



RENAISSANCE



THE ROOSEVELT GROUP

The Roosevelt Group

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RENAISSANCE

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About the Roosevelt Group

The Roosevelt Group is a St Andrews-based think tank and publication. We are a community of passionate students who aspire to grow, enact change, and motivate others. Through holistic written reflection, discussions, and academic events, the Roosevelt Group produces innovative and pragmatic thinking on how to help tackle the most pressing issues of our time.

In addition to our commitment to fostering intellectual discourse and generating fresh perspectives, the Roosevelt Group regularly engages with scholars, policymakers, and leaders to bridge the gap between academia and real-world impact. Our dynamic community thrives on collaboration and inclusivity, providing a platform for diverse voices to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on global challenges.

New Annales, our semesterly journal, stands as a testament to our dedication to in-depth exploration, offering a space for rigorous examination and thought-provoking insights into the complexities of today's interconnected world. Through this publication, we strive to inspire critical thinking and catalyze positive change on both local and global scales.

Foreword

n this sixth issue of *New Annales*, the Roosevelt Group seeks to provide a fresh interpretation of the theme of *Renaissance*. A term meaning rebirth, 'Renaissance' has become most closely associated with the rediscovery and appreciation of classical culture and art between the 14th and 17th centuries in Europe. As you will find throughout this publication, the idea of 'renaissance' is not limited to this period in history, nor to the European continent. Rather, renaissances have been present at various junctures in the histories of disparate cultures. Our writers seek to expand the idea of 'renaissance' to encompass a wider range of topics and push beyond the artistic and cultural rediscoveries that we most associate with 'Renaissance'.

This issue of *New Annales* also represents the Roosevelt Group's enduring commitment to the values of inquiry, understanding, and compassion. Our world has become less certain since the publishing of the first issue of *New Annales*. This issue should serve as a call for us all to continue questioning, learning, and expanding our horizons.

It has been a privilege to work with my fellow members in producing the *New Annales*. I would like to thank our entire executive team and members for their hard work these past few months. Their continued passion and dedication is integral to realising the goals of the Roosevelt Group, and I am incredibly grateful for their strong commitment to the Group and its publications.

So without further ado, please enjoy *New Annales Issue VI: Renaissance*.

Elliott J. Vavitsas
President
The Roosevelt Group

Dedication

In this edition, we dedicate our thoughts and efforts to the exploration of a concept as timeless as it is pertinent: *Renaissance*. This term – emblematic of rebirth, revitalization, and renewal – epitomises the resurgence of ideas and the advent of fresh perspectives. It symbolises profound transformation, guiding us through a rich tapestry of ideas, experiences, and insights that defy geographical and temporal constraints.

The *Renaissance* metaphor aptly captures the essence of the varied ideas and dialogues within this volume. It highlights the revival of thought, the emergence of fresh perspectives, and the fusion of historical and contemporary insights. We venture into a world where the revival of past wisdom intermingles with the innovative precepts of the present.

As we navigate the diverse array of subjects covered in this publication, we celebrate intellectual reinvention. From the cultural resurgence in the American South to the impact of South Asia’s twentieth-century renaissance, each piece offers a fresh perspective on familiar themes, inviting us to see the world anew. Topics like space diplomacy, the historical analysis of the German Humanist movement, and the transformative role of Black women in the Civil Rights Movement help renew and reconstruct our understanding of history, society, and culture.

We dedicate this volume to those who seek to ask challenging questions and pursue nuanced answers. May this volume inspire you to embrace a personal renaissance in your own perspectives, appreciate the power of ideas, and contribute to the ongoing dialogue shaping our world. May it encourage you to engage with the past critically, navigate the present thoughtfully, and shape the future creatively. This dedication, therefore, is not just to the pages that follow but to the spirit they embody – a spirit of renaissance that challenges, inspires, and transforms. It is a celebration of our intellectual journey, marked by a relentless quest to understand, articulate, and shape our surroundings.

Our authors have not shied away from this challenge; they have embraced it. This publication is more than individual articles; it’s a mosaic of perspectives that manifest our collective commitment to Renaissance ideals of inquiry, exploration, and discourse.

Gigi Glover
Head of New Annales
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The background is a complex abstract composition. It features a dark blue base with various shades of blue and gold. There are several large, solid gold circles of different sizes scattered across the frame. Vertical and horizontal lines, some solid and some dashed, intersect to form a grid-like structure. A prominent feature is a vertical line with a series of small, repeating gold rectangular segments. The overall effect is one of intricate, layered geometric patterns.

