



AI Superpowers



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We are very proud to present the second edition of The YLJ magazine.

For our return readers; welcome back. We hope you find this edition just as, if not more, insightful than its predecessor.

For those of you less clued up on who we are and what we are trying to do, The YLJ is a platform for students, experts and anyone in between to express their views on today's big issues. The idea being, that through accessing the opinions of others our readers can begin to construct and develop their own opinions and engage in the debates and discussions that have previously been exclusively expert-oriented.

If you enjoy flicking through the pages to follow, I would highly recommend visiting TheYLJ.co.uk where you'll find a host of similar writings as well as the online version of the magazine's first edition.

We are a growing community and are always looking to diversify the opinions that we share. If you have something to say let us help you spread the word. Visit our website and see how you can join our team of over 60 contributing writers under our 'Submit an Article' page.

I would like to thank our sponsors, everyone who contributed to this edition and all those who regularly write for us.

Kindest Regards

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An excerpt from AI Superpowers



Kai-Fu Lee: Dr Lee was the Vice President of Google and President of Google China. He is currently Chairman and CEO of Sinovation Ventures and President of Sinovation Venture's AI Institute. Sinovation Ventures, managing US \$1.8bn dual currency investment fund, is a leading technology-savvy investment firm focusing on developing the next generation of Chinese high-tech companies.

The Real Crises

As [artificial intelligence] washes over the global economy, it will indeed wipe out billions of jobs up and down the economic ladder: accountants, assembly line workers, warehouse operators, stock analysts, quality control inspectors, truckers, paralegals, and even radiologists, just to name a few. Human civilization has in the past absorbed similar technology-driven shocks to the economy, turning hundreds

of millions of farmers into factory workers over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But none of these changes ever arrived as quickly as AI. Based on the current trends in technology advancement and adoption, I predict that within fifteen years, artificial intelligence will technically be able to replace around 40 to 50 percent of jobs in the United States. Actual job losses may end up lagging those technical capabilities by an additional decade, but I

forecast that the disruption to job markets will be very real, very large, and coming soon.

Rising in tandem with unemployment will be astronomical wealth in the hands of the new AI tycoons. Uber is already one of the most valuable startups in the world, even while giving around 75 percent of the money earned from each ride to the driver. To that end, how valuable would Uber become if in the span of a couple of years, the company was able to replace every single human driver with an AI-powered self-driving car? Or if banks could replace all their mortgage lenders with algorithms that issued smarter loans with much lower default rates—all without human interference? Similar transformations will soon play out across industries like trucking, insurance, manufacturing, and retail.



Further concentrating those profits is the fact that AI naturally trends toward winner-take-all economics within an industry. Deep learning's relationship with data fosters a virtuous circle for strengthening the best products and companies: more data leads to better products, which in turn attract more users, who generate more data that further improves the product. That combination of data and cash also attracts the top AI talent to the top companies, widening the gap between industry leaders and laggards. In the past, the dominance of physical goods and limits of geography helped rein in consumer monopolies. (U.S. antitrust laws didn't hurt either.) But going forward, digital goods and services will continue eating up larger shares of the consumer pie, and autonomous trucks and drones will dramatically slash the cost of shipping physical goods. Instead of a dispersion of industry profits across different companies and regions, we will begin to see greater and greater concentration of these astronomical sums in the hands of a few, all while unemployment lines grow longer.

The AI World Order

Inequality will not be contained within national borders. China and the

United States have already jumped out to an enormous lead over all other countries in artificial intelligence, setting the stage for a new kind of bipolar world order. Several other countries—the United Kingdom, France, and Canada, to name a few — have strong AI research labs staffed with great talent, but they lack the venture-capital ecosystem and large user bases to generate the data that will be key to the age of implementation. As AI companies in the United States and China accumulate more data and talent, the virtuous cycle of data-driven improvements is widening their lead to a point where it will become insurmountable. China and the United States are currently incubating the AI giants that will dominate global markets and extract wealth from consumers around the globe. At the same time, AI-driven automation in factories will undercut the one economic advantage developing countries historically possessed: cheap labor. Robot-operated factories will likely relocate to be closer to their customers in large markets, pulling away the ladder that developing countries like China and the “Asian Tigers” of South Korea and Singapore climbed up on their way to becoming high-income, technology-driven economies. The gap between the global haves and have-nots will

widen, with no known path toward closing it. The AI world order will combine winner-take-all economics with an unprecedented concentration of wealth in the hands of a few companies in China and the United States. This, I believe, is the real underlying threat posed by artificial intelligence: tremendous social disorder and political collapse stemming from widespread unemployment and gaping inequality. Tumult in job markets and turmoil across societies will occur against the backdrop of a far more personal and human crisis—a psychological loss of one's purpose. For centuries, human beings have filled their days by working: trading their time and sweat for shelter and food. We've built deeply entrenched cultural values around this exchange, and many of us have been conditioned to derive our sense of self-worth from the act of daily work. The rise of artificial intelligence will challenge these values and threatens to undercut that sense of life-purpose in a vanishingly short window of time. These challenges are momentous but not insurmountable.



Battling the odds to legalise my dream as the first Afghani Sikh barrister



Meeno Chawla: Studying the Bar Professional Training Course part-time at The University of Law and a paralegal at the Crown Prosecution Service.

Why are Equality and Diversity so important at the Bar? What makes the Bar such a unique profession? Equality and diversity are critical for the rule of law and professional legitimacy. Barristers represent everyone, and the Bar should be more representative of society. Given my background and unique life-experiences, I want to be part of that process and hope more ethnic minorities choose to follow a career at the Criminal bar.

I came from Afghanistan in 1995 as an immigrant to England. My parents left Afghanistan due to the civil war to better their lives for themselves and their children. We moved to a new country and needed to adapt to the area and culture. This was challenging, and it still is. My parents did not go to university and I am of the first generation to attend university. Culture plays a huge part in my community and family life

is prioritised over careers, particularly for women. I chose a career in law as I want to use advocacy to engage in work that has a direct impact on the lives of others, because both my family and myself personally have experienced being in a position of vulnerability and disempowerment.

I wasn't considered the brightest at school and was told by a teacher that I should 'reconsider a career in law as I wasn't clever,' but I used this as my motivation to do well at school. I exceeded the grade expectations and surprised myself too. I enjoyed sociology at school, particularly the topic 'crime and deviance,' I was fascinated by why people commit crimes and what the Criminal Justice System does to help them.

I went on to study Law with Criminology at university and enjoyed it very much. This shaped my understanding of the Criminal Justice System, but I wanted to see how it worked in practice. I went to networking events, not only for the free drinks but to find out how other people made it in their careers. I did work experience at the Courts and mini pupillages, which means shadowing barristers and following them around court! All these opportunities gave me a clear insight into the career and helped me shape my understanding of why I wanted to become a barrister. During my final year, I worked on the Innocence Project as a case manager. I worked on a case involving a potential miscarriage of justice for two years. This involved going to prison and

“ I came from Afghanistan in 1995 as an immigrant to England.

conducting a conference with a prisoner who was serving a life sentence for armed robbery. I was exposed to a real case and worked with a client. This was a fantastic experience to be involved with a client so early on at university. This experience was the turning point for me, where I decided that I wanted to become a barrister and be a voice for those who don't possess much knowledge of the legal system.

