLI 362: 362 Political Theory and International Relations

## **Author's Note**

*Written for a political theory class during my undergraduate degree, this paper represented a really stimulating combination of my philosophical and political intellectual backgrounds. As an aspiring human rights lawyer, the class was a gratifying exploration into the very foundations of the international human rights corpus, and its plethora of pitfalls. I have always been a strong advocate for the human rights discourse itself, and so it has been crucial for me to understand the failures and prejudices that it has been attributed with in order to fully develop my own opinion. Further, it was so important to me that I used the opportunity to dissect these topics, and then to start putting forward my own propositions. I am so grateful to have been able to work with McGill professors and fellow students to scrutinise both the political content and my own writing. I have to thank my editors, Madeleine Northfield and Rachel Nixon, for their detailed contributions during the process: it has been both a humbling and inspiring experience to evaluate my ideas together.*

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**O**n examining the political theories of John Rawls and Charles Beitz, this paper is a product of the perceived disparities between the idealism of human rights theory and the socio-political failures of the real-time human rights corpus. With both theorists serving as the moral and theoretical foundations of the discourse, the loci of their arguments will be presented and dissected in light of contemporary political attitudes. This paper aims to scrutinise the human rights discourse through the lens I believe to be its most damaging: cultural pluralism and a simultaneous tendency toward (neo)-imperialist attitudes. Moreover, with the current literature failing to provide adequately constructive answers, I have endeavoured to present a compelling commentary on where I believe the necessitating changes lie culturally, attitudinally, and politically. In preserving and upholding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a productive and morally beneficial basis on which to ground this commentary, this paper assumes ‘human rights’ to refer to the articles enshrined in this United Nations’ document. This conception and the attitudes and actions surrounding it have nonetheless incurred significant and warranted criticism, consideration of which prompted the proposed conception that human rights be defined politically as rights to *choose*.

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*Edited by Rachel Nixon and Madeleine Northfield*







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