DIALOGUES

‘The South Will Rise Anew’:

Justin Jones and the New American South

Ward Cammack

Tennessee is a state of rolling hills and deep valleys, of little towns tucked into landscapes where people greet each other with hello’s and everyone is ‘honey.’ It is a place where communities gather in times of celebration and wrap arms around each other in times of mourning. The state holds many virtues and a complex blend of histories and cultures that make it what it is today. Its people are raised to extend kindness, care for their neighbours, and move through life with patience and grace. However, like many Southern states, Tennessee also holds a dark past of racism and white supremacy that has evolved through the different faces of time.

In the 1770s, white Europeans of primarily British descent began to settle Tennessee’s thickly forested land, given relatively free reign over the uncolonised territory. The ability to venture forth into the ‘American frontier’ reinforced

a culture of calcified toughness and individualism that differed from both the northern states as well as from the rest of the slaveholding South. The land these white settlers migrated to had been the home of the indigenous Cherokee and Chickasaw tribes for hundreds of years. With the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, these groups were forcibly removed from their ancestral lands and displaced to reservations in the American Midwest.

Thirty years later, when the Confederacy announced its secession on the eve of the Civil War, Tennessee joined the rest of the South in fighting to maintain the enslavement of Black people. After the war, the state remained under the control of the Democratic Party, which, until the 20th century, was politically conservative, thus making conservatism and traditionalism the state’s dominant ideology. The integration and propagation of these values has allowed for the



Photo Courtesy: Vanity Fair, 2023.

retention of antebellum beliefs regarding racial inequality and widespread support for a system that has favoured white men over people of colour, women, and other marginalised groups.

Like other American states, Tennessee’s government comprises tripartite executive, legislative, and judiciary branches. The legislative branch is composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate. House lawmakers each serve two-year terms representing districts of 78,000 people. Unlike most other states, however, the current political spread of Tennessee’s ninety-nine-member House is a Republican ‘supermajority;’ seventy-five members are Republican and twenty-four are Democrat. The Republican majority is entirely white aside from one member, while the Democratic minority is composed of fifteen Black and nine white representatives. This clear political and racial divide, therefore, transforms

the House, a space meant to be one of healthy debate and representation, into one of white, Republican dominance.

Who is Justin Jones?

Tennessee has witnessed the exposure of its unilateral House by a figure who threatens its status quo. When he was elected in 2022, Democrat Justin Jones of the 52nd District (D-52) was Tennessee’s youngest lawmaker in office. Raised in Oakland, California by immigrant, Filipino grandparents and Black, working-class grandparents from the South Side of Chicago, Jones was taught to value community involvement from a young age. As a teenager, Jones became involved in activism following the death of Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old Black male who was murdered by a police officer for walking on the sidewalk in a hooded jacket. His governmental involvement began at this age as well, when he served

as Oakland's Youth Commissioner, organising demonstrations for civil rights, racial equity, environmental protection, and inclusivity. Jones moved to Nashville in 2013 to attend Fisk, a historically Black university, where he received the John R. Lewis Scholarship for Social Activism. His website proudly proclaims: '[Jones] has been arrested over a dozen times for nonviolent protests.' Jones is an activist who repeatedly and intentionally gets himself into what he describes as 'good trouble,' discovering that bold displays of activism attract the attention Jones seeks for his causes.

'The Justins' and a New Age of Tennessee's Politics

Soon after his election to the Tennessee State House of Representatives, Justin Jones was joined by Democratic Representative Justin Pearson (D-86), another twenty-eight-year-old Black representative. Jones represents District 52 in southeast Nashville, composed of 70,000 people who desire the basic tenets of social care: higher wages, affordable health care and education, public safety, and environmentalism. Pearson, representing Memphis's District 86, similarly calls for equal treatment of those living in his district, with a specific emphasis on environmentalism. Together, Jones and Pearson, who have come to be known across the U.S. as 'The Justins,' represent a new era of Southern politics – one that welcomes in younger generations and uplifts diverse perspectives and identities.

Covenant Shooting and Following Demonstrations

On March 27th, 2023, Nashville experienced its second mass shooting in five years. Just after 10 a.m., a shooter entered Covenant Elementary School, a private Christian school for children ages four to twelve located in one of the city's most affluent suburbs. Six people were killed: three nine-year-old children and three school faculty members. In the wake of this tragedy, Nashville's citizens gathered in protest outside the capitol building while the Tennessee House of Representatives was in session.