In my final year, just before my human rights exam, I was a victim of a crime. A drunk intruder barged into my flat and held me and my flat mate hostage for approximately 15 minutes. He made threats to kill and told us if we moved, he would "slit our throats." This sounds like an episode of 'Law and Order', but it was frightening and traumatic. He was arrested, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Upon reflection, apart from the fact that we could have been killed, this also made me question the wider issues as to what the Criminal Justice System does to rehabilitate offenders and if locking them up in prison helps their underlying issues?

After my traumatic experience, I managed to pass my exam with flying colours and graduated with 69.2%, which was near to a first-class degree. I didn't know what I wanted to do

with myself once I graduated and decided to volunteer at a charity, which helped people with their housing and debt claims. Apart from experiencing how law worked in practice, I worked with a range of people and was able to apply my legal knowledge to providing them solutions. Many new graduates don't know how to go about finding their dream job, but I strongly recommend voluntary work. It can really help with getting your foot into the door and all my travel expenses were paid for, which was a bonus. In between working for the charity, I was trying to find paid employment to fund the Bar course. I eventually went on to work for a personal injury law firm as a legal assistant for ten months. Subsequently, I decided, now that I have some 'real work experience' and have saved some money, I should apply for the Bar Professional Training Course, part-time.

A couple of months before the Bar Course began, I was offered a job with the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Working at the CPS taught me a lot about criminal bar as I am sitting in court, watching advocacy and assisting on real cases every day. The main reason why I joined the CPS was to help understand how the Criminal Justice System works and help those who have been victims of crimes, just like myself! However, through my

work at the CPS I have also seen that defendants need a Criminal Justice System, which they can trust, and which ensures they are being represented.

When I started my job at the CPS, I was overwhelmed with the knowledge and the high pressured yet fast paced environment, but I loved every moment of it and still enjoy my job today! I work closely with prosecution barristers in preparation of their cases and assist them in court. The cases have been varied, ranging from smaller but challenging Crown Court trials right up to multiple-defendant, highly serious robberies, human trafficking, rape and attempted murder cases. This job is the closest to showing me what life at the Criminal bar is really like. It is extremely challenging, and a lot of hard work is required but it is also rewarding. I can assure you, every day is stimulating yet fun. I am grateful for the experience, as an Afghan Sikh woman trying to pursue a career at the Bar, I am at the forefront of the Criminal Justice System and gaining the best experience possible.

Being based at court is also an amazing place to network. I was given the opportunity through my work at court to work with Dexter Dias QC as a research assistant on a project in ending violence against women and children, which involved finding

solutions to help eradicate female genital mutilation. Also, I am currently a legal assistant to Jeremy Dein QC and am assisting with periodic legal research and associated tasks.

Networking is mandatory for a career at the bar, not only do professionals share their wealth of knowledge, they can also offer you opportunities, which aren't always advertised.

If you are considering a career at the bar, particularly the criminal bar where your life experience is valued then you should consider options such as working and studying part-time, particularly if you're struggling to fund it. I find working and studying quite challenging but once you have a routine and manage your time then it is possible to succeed. Also, I received the 'Nicholas Pumfrey Memorial Scholarship' from Middle Temple, which was funding towards the Bar Course. There are many options out there, and it is a matter of doing

“ There are approximately 60,000 Afghani Sikhs worldwide, many of whom have left Afghanistan for a better life for themselves and their families.

your research.

I always reflect on my background and the struggle my parents faced to come to this country. There are approximately 60,000 Afghani Sikhs worldwide, many of whom have left Afghanistan for a better life for themselves and their families. Recently, I held a seminar at the local Sikh Gurdwara and spoke to numerous Afghani Sikh women who spoke about their experiences of leaving Afghanistan to improve their lives in England. Although they moved to England, their lack of English language skills, and shortage of financial stability have left them relying on the men in their families. They explained that they didn't have a voice or support and wanted this to change in the community. I

would be considered the first Afghani Sikh female barrister in my community, if I were to be successful. The values of my community have yet to reflect the 21st century and I am determined to be the role model for women and young people who want to make a change.

Along with all the challenges, I am currently in the middle of Bar exams and hope to succeed as a criminal barrister. I was always told by members of the community, I should consider a 9-5 job, which doesn't involve working with dangerous criminals. By choosing a career at the criminal bar there is no guarantee of success, but it is worth the risk. I made it as an immigrant from Afghanistan to a scholar from Middle Temple and with this I hope to inspire women, particularly from ethnic minorities to pursue a career at the criminal bar. I am determined to use my background and experiences to reach my goal as without them I wouldn't be who I am today, and I have every intention of drawing upon my experiences with relentless commitment until my dream is finally realised.



Premier Legal: An insight into in-house law

Jamie Herbert: Head of Legal – Football and Regulatory Services at the Premier League.



The career of the in-house lawyer is one rarely considered by the prospective (or current) law student. It was certainly never at the forefront of my mind when my interest in the law was first developing: there were no stands for in-house legal functions at university law fairs; no frenzied discussion of what in-house position you were applying for in the coffee shops at law school. Instead, it was all about private practice, how many training contract and vacation scheme applications you could bash out in a single weekend, and what freebies were on offer at that law fair. The career I imagined whilst in law school was one of a future broken down into six-minute blocks, training and qualifying at a decent City firm and then working my way up to Partner.

There are perfectly sensible reasons for this. As a student the perception is that salaries will be higher in private practice, the highest quality lawyers remain in private practice and perhaps even that the most high-profile and interesting work lives there (all of these fuelled no doubt by the Graduate Recruitment departments of firms eager to grab the best talent). Looking back 15 years to those times, my own experience has proven nearly all of those perceptions wrong.

Before signalling the virtues of life in-house, a small health-warning. Certainly, unless you are exceptionally lucky to find a training sponsor in-house with the skills and time to devote to you, there really is no substitute to the training (both in terms of legal and life skills, eg, those 2am stints

at the photocopier) you can receive at a top-notch firm. And this isn't just limited to the two-year life span of a training contract. The experience and expertise that is developed in the early years as an associate, when you are left (to some degree) to your own devices is equally important. With sport being my passion, I was extremely lucky to qualify into a team of brilliant and dedicated lawyers at Bird & Bird LLP who did nothing but sports work. Working alongside them for a number of years post-qualification allowed me to learn from them almost by osmosis on a daily basis. From day one, the standards were exceptionally high and it didn't take long for those standards to become the norm, something that has served me extremely well as my career away from Bird & Bird has developed.