On March 30th, three House representatives brought the protests to the House floor. During a recess, Representatives Jones, Pearson, and Gloria Johnson (D-90), all Democrats, met at the central podium called the Well. Jones and Pearson used a megaphone to speak to the House, demanding that the topic of gun control be discussed during the session as Johnson stood by in solidarity.

The group, who have come to be referred to as the 'Tennessee 3,' were not demonstrating unprovokedly. Earlier that day, Jones and Pearson had repeatedly been silenced by Republican House Speaker Cameron Sexton (R-25), who turned off their microphones and refused to allow their pleas for gun control legislation to be voiced. Despite the demonstration taking place during a recess, Jones, Pearson, and Johnson faced the gravest of consequences: expulsion.

'No Justins, No Peace'

On April 6th, the 'Tennessee 3' were given an opportunity to speak to the House in their defence, after which a vote would be taken to expel or retain them. Outside the capitol, crowds once again gathered, this time chanting in protest 'No Justins, No Peace'. This is a tribute to the popular 'No Justice, No Peace,' a protest call used at demonstrations regarding the treatment of Black Americans for decades.

Jones's defence speech to the House exposed the institution's moral corruption to its core. Every sentence was a blow to the undeniable patriarchal, white supremacist power hold. Jones called the House 'a farce of democracy' and harkened back to the state's history as the one in which the Ku Klux Klan was founded. In speaking to the Republican supermajority, most of whom are white

males, he reminded his colleagues that the state government is neither the 'fraternity house' nor the 'country club.' Jones did not ask the House for forgiveness for his demonstrations, but rather entreated his colleagues to remember the 78,000 individuals they represent – many of whom were actively calling for gun reform. He defined democracy as a process of healthy disagreement and wrestling with each other's opinions, not the 'body, drunk with power,' sitting before him.

Jones's defence, and those of Pearson and Johnson, fell on deaf ears. A vote was taken, and Jones and Pearson were expelled from the Tennessee House of Representatives. Johnson was saved by one vote which she attributes to her skin colour being white. However, Jones and Pearson were allowed to run for re-election in August, and the summer was spent campaigning in their districts.



Photo Courtesy: Vanity Fair, 2023.

All in Vain?

Jones and Pearson were re-elected to their former positions by landslide votes. Upon their return, though, they remained stripped of their committee privileges and faced even more resistance from their Republican colleagues. Four days after ‘The Justins’ returned to the House, new rules of order were implemented by House Speaker Sexton. These allowed Sexton to silence representatives for a day if they were deemed ‘out of order’ twice, with the potential to silence members for the remainder of the legislative session if they continued to speak in violation of this new rule. The rule was exercised over Jones on August 28th, as he was ruled out of order twice, silenced for the remainder of the day, and threatened with silence for the rest of the multi-day special session – one conveniently devoted to public safety legislation.

The special session was expected to yield tangible change by ideally curbing Tennessee’s open-carry laws and increasing gun control. However, the session was adjourned after eight days, and gun control legislation was never discussed. This blatant ignorance of the state’s most demanded issue clearly connected back to Jones’s April 6th defence speech in which he asked Republican representatives, ‘to be a voice for those Tennessean constituents you choose not to listen to for those checks from the NRA that are so hefty in your campaign funds.’ Despite the demands from across the country and state for legislative action, Tennessee’s representatives were hindered by the hand of a higher power.

In early October, Jones filed a federal lawsuit against the state of Tennessee and House Speaker Sexton, claiming his expulsion was ‘rigged from the start.’ In the lawsuit, Jones cites a quotation from Republican Representative Johnny Garrett (R-45) on April 6th during a closed-door meeting after the expulsion. Garrett said, ‘We had the jury already. This obviously wasn’t a trial. But I knew every single one of your votes counts. I knew that we did not have to convince you all.’ In addition to the insurmountable opposition, Jones claims he was deprived of time, resources, and the opportunity to prepare an adequate defence on April 6th. The lawsuit also references the special session on August 28th and the new silencing rules that ‘were specifically designed to give the Speaker nearly unchecked power to limit and to silence speech and debate.’

Jones’s lawsuit reflects the staunch opposition between Tennessee’s House Democrats and Republicans and the lack of change that has taken place since Jones, Pearson, and Johnson took to the Well on March 30th. However, it also signals Jones’s tenacity and his belief that, if one is loud and relentless enough, a call to action can no longer be ignored.

Will ‘The South Rise Anew’?

In running for re-election during the summer of 2023, Jones and Pearson shared their experiences of discrimination in the House with every major news network, and the two came to be included in Harper’s Bazaar’s ‘2023 Bazaar Icons’ list. In interviews, Jones repeatedly



Photo Courtesy: Vanity Fair, 2023.

and mercilessly called the Tennessee state government ‘authoritarian,’ while demanding change be enacted to both its policies and its personal politics.

Jones specifically spent a large part of the summer speaking to different groups across the South. His intention was to spread the truth of what was happening in the Tennessee House as far and wide as possible. Jones drew attention to his treatment and the actions of the Republican supermajority, creating a name for himself as a significant, new-age social activist.

In ending every speech, Jones encouraged the crowd to join him in a chant: ‘The South Will Rise Anew.’ This is a twist on the historic, ‘The South Will Rise Again’ chant that has been heard since its creation by Confederate sentimentalists

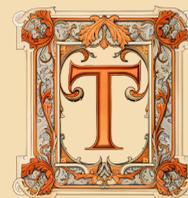
in the wake of the Civil War. Jones’s version seeks to redefine the South as separate from its history of slaveholding and racial injustice. It represents the potential for the South to burst forth in its diversity, to share the perspectives of many and hear the voices of all.

Jones and Pearson represent a new South, one that takes the darkness of its past and learns from it, shares the pain of marginalised groups, and works towards a better, more inclusive, and empathetic standard. It seeks to combine the region’s culture of kindness and grace with its politics—no matter how loud one must be.

Safeguarding Unity: The Impact of South Asia's 20th-Century Renaissance

Gokul Ramapriyan

“This transformative era – the ‘Renaissance’ of the South Asian region – was defined by a relentless struggle for independence and intricate negotiations to preserve unity amidst diversity.”



The 20th century is a remarkable chapter in the history of South Asia, leaving an indelible mark on the cultural, intellectual, and political landscape of the region. This transformative era – the ‘Renaissance’ of the South Asian region – was defined by a relentless struggle for independence and intricate negotiations to preserve unity amidst diversity. The complexities of the Partition, the influential roles played by luminaries like Allama Iqbal and Mahatma Gandhi, and the diversity of ideologies and peacemaking strategies all maintain their relevance in contemporary South Asia and provide valuable insights for understanding the complexities of the region.

The period preceding the 1947 Partition of India, which resulted in the division of the dissolved British Raj into the independent dominions of India and Pakistan, witnessed significant upheaval. The mass migration during this time was marred with intense turmoil and tension, displacing more than 14 million citizens. The socio-political balance of South Asia was significantly disrupted by World War II, placing strain on British resources and creating favourable conditions for the momentum of nationalist movements. One striking example is the Quit India Movement, led by the Indian National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance. This mass mobilisation marked a crucial turning point in the struggle for independence, showcasing the unwavering determination and unity of the Indian populace against British colonial rule.

The diverse fabric of South Asia, comprising various ethnic and religious groups, underscores the complexity of the pursuit of self-determination. The divisive policies of British colonialism, notably exemplified by the ‘divide and rule’ strategy, deepened existing fault lines among communities, fostering heightened mistrust and animosity. These and other practices by the British exacerbated tensions and ultimately pushed India towards the Partition.

The Allahabad Address delivered by poet, scholar, and politician Allama Iqbal to the All-India Muslim League in 1930 was a pivotal moment in the intellectual foundation of the state of Pakistan. This address was a response to the challenges faced by Muslims in the pre-Partition era, marked by political and economic marginalisation within a predominantly Hindu-majority India. His eloquent articulation of the concept of an independent Muslim state laid the groundwork for the later creation of Pakistan. Iqbal's speech not only addressed the contemporary struggles but also served as a source of inspiration for subsequent political leaders who played crucial roles in the establishment of the state. In short, Iqbal galvanised a generation of leaders who sought to safeguard the rights and interests of the Muslim population. The address, therefore, stands as a testament to the power of ideas in shaping the course of history and as an enduring source of inspiration for those who aspired to carve out a separate nation that would protect the cultural, political, and religious identity of the Muslim community in the Indian subcontinent. It stands as a