However, once confidence and a decent knowledge-base is established, there are many good reasons to look

“ I was extremely lucky to qualify into a team of brilliant and dedicated lawyers at Bird & Bird LLP who did nothing but sports work

in-house. Here are just a few:

1. Working in an organisation where not everyone thinks exactly the same way can bring some refreshing perspective. Private practice law firms, whilst certainly improving in terms of diversity in recent years, are replete with ... shock, horror ... solicitors, many of whom are from similar backgrounds, with similar modes of thought and approaches to problem-solving. When I joined the Premier League in 2015, I was struck immediately by the differing ways that people approached issues, even legal ones. Suddenly, the strictly correct legal answer needed to be filtered through the prism of political considerations, the lens of the communications and PR experts and views of external stakeholders. This, for me, is



“ A good in-house lawyer can become integral to the business very quickly.

vastly more interesting than churning out advice with only one perspective in mind.

2. You will hear often that the holy grail for the law firm-client relationship is for the firm to gain ‘trusted advisor’ status: less of a hired gun to address ad hoc legal issues; more closely ingrained within the business, the kind of relationship where the client picks up the phone to ask for your views on a range of issues. In my experience, that status only truly comes when you venture in-house. There, requests for pure legal advice quickly develop into discussions on risk and strategy. A good in-house lawyer can become integral to the business very quickly.

3. Appreciating that I am in a somewhat fortunate position with my employer, my experience is that work in-house is no less high-profile than in private practice. Due to the Premier League’s phenomenal popularity, our actions are never far from the public glare, whether it is a disciplinary issue against one of our Clubs or their officials, the introduction of something like VAR (Video Assisted Refereeing for the uninitiated) or matters relating to the transfer and

employment of players, the public’s enthusiasm for football means that our decisions are scrutinised by fans and journalists alike.

4. There is no doubt that the variety of work that you will be engaged in will be broader than what is thrown at you in private practice. In a City firm, there is an automatic race to specialise almost immediately upon qualification. In an in-house role you are placed on the opposite path. In addition to my core work on regulatory and football matters for the Premier League, my role encompasses safeguarding, medico-legal and governance issues, financial arrangements and broadcasting. And it is constantly evolving depending on the risks affecting the business and our strategic priorities at any given time.

5. There is less emphasis on marketing in-house. Whilst you will of course be expected to be an advocate of the business, the lack of billing targets means that you can focus purely on the work. The further you move up the pecking order in private practice (and particularly

if you are to become a Partner), the increased expectation that you will be 'out there' winning clients. For some, that is attractive. For others, not so much.

6. How salaries match-up will inevitably be case specific, but it is certainly not the case as it once was that salaries are automatically lower in-house. On the contrary, in my experience, businesses (no doubt looking to decrease external legal spend) are looking for top quality candidates to employ in-house and are willing to pay salaries commensurate with that talent.

7. It would remiss of me not to mention the work-life balance. It is not quite as clearcut as many would imagine, and I have friends and contacts who spend longer in the office in their in-house role than they did in private practice. However, in my experience it is true to say that: (a) unlike in private practice, there is no expectation that you will be in the office at a certain time of night, whether or not you have anything to do; (b) the hourly billing targets are not always at the back of your mind; and (c) the hours are more predictable. Whereas a weekend in

private practice can be ruined at 17:29 on a Friday by an email or call from a client, ordinarily an in-house lawyer will know when his/her busy periods will be. Whether it is the end of the financial year or, for us, the transfer windows and lead up to our AGM in June.

8. Finally, if there is an organisation or sector that you are passionate about, there is no better way to help shape it than 'at the coalface'. I am very lucky that I am able to tax my brain every day on a subject-matter that I would be following anyway on the back pages.



What difference does an hour at the gym make?

Anya Cooper: YLJ Writer



The introduction of a women's-only hour at Girton gym was criticised both by students and nationally. But what was missing from these comments?

The initiative for a women-only hour in Girton gym was met with a backlash on Facebook last week, with some claiming that the policy was a case of reverse sexism. We have all heard this rhetoric before, but often dismiss it as the rantings of a few isolated individuals. The show of support these remarks received online has been saddening. This was not the opinion of a lone pariah voice, but evidence of a wider culture which the announcement of women's hour simply lured to the surface.

The coverage this story has received in the national news proves that this is a culture which extends beyond Cambridge. The Times published an article with the headline 'Cambridge University students are embroiled in a gender row', and linked this incident to

the incomparable events concerning rape threats at Warwick University. The Daily Mail talked rather provocatively of "fury" and "bitter rows" that had been "sparked". The essence of the debate is lost in media sensationalism such as this, which antagonises both sides. By positioning events within a wider context of a right-wing culture war against a 'PC' or 'snowflake' generation, these stories distort and undermine what the conversation is really about: giving women a bit of space in a patriarchal world. Far from being better informed, readers of coverage such as this become miscalibrated. What's more, students have been subject to abuse following such national coverage.

What is one hour at the gym? For women and non-binary people at Girton, it is an hour where they can exercise in comfort. For the opponents to the change, it represents a backwards step towards inequality and the demonization of all men. It is as though those

opposed to the change think that women choose to feel uncomfortable, but I can assure you: women would love nothing more than to feel comfortable at a gym no matter who was inside. We have not chosen to be cat-called when bending over to pick up a weight, or to be interrupted mid-set by a man who tells you how to 'do that exercise better', before asking 'how often you come here' and for your +44.

There are inherent issues within our conversations about gender if they end in a zero-sum competition about victimhood. Both men and women suffer under patriarchy, but sexism is a form of structural oppression where men are placed in a position of economic, political and cultural power above women. Any man who attempts to find a point in their history where they have been systematically oppressed due to being male will be left wanting.

Yet the response to the introduction of women's hour revealed that ignorance

surrounding sexism is rife beyond Girton gym. One student argued that his experience in the tech sector revealed that female applicants are valued more than males based on gender instead of competence, resulting in qualified males being at a disadvantage in the workplace. I want to remind this student that the tech world is still a man's world: a 2018 report shows how female employees make up 26% (Microsoft) and 43% (Netflix) of the workforce at two major companies. Before our conversations around gender can advance, we must tackle the foundations which build such misconstrued viewpoints.

Each counter-argument was connected by a crucial lack of understanding that our differences and history create barriers to participation. We must ensure equity first as a means of reaching equality. Gender quotas do not discriminate against men, but rather readjust the disparity caused by years of systematic misogyny. Quotas are only a quick-fix solution, yes, and one that hides the complexities of the structures that enable men to retain power. But how else is one to provide opportunities for women today who still face discrimination? One student who opposed the women's hour offered an alternative: posters to encourage respect. However, posters are

“ A 2018 report shows how female employees make up 26% (Microsoft) and 43% (Netflix) of the workforce at two major companies

emphatically not enough. Attitudes don't change overnight, as over a century of women's rights activism serves to remind us. Active measures must be put in place to correct imbalances.

The male students in opposition to women's hour fail to realise the effects of their privilege. This results in the perpetuation of social structures which grant certain groups an unearned advantage. Such blindness was proven most shockingly when one student expressed their opposition to the women's hour through an analogy which rested on the racist depiction of black people as inherently violent. Women's hour, it was claimed, was equivalent to calling for a 'black-free hour' out of fear assault. Notwithstanding that the comparison of race to gender is profoundly false, in using such an analogy this student reinforced a stereotype which has been used as a justification for the exploitation of black people. The dangerous implications of this are outside the scope of this article, but this exposes a clear case of unchecked privilege on many levels.