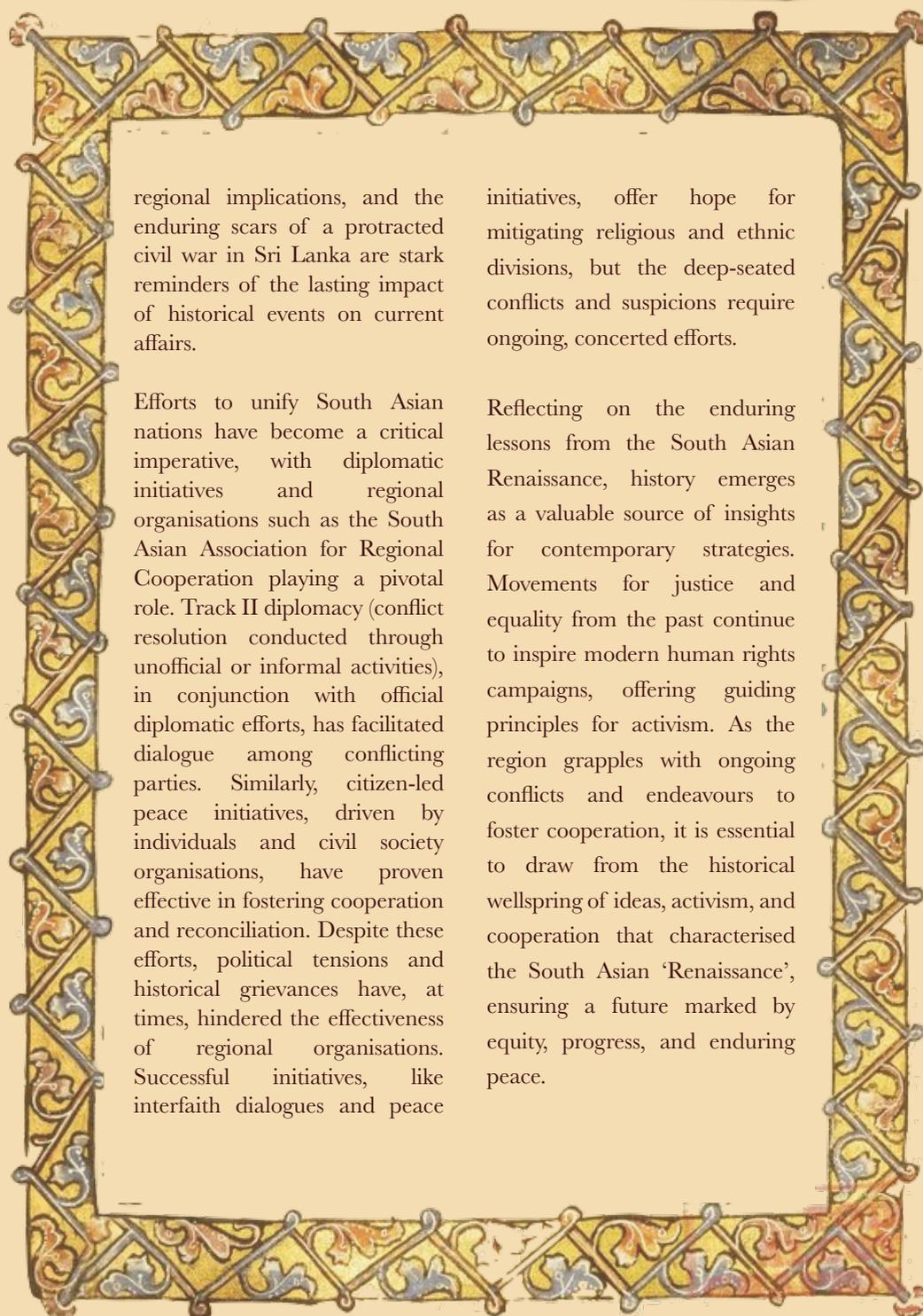
powerful example of a visionary leader responding to the challenges of his time and influencing the historic course of the region.

The South Asian 'Renaissance' witnessed alliances and cooperation between leaders representing different religious communities, such as Muslims and revolutionary groups like the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA). The motivations and objectives within these partnerships varied, yet they were united by the overarching goal of achieving independence from British colonial rule. One notable example of such collaboration was between Allama Iqbal, a prominent Muslim leader, and Bhagat Singh, a key member of the HSRA. Despite disparities in their ideologies, their commitment to the common cause of self-determination had an enduring impact on the political landscape of modern South Asia.

During this transformative era, a spectrum of ideologies emerged, each influencing perspectives on the Partition, peace, and religious

cooperation. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence ('ahimsa') became a cornerstone of the Indian independence movement and continues to undergird many Indian state policies to this day. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League represented two significant ideological streams that together shaped the region's political trajectory. While the former advocated for a united, secular India, the latter pursued a separate homeland for Muslims, ultimately leading to the creation of Pakistan.

The complexities of the Partition and the diverse ideologies of that time continue to hold relevance in contemporary South Asia, offering valuable insights into the complexities of the region. In the present day, South Asia grapples with a new array of challenges. Communal tensions persist, and sporadic outbreaks of violence in the contested region of Kashmir, the Rohingya crisis with its



regional implications, and the enduring scars of a protracted civil war in Sri Lanka are stark reminders of the lasting impact of historical events on current affairs.

Efforts to unify South Asian nations have become a critical imperative, with diplomatic initiatives and regional organisations such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation playing a pivotal role. Track II diplomacy (conflict resolution conducted through unofficial or informal activities), in conjunction with official diplomatic efforts, has facilitated dialogue among conflicting parties. Similarly, citizen-led peace initiatives, driven by individuals and civil society organisations, have proven effective in fostering cooperation and reconciliation. Despite these efforts, political tensions and historical grievances have, at times, hindered the effectiveness of regional organisations. Successful initiatives, like interfaith dialogues and peace

initiatives, offer hope for mitigating religious and ethnic divisions, but the deep-seated conflicts and suspicions require ongoing, concerted efforts.

Reflecting on the enduring lessons from the South Asian Renaissance, history emerges as a valuable source of insights for contemporary strategies. Movements for justice and equality from the past continue to inspire modern human rights campaigns, offering guiding principles for activism. As the region grapples with ongoing conflicts and endeavours to foster cooperation, it is essential to draw from the historical wellspring of ideas, activism, and cooperation that characterised the South Asian 'Renaissance', ensuring a future marked by equity, progress, and enduring peace.



Private Ventures and Space Diplomacy

Regulating Tomorrow's Universe

Catherine Zortman



Humans have always been fascinated by the night sky, developing and using the best technology of each age to satisfy the wonder its enormity inspired. For thousands of years, this curiosity has manifested disparate understandings of the vastness above. Outer space has infiltrated popular culture and made itself a point of interest for governments. In the 20th century, the advent of modern technologies allowed for the unthinkable: humankind, no longer relegated to distant awe, set foot on a moon that many, for centuries, considered to be a god.

From its nascence until only just recently, government agencies from nations around the world have presided over the advancement of space technology; outer space programmes' direct governmental backing therefore resulted in space diplomacy becoming an integrated feature of the international system. Space was yet another arena in which states

could engage, be it in cooperation or competition. Throughout The Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union allocated massive amounts of funding to space programs (C.I.A. reports indicate billions of dollars spent by both the Americans and the Soviets), fueling the 'Space Race.' Despite heightened tensions between the two nations during this period, the critical importance of space diplomacy superseded the ongoing political rivalry between the US and the USSR, who succeeded in establishing the first code of internationally recognised laws governing activities beyond our planet within six years of a man's leaving Earth's atmosphere. The Outer Space Treaty (OST) contained clauses forbidding the installation of weapons of mass destruction and military bases or fortifications in space and restricted the use of the moon and all other celestial bodies to peaceful purposes. These restrictions on the use of extraterrestrial bodies for violent purposes did not preclude international governments from

using newly developed technologies to bolster their intelligence networks. If anything, the rivalry exhibited in the Space Race and the competition to militarise outer space only accentuated the importance of surveillance and investigation. Expansion into space and technological innovations such as satellites vastly multiplied the data accessible to intelligence agencies, both elevating the stakes of terrestrial espionage and military planning as well as aiding in their manoeuvres. The dissolution of the Soviet Union concluded the Cold War, and, with it, the Space Race.

In the three decades that has followed, a shaky, new model of space diplomacy has started to form, one better suited to a world order of complex political relationships and the introduction of private contractors wading into, and somewhat dominating, the aerospace industry. Cooperation and collaboration has become the foundation of the state-led approach to space exploration. Missions often include experts of diverse nationalities sharing information and resources to achieve a common mission objective. At times, space collaboration has persisted despite conflict between states. In 2014, a launch from Baikonur, Kazakhstan, to the International Space Station (ISS) took place with a mixed Russian and European crew during a time when various European sanctions had been imposed on Russia for its invasion and annexation of Crimea. Recent years, however, have seen the gradual devolution of cooperation as countries return an isolationist stance regarding space. Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine prompted such international backlash, unlike their 2014 invasion, that the reverberations extended to

Russian space activities. Joint research and commercial missions, such as the eROSITA (operated by a Russian–German space observatory whose institutional partnership ceased upon the Russian invasion) and OneWeb (a satellite belonging to London-based internet company Eutelsat launched by Russian Soyuz rockets) have been abandoned due to sanctions against Russian enterprises. The increasing fragmentation of international alliances on Earth is causing states to question the existing protective institutions' ability to defend their interests. As a result, nations are no longer engaging in the same sort of innovative international cooperation reliant on space diplomacy, necessitating a new approach.