The reaction to the

women's hour at Girton gym represents misconceptions about feminism; most crucially, that equal measures always result in equality. In fact, because women start from a position of disadvantage, positive discrimination is fundamental to reaching equality of outcome. A women-only hour at the gym is a short-term solution, but one that our experiences of harassment, body shaming and male scrutiny make necessary. One female student summed it up perfectly in her online response: "If you won't listen to our arguments, listen to our experiences. When these things don't exist, perhaps women's hour won't need to either."



It's Sovereignty, Stupid!

Peter Bone: British Conservative Party politician and MP for Wellingborough. He is an outspoken critic of the EU. He campaigned for Brexit and is part of the political advisory board of 'Leave Means Leave'.



All my political life I have been campaigning to take the United Kingdom out of the European Union super-state. Quite simply, I believe the United Kingdom should be a sovereign nation making its own decisions.

In 2011, I was behind the motion that we should have a referendum on whether Britain should remain in the European Union. This was opposed by David Cameron's government, and winding up that debate I suggested MPs should put the country first and their Party second. The vote resulted in 81 Conservative MPs defying a strict 3-line whip to support a referendum.

In 2015, alongside Philip Hollobone MP and Tom Pursglove MP, I held a ballot in North Northamptonshire to find out whether local people wanted to leave the EU. This was the biggest vote on the European issue since 1975, with 100,000 ballot papers distributed across Wellingborough, Kettering, Corby and East Northamptonshire. The result was that 81.1% voted to

leave.

In December 2015, along with Tom Pursglove MP, I co-founded the non-party political Leave campaign – Grassroots Out. I travelled to every corner of the United Kingdom, speaking to people from all areas, ages and backgrounds. I held grassroots events in village halls and at street stalls. I addressed major rallies of thousands of people at venues in every part of our United Kingdom. I knocked on thousands of doors talking to people who were energised by this great democratic event.

On the 23rd of June 2016, the people of the United Kingdom voted by a substantial majority to leave the European Union.

Unfortunately, more than two years on from that great debate, the Prime Minister's proposal does not deliver the Brexit that 17.4 million people voted for. Let us look at what people told me mattered to them.

First, they wanted an end to the free movement of

people from the European Union. They thought it unfair that people from the EU could come to this country and enjoy the benefits of our public services when they had no connection with the United Kingdom, yet at the same time skilled workers, such as doctors, from outside the EU, couldn't get in. They wanted to see a fair immigration policy based on merit not where you come from.

The PM claims her deal ends free movement, but this is palpable nonsense. The House of Commons was promised an immigration Bill more than a year ago. However, it was only last month that we got a white paper on what might be in the Bill. If the government was planning to end free movement when we left the EU we would have had such a Bill by now.

The non-binding political declaration, which is just a wish-list, talks about ending free movement, but of course we have no detail of our future trading relationship and it is highly likely that the

government will trade off ending free movement for a trade deal. The one thing that is certain is the PMs plan does not guarantee the ending of free movement.

Secondly, they wanted an end to billions and billions of pounds paid each and every year to the European Union by UK taxpayers. Last year, we gave the European Union a net £9 billion contribution.

Since we have been a part of the European project we have given a net subscription fee of over £210 billion pounds. If that money had stayed in this country we could have improved our public services, cut taxes and lowered national debt. This might not have been so bad if we had had a trading surplus with the European Union, but of course this is not the case, they sell £100 billion of goods more to us than we do them each year.

Under Mrs May's plan we would pay a minimum amount of £39 billion to the EU for the transition. That equates to £60 million for each constituency in the country, just think what a difference that could make! However, the £39 billion is only the start. Her plans allow for a further extension of two years for the transition period which would cost a further £20 billion.

In addition, we don't know how much we have to contribute each year in any future trading relationship.

So, it is reasonable to expect that Mrs May's plan will cost in excess of £60 billion. That is hardly stopping paying billions and billions of pounds each and every year to the European Union.

Thirdly, they wanted us to make our own laws in our own country. Clearly, our citizens want to return control to Parliament. They want to elect their politicians to make laws which are in the interest of the people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. They also want the power to be able to throw out those politicians, through the ballot box. Simply they want sovereignty returned to our country. They are fed up with laws and regulations made by European bureaucrats who are not subject to scrutiny or to election by the people.

Mrs May's plan would sign up to accepting laws made by the EU, with no say in making them. The worst part of this being that we have no unilateral right to end this arrangement, and we could become a permanent rule taker, not rule maker.

Fourthly, they wanted us to be judged by our own judges, not by a foreign court, as our judicial system is the envy of the world. Our judges are of the highest integrity and calibre and they make their decisions based on the law of the land and never for political reasons. Yet at the moment our supreme court is subservient to the

European Court of Justice whose judges are appointed for political reasons. They have a long record of producing dubious decisions which seem to be based more on politics than the law. What the British people want is a set of properly qualified judges, solely interpreting the law of our land and making their decisions purely based on the evidence they have put before them. That is what we have with our judicial system and that is not what we have with the European Court of Justice.

Unfortunately, the PM's plans would have us in a transition period for up to 4 years, during that period we will be subject to the rulings of the European Court of Justice. What is worse, is that we will not have any say in how the laws are drawn up, and we will have no presence in the ECJ. Even after the implementation period, if there is what we call the 'Irish Backstop', we will still be subject to European rulings on vast swathes of the law and regulation that affect us. So clearly the PM's proposals do not allow for our own judges to judge our own laws.

The Prime Minister's proposal might be the worst deal ever for this country. It is certainly not the Brexit that people voted for.

As President Clinton might have said about Brexit – Its Sovereignty, Stupid!

Neobanks and the Future of Banking

Vivian Leong: YLJ Writer



Recent years have seen an exponential increase in the growth of fintech, or financial technology. In 2016, a KPMG report found that global venture investment in fintech companies reached \$13.6 billion across 840 deals. Against this backdrop, a new type of financial institution known as a “neobank” has begun cropping up, sending shockwaves through the retail banking industry.

Neobanks are digital-only banks, and seek to usurp traditional finance service providers by harnessing technology to provide better services, giving them their alternative name: challenger banks. Neobanks have no physical branches, offering retail banking services predominantly through mobile applications and internet-based platforms.

Such banks aren't merely relegated to a niche corner of the market – in the UK, more than one million people have signed up for a Monzo current account, and 300,000 for a Starling account. In addition, such start-ups have attracted considerable amounts of investment. Monzo raised

a whopping £85m in equity capital during an investment round in 2018, while in 2016 Starling secured £48m in funding from hedge fund manager Harald McPike.

Incumbent banks have cause for concern: neobanks provide better service in a multitude of ways. Firstly, they're far more convenient. With a neobank, there's no need to head down to the nearest bank branch to set up a current account; you can do it entirely on your phone. If you need to manage your money, you can do so on a neo-bank's seamless mobile app, instead of having to navigate the clunky interface of a traditional bank's. You can get a breakdown of last month's spending with a neobank's budgeting and spending tools, a feature that most traditional bank apps lack.

Secondly, since neobanks don't have to pay for physical branches and staff, they have lower cost overheads, and can thus afford to charge lower fees than brick-and-mortar banks, or even eliminate them completely. With a neobank, you won't

have to pay any monthly maintenance fees just to keep your account open. Some neobanks, such as Monzo, even let customers withdraw money in a foreign currency for free, while traditional banks would almost certainly charge a fee.

What does this mean for the financial sector? It would be overly pessimistic to claim that the rise of neobanks spells the demise of traditional banks, which still retain a large majority of the market share. However, in the coming years, it is likely that there will be a concerted effort within major banks to digitize their services, and incorporate fintech into their business operations. If they wish to stay relevant and competitive in today's rapidly changing financial environment, they will have no choice.

There is evidence that this push towards digital innovation is beginning to occur: in May 2018, HSBC UK launched Connected Money, the first mobile app from a major UK bank that allows customers to see via mobile their UK current accounts, savings accounts, credit

cards, mortgages, loans, and cards held across several banks. Globally, HSBC also plans to launch a stand-alone digital banking start-up known as 'Project Iceberg', and promised to invest between \$15-\$17 billion in technology-based services as part of a new growth strategy. Similarly, Lloyds is set to invest £3 billion over the next three years to transform the business into a "digitised, simple, low risk, customer focused, UK financial services provider".

In addition, the financial services industry could see a rise in collaborations between established banks and neobanks – Lloyds CEO Antonio Horta Osorio suggested that "partnerships between banks and fintech companies will become even more important as they work in a symbiotic relationship". For instance, in 2018 the Royal Bank of Scotland collaborated with Starling to launch a stand-alone digital bank, and, according to Forbes, intends to switch 1 million customers from subsidiary NatWest to this new bank.

There are potential legal implications, too. The coming years could see a spike in M&A deals between neobanks and traditional ones, as incumbents seek to acquire the start-ups' technology for their own systems and operations. Such deals are already being closed; for instance, in 2017,

“ In 2018 the Royal Bank of Scotland collaborated with Starling to launch a stand-alone digital bank, and, according to Forbes, intends to switch 1 million customers from subsidiary NatWest to this new bank.

BNP Paribas acquired the French neo bank Comptel-Nickel. However, this is hardly a sure-fire way of retaining competitiveness – the incumbents' inflexible legacy systems are likely to pose a challenge to the swift integration of new technology. For instance, US neobank Simple was acquired by BBVA Compass in 2014, but faced significant difficulty integrating its technology into the bank's existing infrastructure, with some customers having to open new accounts due to technical difficulties migrating their existing ones onto the new combined platform.

M&A isn't the only area which might see more activity. As neobanks continue to go from strength to strength, they'll need to enlist the help of law firms to ensure that they're complying with the UK's strict financial sector regulations. Many firms have positioned themselves as experts on fintech, with an eye to attract fintech clients for which they can provide regulatory advice. For instance, in 2018, Slaughter and May launched the Fast Forward programme, which provided legal support and

expertise to technology entrepreneurs and innovators. On the flip side, traditional banks will likely also seek out advice from firms about their fintech strategy, as they attempt to navigate and adapt to the ever-changing financial environment.

In conclusion, the ascendancy of neobanks has the potential to bring about a seismic change in the banking and finance industry. While its full impacts remain to be seen, even today it poses a severe threat to the incumbency of traditional banks, forcing them to digitise or risk being outcompeted. Ultimately, the greatest beneficiaries of this change will likely be the customers themselves, as banks and neobanks alike strive to provide services that increase convenience, decrease costs, and create a better user experience overall.



Choices of Life and Law

Judge Lars Bay Larsen: Judge at the Court of Justice of the European Union.



Life as a human being (and as a judge) is full of choices – of very different content, size, complexity and importance. It is often not till later that you fully understand the importance of a decision you took. And then it might be too late to consider adjusting or revising the decision, should you even wish so.

Sometimes, however, you at least partly sense the potential significance of the choice you are about to make, and you may feel like the young lead character in one of my favourite childrens' books standing at the road fork, looking at the road-sign, where one arrow reads "the wrong way" and the other reads "home this way". Unfortunately for "Robert Francis Weatherbee" he could not read, as he did not want to go to school, so he got lost in the forest - and when he finally made it home, the delicious evening meal that had been prepared was long gone (the book is brilliantly written

and illustrated by Harvard graduate Munro Leaf).

As a judge you are repeatedly confronted with pleadings that a case, after all, boils down to such a very simple choice. And occasionally the lawyers and barristers might be right. But quite often the choice is less simple than the one confronting Robert Francis Weatherbee: Between one wrong way and the single way home free. Further, in real life not all problems are presented with as clear a user's manual, even if you can read.

I remember standing in front of a small record-shop in my Danish home town a sunny mid-June afternoon in 1966, a few days after I qualified as a teenager. I had 10,- DKK (roughly equal at the time to 10 shillings, today a bit more than one GBP) in my hand and was going to make a choice which at the time seemed quite difficult to me: Should I buy the newly released

"Paperback Writer" single (45 rpm) by the Beatles or rather "Paint it Black" by the Rolling Stones. I could not afford both, since the price of each was 9,95 DKK. Somehow I sensed that this was a moment with clear defining potential. Those around ten years older had in their time had to make similar hard choices, since obviously you could not subscribe to Elvis and Cliff at the same time. Back in the summer of '66, I made the right choice and - like later all my kids - I then grew up with in particular the Rolling Stones. This is part of the reason that I have two painted portraits, made by Belgian artist Gilliane Warzée, of Keith Richards outside my office today.

Admittedly, it has been a Long, Long While (the title of the B-side of the Paint it Black-single), but when you have the privilege to work as a judge, whether at the national level or at the European level, you still have choices to make too. However, you have a number of advantages compared both to Robert Francis Weatherbee and me in front of the record-shop.

Let me quickly list a few:

“ Patents are basically the scientific version of a copyright, they are used to protect the inventions of the individual but are physically more complex to construct.

- You have the law. It may not be as easy to read and to interpret as you could ideally have hoped for, but on the other hand this is probably part of the reason why the case came before you as a judge in the first place.

- Unlike Robert Francis Weatherbee, you know how to read and you have even been taught how to read the law properly, applying the different instruments in your legal toolbox.

- You have more experience both in your trade and in life

in general than Robert Francis Weatherbee had.

- Before you make up your mind on a case, you have benefitted from reading and/or hearing the contradictory arguments in favour of the different proposed answers to the legal problem you are supposed to solve.

- And you may have made further research into existing jurisprudence, the "travaux préparatoire" of the legislation and academic work which may be of relevance to the legal questions at hand

- You are in many courts not alone, in particular not in the courts that have a final say on the interpretation of the law, be it European or national law. So you may listen to others, and hopefully you as well as your colleagues are vulnerable to arguments.