Coinciding with the collapse of international cooperation is the rise of privatisation. The renaissance of the space industry has been facilitated by competition between private space exploration firms, often backed by American billionaires incentivised by profit. The United States government has encouraged this trend. For example, the US government has assured companies that they would not face legal repercussions for their commercial exploration by passing the Commercial Space Launch Competitiveness Act in 2015 ('Space Act'). Government encouragement has created a thriving market. However, companies such as Virgin Galactic, SpaceX, and Blue Origin are regulated domestically, not internationally. This has made treaties such as the OST somewhat obsolete, as the treaty language is ambiguous regarding its coverage of private citizens, companies, and other non-state actors. There no longer exists an international



Photo Courtesy: NASA/Joel Kowsky, 2015.

standardised code for space exploration. Now privatised space companies have the chance to influence international aerospace conventions to benefit their corporations. While both government and private programs thrive on the persistent curiosity about space, privatisation attempts to monetise an industry through exclusion. The personal aspirations of individuals backing these private firms have forcibly reinvented the industry in order to make it accessible to those willing to pay a hefty price. The combination of potential profit and self-interest motivating private aerospace companies will potentially shift nations' attitudes towards practising cooperation. The ascent of private space exploration is uncharted territory. We are familiar with periods of hyper-competitive space exploration, but it has not been as privatised and unregulated as the ventures of today and possibly of the future. The decline of cooperation between states in their approach to space has relegated space diplomacy to a mechanism for conveying geopolitical ambition. Billionaires have now established an industry that provides governments

with the opportunity to pursue space exploration through different means, however, this burgeoning industry has also greatly affected the ecosystem of space diplomacy.

Regulation and cooperation are necessary to avoid the rivalries of the past. International standards should be set to address the lack of cooperation and increasing privatisation. Annual updates to international law to account for the changing norms and technological capabilities could be a starting point for adequately regulating the industry's renaissance. The implementation of regularly updated regulations and reinstatement of internationally cooperative scientific teams has the potential to restore amicable bonds in a mutually beneficial manner, to the benefit of the wider scientific community. The next phase of space diplomacy remains undetermined. However, continued curiosity among the Earth's nations has the potential to create inventions that will carry society beyond the bounds of the universe.

Was the German Humanist Movement Intellectually Conservative or a Force for Radical Change?

Cosima Allen



The German Humanist movement resists being neatly categorised as a cohesive entity, as it is not so much a singular group with a shared philosophy, but rather a varied ensemble of thinkers who have shaped Germany's intellectual culture. The collective contributions of these intellectuals, though varied and not strictly aligned, are significant in the evolution of German thought and intellectual tradition. The establishment of a general set of intellectual aims allowed for Humanists and thus Humanism to infuse into the intellectual culture of Germany, ultimately becoming a force which had prolific influence in the reorganisation of scholarly curricula and in establishing the intellectual authority of non-Christian knowledge sources. By examining Johannes Reuchlin's role in disseminating Hebrew sources within Germany, we can appreciate how German Humanism

broadened the concept of credible knowledge, challenging the prevailing scholastic tradition. The Reuchlin affair brought a focus on Hebraic literature to the forefront of Humanist studies, while the publication of *Letters to Obscure Men* saw the deliberate expression of a constructed, coherent Humanist identity and network, in which authors Croteus Rubeanus and Ulrich von Hutten polemicised against Scholasticism and those whom they considered intellectually inferior. Scholars such as James Overfeld view the Reuchlin affair differently, questioning its classification as a Scholastic-Humanist conflict and suggesting that Humanist critics exaggerated this tension. Nevertheless, the creation of the *Letters to Obscure Men* establishes a distinctly Humanist genre of satire while irreparably damaging the legacy of scholastic methods and thus expressing how the German Humanist movement was indeed a force for radical change, regardless of whether such force prevailed with equal impetus in the post-Reformation era.