A few grumpy, old and very cynical men may snarl that although this all sounds very nice and almost politically correct, it does not fully reflect the "real factual situation in the iron industry" and that you as a judge will sooner or later



"Keith Richards", oil on canvas, UV pigments, 120 x 100 cm, 2013 by Gilliane Warzée, reproduced with the permission of the painter.

and more than once have to resort to the “first rule of judging”, that “sh*t must loose” in order to do your job and make the “right decision”.

Should I have any, in particular younger and fairly innocent, readers left by now, they might be somewhat relieved, when I can truly say that in my experience it does not (fully) work like that in practice, neither at the national level, nor at the European level. Grumpy old men have a well-known tendency to exaggerate in their dark views. On the other hand, that does not necessarily imply that they are completely wrong.

In my opinion it is not a bad thing if and when the law and common sense can go hand in hand as a result of a court’s interpretation (and application) of the law, be it national (statute) law or European law. But seen from the point of view of a judge, it is indeed preferable when the national or EU lawmakers have completed their work to such a degree that there is some real guidance for citizens, administrations and ultimately courts. When lawmakers too generously apply “constructive ambiguity” in order to strike a political compromise on new legislation, it may actually amount to something which comes very close to a delegation of legislative powers to the courts. Not least at the European level this is something that does

happen from time to time, in part because it may often be difficult to find the necessary qualified majority among the 28 Member States in the Council, united as they are in all their diversity.

In such situations the European Court of Justice can normally not escape “the delegation”, since we have to supply an interpretation of EU Law that will allow the national judge, who referred the case to us, to solve the case pending before him or her.

We may then search in vain for the clear guidance that actually was right in front of Robert Francis Weatherbee - had he just been able to read the road-sign. Trying then to find a “way home” we may be particularly concerned, and in my view we should be, that we are not by our interpretation of EU law building a (legal) bridge that will crumble and fall as soon as people will start to walk on it. Common sense is a necessary and important tool in our legal tool-box in such situations, but it is obviously not the only tool.

Especially during the first decades of the life and history of the European Court of Justice our predecessors were confronted with several important decisions of constitutional principle they had to take, often in cases that arose out of everyday life (like the van Gend en Loos-judgment, the Costa vs. ENEL-judgment, the Internationale Handelsgesellschaft-judgment

and the Rewe-Central/Cassis de Dijon-judgment, to just mention a few).

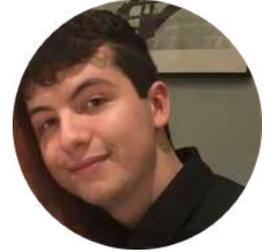
The choices that they had to make probably did not seem easy to them at the time, and although I am convinced that they were taken with their minds and after due consideration of both the facts and the law, I cannot exclude that not only common sense, but maybe even their hearts might have played a role in the deliberation process.

Many of these important key decisions were strongly criticized at the time, whereas today they are regarded as more or less self-evident. Because even though interpreting and applying the law by its very nature is concerned mainly with the past, looking back at where we came from, also courts and judges live their lives moving forward, not backwards. Today, I too have to think very hard to even partially understand how it could possibly take me more than a split-second in front of that record-shop in 1966 to make the right decision.



A Problem With Members of Parliament's Salary Structure

Jacob Nolan: YLJ Writer



The past week has seen debates take place in the House of Commons regarding several important issues, including the 'meaningful' vote on Theresa May's Brexit deal, a motion of no confidence in Theresa May's government, and the prohibition of low-level letter boxes (I'm sure canvassers and postmen found this important). For some, it may have felt that the parliamentary process was not working. However, there is one viewpoint from which it may be seen that parliament was working. Excluding the debate on letterboxes, almost all of the Members of Parliament were present for both the debate and the vote. This is something of a scarcity in the Commons. Rarely do the majority of the Commons attend votes and debates, regardless of how important some of these debates may be.

There is currently no system of how many debates specific Members of Parliament attend, with the House of Commons not possessing any form of attendance register beyond allowing one to read Hansard to check which Members of Parliament spoke or voted on a particular debate or watching the

Parliament channel all day. For the period of 1997 until 2008, it was estimated Members of Parliament turned up to vote, on average, 64% of the time. Put differently, this means, on average, a Member of Parliament fails to turn up for work 36% of the time. One must also note that such averages hide not only the virtues of some but also the sins of others.

There are reasons that can result in a Member of Parliament not attending. For example, they may be a government minister and have substantial government business to attend to and departments to run. They may have urgent business to attend to in their constituency. The first is understandable, but the likelihood of occurrence of the second cannot result in such a low attendance rate. This can only leave the image in one's mind that Members of Parliament are undertaking business that is beyond their express role – that of assisting their constituents at surgery or representing them in Parliament. More than likely, they are acting for their own selfish gain, probably aiming to advance their career in politics.

However, this is not how it should be. The only job

Members of Parliament should be undertaking is that of assisting and representing their constituents. If an issue is important enough to legislate about then it is important enough for a Member of Parliament to attend, consider the issue, and decide whether it would be beneficial to the debate to express the views of their constituents. Democracy does not work if your representative does not represent you and express the views of your constituency in Parliament.

As a method to help enforce this, it is proposed that the way Members of Parliament receive their salary should be changed. Members of Parliament should receive a lower salary, set closer to around £40,000 to £45,000. Representatives should then receive additional allowance dependent on their attendance. In order to receive the full amount (the some £77,000 they currently receive), Members should have to attend between 85-90% of debates. This allows some room for constituency emergencies and for debates which are of little relevance to the Members' constituents (for example, debates that only affect a few people or constituencies).

Why feminism is in love with the state

Ella Whelan: Journalist and author of *What Women Want: Fun, Freedom and an End to Feminism*.



The past is often treated with a level of embarrassment by young people today - especially in relation to politics. Many see past generations as having sat idly by as injustices bloomed. This is evident in many young feminists' view of their mothers' and grandmothers' generation. As far as contemporary feminism is concerned, everything that came before #MeToo, #TimesUp or #EverydaySexism was a product of internalised misogyny.

Today, feminism has become the status quo - and is celebrated as such. If



celebrities, politicians or even next-door-neighbours fail to embrace the F-word, they are deemed to be transgressive. The norm today is to be a feminist, because feminism has come to mean a much softer, less radical thing than what it was even 30 or 40 years ago. It wasn't always this way. Though the feminism of the 1980s had its faults, what it did assert was the need for concrete and radical demands. Slogans like 'abortion on demand, as early as possible and as late as necessary' were proudly shouted from protests for women's reproductive rights. The demand for free, state-provided childcare challenged the positioning of women as primary caregivers. Even take-back-the-night protests, which are today often used as crude social-gatherings on university campuses, challenged the socially conservative view of women's bodies and sexuality. Feminism of the past used to have teeth - it snarled at the state and challenged anyone who stood in the way of women's freedom. Today, in contrast,

contemporary feminists no longer see the state and the authorities as the main barrier to women's freedom. Instead, the law and the police are a feminists' best friend. Where feminists of the past argued for independence, contemporary feminists ask for protection. Women in the late 1960s argued for the freedom to 'risk rape' (as US feminist and author Camille Paglia put it) instead of being cooped up in segregated dorm rooms under curfews on university campuses. When faced with sexist behaviour at work they did like feminist journalist Ann Leslie, and stubbed their cigarettes out on any wandering hands. This healthy hostility to intervention from the authorities seems to have dissolved into thin air. In fact, though contemporary feminists love to wax lyrical about the 'patriarchy' - the cabal of men secretly running society to the detriment of the fairer sex - they don't half rely on (often male) authority figures to make things right. Just take the recent push to make misogyny a hate crime. First trialed in Nottinghamshire,

the new definition meant that 'catcalling', shouting at women and other forms of sexual harassment were logged as 'hate incidents'. Despite the fact that sexual harassment and assault is already illegal under different legislation, feminists argued that criminalising speech (or sexual noises) in the crackdown on wolf whistling and catcalling would make the streets a safer space for women. This is nothing short of asking the police to babysit women when they walk out in public. Rather than encourage women (and men) to take a stand and confront the handful of idiots who still think it's acceptable to shout at women in the street, feminists are asking for state surveillance to keep women safe.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the #MeToo movement, which took the world by storm in 2017. #MeToo has inspired calls for compulsory consent

classes in universities, further regulations in the workplace (like prohibiting alcohol at Christmas parties in case someone has an impromptu snog under the mistletoe) and even a change in the law to 'affirmative consent', meaning all sex without an official, 'enthusiastic' affirmative can be considered rape. Rather than challenging any remaining issues women have with guys with no respect, #MeToo has instituted the protective policies of the past, encouraging women to be afraid of sexual interactions, rather than feel free to engage with adult life as equals.

There is a big difference between feeling safe and being free - rather than pushing for change, contemporary feminism is merely cultivating a culture of fear around women's experiences. Rather than challenging the areas in which the law still holds women back (like the fact

that abortion is still technically illegal in this country, meaning our bodies as women are not our own) they seek to further intervene in our private lives through new legislation criminalising speech and behaviour in the name of protecting women. Perhaps this is why so many women aren't bothered with the F-word. A YouGov poll carried out last year found that just a third of men and women identified with feminism. A similar survey by the Fawcett Society found that just 7 per cent of women called themselves a feminist. Quite clearly, this status-quo, status-symbol brand of feminist politics is of little interest to most women. What ever happened to that old-school feminist notion of the no-nonsense independent woman who never needed anything from a man? How about we bring her back - and see if that's the kind of political outlook we need to fight for women's freedom in 2019?



Take the Long View

Jeh Charles Johnson: Jeh Johnson served in President Barack Obama's Cabinet as U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security from 2013 to 2017. As Secretary of Homeland Security, Johnson was the head of the third largest cabinet department of the U.S. government.



As a lawyer and former government official, I spend a good deal of time encouraging young lawyers and law students to also consider a career in public service. I therefore welcome the opportunity to bring this message to the Youth Law Journal.

On both shores of the Atlantic right now, it is difficult to get excited about a career in public service. As I write, the British government is in turmoil over BREXIT. The Prime Minister and her government hang on by a thread. The U.S. government is in its fourth week of a shutdown for failure to enact a budget. Essential U.S. government employees, including those who provide safety and security for all the rest of us, are being forced to work without pay. The spectacle in both nations is discouraging. A reasonable person in your shoes, looking at all this, must ponder whether public service is really worth it.

I know. I've been there.

In November 1980, I was a 23-year-old student at Columbia Law School. The morning after the U.S. election that month, I was shocked and depressed. A second-rate actor – an actor -- named Ronald Reagan, who, it was said, was a warmonger and someone who believed pollution came from trees, had been elected President of the United States. Jimmy Carter, the president for whom I had campaigned four years before, had been wiped out, and a number of U.S. Senators I admired were wiped out with him. Reagan's victory was not eleven close; it was a landslide: 489 to 49 electoral college votes, and victory in 44 of 50 states. At the time, I could not believe the voters in this country could do such a thing. My world had been turned

upside down.

Despite my despair that morning, I dragged myself to my regularly scheduled property law class. Like me, a number of my classmates were near tears. Our professor could see our grief, and departed from his sober lecture on the rule against perpetuities and told us something I never forgot: take the long view.

Looking back over the last 38 years, I know now this was sound advice.

I know now that one year later in 1981 another young black man with an African first name, Barack, showed up on the Columbia campus. He was a transfer student from Occidental College. Our lives never intersected on the big Columbia campus. But they did 25 years later, in 2006, when then-Senator

“ Essential U.S. government employees, including those who provide safety and security for all the rest of us, are being forced to work without pay.

Obama called me and asked me to help him become President. Every instinct I had told me I was being asked to get in on the ground floor of an history ride. Over the next two years, I volunteered my time and effort on a once-in-a-lifetime, uplifting campaign.

Barack Obama would go on to become one of Ronald Reagan's successors and this nation's first black president, and ask me to serve in his Cabinet, to lead a Department of Homeland Security that did not exist in 1980. And, two months ago, I received the Ronald Reagan Peace Through Strength Award at the Reagan Presidential Library in California.

This series of extraordinary events were beyond anything I could have comprehended that depressing day back in November 1980.

I am today a partner with the private law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, LLP based in New York City. I have been associated with this same firm off and on since 1984, and have spent most of my career as a corporate lawyer at Paul Weiss. But, over the last 35 years, I have left and returned to Paul Weiss four times for public service.

Many in the U.S. would refer to this as a "revolving door" career. To some, the phrase "revolving door" carries with it a negative connotation -- it

implies the frequent entry and exit from government as an opportunity to exert influence for private gain both in and out of government. Others, including me, view this career path in positive, altruistic terms: namely, the citizen/public servant envisioned by the Founding Fathers of this nation, who would bring their values, wisdom and perspective to a representative form of government and then return to private life enriched by the experience.

Almost certainly, leaving successful private law practice for public service involves financial sacrifice. When as a young, single lawyer in 1989 I left Paul Weiss to become an Assistant United States Attorney, that sacrifice meant little more than dispensing with expensive Manhattan restaurants for three years.

In later years, with the added responsibility of a family, the financial sacrifice to enter public service was greater and more complicated. The key then is to save money while in private life, avoid "golden handcuffs," and above all, having the support of a family who shares your values and is ready to sacrifice with you.

In the end, this sacrifice pays dividends in multiple ways. As a young federal prosecutor, I learned how to try a case, which then furthered my career as a

genuine trial lawyer in private practice. As a Cabinet officer and presidential appointee in the Obama Administration, I was involved in some of the most significant and historic national security matters of the period. I visited the West Wing of the White House countless times for meetings, where the man I once called "Barack" I addressed as "Mr. President." It never got old.

As Churchill said, "we make a living by what we get; we make a life by what we give." Many of us who become lawyers have a basic, human desire to work in or around government, make a difference, and serve the public in some way. It's the impulse that motivated us to seek legal training in the first place. As our lives progress and become more complicated, and we take on more personal and professional responsibilities, many of us set the public service dream aside. This need not be the case. Nor must we regard the choice between private practice and public service as an all-or-nothing proposition. My own career is proof of this.

Take the long view, and never lose heart.



Venezuelan Immigrants in Sex Work

Harriet Hammans: YLJ Writer



A voluntary organisation in Cambridge run by university students and residents with the aim of helping Venezuelan refugees.

Find us on Facebook at [facebook.com/vidaparavenezuela](https://www.facebook.com/vidaparavenezuela)

The mass migration from Venezuela to Colombia has led to immigrants being targeted at the border by sex traffickers. Particularly vulnerable, poor Venezuelan women make easy prey for forced prostitution. An investigation by Thomson Reuters discovered that immigrants taken to Bogota by sex traffickers would have their documents seized, and then forced into sex work in rooms with padlocked doors and windows. Colombia's chief prosecutor, Nestor Martinez states that they usually work for 20 days for free to pay off the cost of their

transport, were only allowed to leave their rooms for 15 minutes a day and fined up to \$30 if they returned late. The inherited economic difficulties of these women compound the problem as they perceive the system to eventually provide them a source of income which they can send to their families at home.

Whilst sex trafficking is recognised as a breach of human rights, prompting successful police raids, prostitution is different. Selling sex is a legal trade in both Colombia and Venezuela, simultaneously giving 'free' sex workers more stability,

and also a dangerous uncertainty. Venezuelan immigrants recognise the financial possibilities in sex work. The Economist notes the importance of Colombia's April 2017 constitutional court ruling that Venezuelan sex workers are entitled to work visas, which said that mass deportations violate international human-rights law. As a consequence, sex workers are no longer rounded up by police and deported back to Venezuela by the busload. The humanity of the ruling is a triumph, which said, 'One should weigh up the reasons they decided to come to Colombia...and the specific situation they would face in Venezuela were they to be returned'.

However, many immigrants who work in prostitution have travelled further than Colombia. The promise of payment in American dollars is enough to attract some to Ecuador, where selling sex is illegal. Often, it is not the expected employment for Venezuelan women: in a collection of personal accounts, Karla Pesantes for Women Across Frontiers report

“ Selling sex is a legal trade in both Colombia and Venezuela

the story of a woman who arrived in Ecuador looking 'for work as a hairdresser, waitress, and salesperson, with no luck. After a month she grew desperate and turned to prostitution'. The same article notes the 'levels of decision' involved in prostitution: not all sex workers are or should be seen as 'victims of organized crime or modern sex slavery'. However, they have to 'make a choice among very few opportunities: Either they work in low wages and precarious jobs or choose an informal job but get better paid. Some consider that sex work could provide them with a better life for their children or parents'. A problem that arises from the illegality of prostitution in Ecuador is in institutional support for these immigrants. Due to the illegality, and their immigration status, many Venezuelan prostitutes in Ecuador don't report

complaints of abuse.

Due to its relatively relaxed entry requirements for Venezuelans (Migrants are entitled to a three-month tourist visa on arrival and can apply for permanent citizenship after three years living in the country), Spain has become the destination of thousands of Venezuelan immigrants following the crisis. However, migration to Spain in Europe has its own dangers and complications. Those working in the sex industry in Spain, often chosen as the most lucrative option to send money to their families, will find most of their clients are British or German tourists. Many are abusive because of the alcohol. In Spain, prostitution is not considered a job and therefore is not legally recognised. This unregulated but tolerated semi-legality leads to a 'grey area' which compromises the worker's

safety. The debate as to whether prostitution is work like any other work, or exploitation of women, means that they are not legally protected and the same issues arise as in Ecuador.

Many Venezuelan immigrant sex workers choose this employment because of the desire to support their children. Many face the impossible decision to leave their children in Venezuela, and work in the sex trade to send all of their earnings back home. In heartbreaking circumstances, others are forced to give up their children to adoption. Children left without parents face some of the greatest challenge in Venezuela today, and this is why Cambridge group VIDA: Ayuda a la Frontera has chosen the charity Comparte Por Una Vida, whose work focuses on Venezuela's Children Refugees in Colombia.



The Paradox of Human Rights Critics

Daniel Braun: Founder of The YLJ. He is currently reading Law at Queens' College, Cambridge.



The law of human rights is rather difficult to fathom and is often portrayed in the media as 'protecting the wrong people'.

In Gäfgen, the applicant was a man who lured an 11-year-old boy into his flat, killed him through suffocation and hid the body. The case of *Bouchelkia* concerned an Algerian rapist residing in France and let's not forget the famous case of *Belmarsh* relating to the indefinite detention of foreign terrorist suspects who were deemed a considerable threat to national security.

So, prima facie, it may indeed seem that human rights are 'protecting the wrong people'. Many would question whether it is desirable to protect the torturer and murderer of an innocent 11-year-old boy, the Algerian rapist or the malicious suspected terrorists in *Belmarsh*? Critics of human rights would advocate that these inhumane monsters should lose their rights following their wicked and barbaric acts. However, such contradictory critics would also have to reject the fundamental characteristics which apply to human rights. After all, human rights are the

basic rights and freedoms based on shared values like dignity, fairness, equality, respect and independence. They are not privileges. They belong to every person in the world, from birth until death, regardless of where you are from, what you believe or how you choose to live your life. It is important that this is not forgotten. The statement that 'human rights are protecting the wrong people' is wholly paradoxical - can they really be called 'rights' if they can be taken away? And, can they be called 'human rights' if they don't apply to all humans?

The vast majority of people will never appear before the European Court of Human Rights. Their very purpose is to protect the most vulnerable sections of society, like criminals, who are perhaps unable to protect themselves. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Courts have both confirmed that "human rights are not just for the virtuous." It is scary to imagine what would happen to such individuals in a society absent of such rights. That said, it is true that vulnerable victims of such evil and wicked crimes

must too be protected. The myth that "*human rights law only protects criminals and terrorists and does nothing for victims*" is ill-founded and erroneous. The HRA itself puts positive obligations on the State to protect such victims and requires States to take practical steps to protect people whose rights are threatened by others.

To conclude, the universal and inalienable nature of human rights means that such rights should protect all, victims and criminals included. Even those who commit the gravest of crimes deserve to be treated in a humane manner, and that is one of the inherent purposes of human rights. As the UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka famously stated, "*Our hopes for a more just, safe, and peaceful world can only be achieved when there is universal respect for the inherent dignity and equal rights of all members of the human family.*" 'Protecting the wrong people' is an absurd statement as there is no person, however evil, that human rights should not protect.

Human rights never intended to protect morality but instead intend to protect humanity.



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Mock Interviews

Interviews are often perceived as the scariest and perhaps most stressful part of the application process. Mock interviews are the best possible way to make yourself feel comfortable in the real thing.



General Advice

Speak to your mentor about any issues or any questions you may have regarding the course and college you're planning on applying to, or any other issues regarding the application process.

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