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In order to show the significance of the Reuchlin affair as demonstrative of the German Humanist movement's force for radical change, we must establish the chronology of the movement's uptake and Reuchlin's influence as a Hebraic scholar. Lewis Spitz assesses the chronologies developed in scholarship and discredits the older tradition which established the first phase of northern Humanism in the fourteenth century under Charles IV in Prague. Instead, he looks to the 'wandering scholars' who individually championed Humanist ideas at the end of the fifteenth century to demonstrate the roots of what would become the German Humanist movement. James Overfield uses a similar period to contextualise what he calls the 'flowering' of German Humanism. Therefore, Humanism initially took root in Germany through Italian-trained scholars who emphasised the importance of the *studia humanitatis*. Heinz Otto Burger decisively states the 'first flag of German Humanism was raised' in the mid-fifteenth century as German scholars such as Peter Luder and Albrecht von Eyb returned to Germany and produced works in Latin directly inspired by Italian Renaissance Humanism. Erasmus also references this period as the inaugural phase of German Humanism, highlighting, 'it was first Rudolf Agricola who brought with him from Italy some gleam of better literature,' while Agricola himself spoke in 1539 on the necessity of Latin literacy to, 'free ourselves from the reproach of ignorance and being called unlearned and inarticulate barbarians' (Spitz, 1990). Here we see the beginnings of Humanist ideas infiltrating German lands, albeit having yet to adopt a distinctly German character. The intellectual revival of Humanist studies was championed by a

few scholars who radicalised the potential for *studia humanitatis* to revive German pride and enrich cultural production. In his influential 1456 speech at the University of Heidelberg, Peter Luder advocated for the study of history, oratory and poetry. He argued that these disciplines not only broadened intellectual horizons, but also inspired moral values and guided life decisions. With added emphasis, Conrad Celtis in 1492, blamed the intellectual lethargy of Germans on the neglect of classical philosophy, poetry and oratory which had been treated like, 'detested spoils of the enemies as if locked in prison, covered with dust, untouched' (Spitz, 1990).

However, German Humanism cannot yet be called a 'movement' during this first phase. Humanist scholars were considered outsiders and marginalised in university faculties, where their positions in the Arts faculties were unsalaried and held low social prestige. The restoration of intellectual integrity was thought to be achieved through the revival of classical Latin and Roman literary style, using ancient metres and imitating the structures of ancient rhetoric. Reuchlin was groundbreaking in German literature, being the first to adopt the five-act structure of Roman comedy in his 1497 play, *Henno*. Humanists emphasised studying ancient sources in their original languages in order to understand their true and uncorrupted meaning. Thus, Reuchlin as a Hebraist becomes of profound significance. Scribner argues that the early Humanists were strongly anti-institutional, establishing a polarity between Humanists and Scholastics. This, however, assumes that early Humanists were established as a unified movement and suggests a revolutionary taint to their

intellectual aims. In reality, Reuchlin, as a relatively isolated Hebraic scholar, shows that intellectual achievement in this phase remained confined to individuals and their immediate networks and did not represent a threat to academic institutions. Reuchlin was established by other Humanists as instrumental to the inauguration of German studies of Hebrew. Ulrich von Hutten commended him as a 'consecrated scholar, restorer of Hebrew, hero of the humanists and a religious philosopher of real significance' and, as early as 1482, Agricola wrote to him to express his shared interest in Hebrew letters (Spitz 1990). Therefore, as an individual, he cannot be seen as intellectually conservative. The institutional reluctance to adapt to new intellectual currents can be seen in the difficulties attained in the publication of his initial work, *De rudiments hebraicis* compiled in 1506 which is considered the first reliable manual of Hebrew grammar by a Christian scholar and in the lack of Jewish teachers. Hebraists relied on collaboration outside of an institutional framework which aided the dissemination of Hebrew scholarship among private scholars, primarily through Reuchlin's library which at the beginning of the sixteenth century housed fifty volumes of Jewish manuscripts and literature. His pertinent influence on Humanist scholars for the duration of the sixteenth century can be seen in the production of Konrad Pellikan's German translation of Moshe Qimhi's, 'At the Journey on the Paths of Knowledge', influenced by the handwritten exemplar owned by Reuchlin and in the *Rudimenta*. The initial phase of German Humanism cannot be categorised as a movement as it remained isolated to individual scholars who collaborated among themselves but remained on the

periphery of institutional acceptance. However, what became a core element of German Humanism was the collaboration of a network of scholars around a shared understanding of the value of pursuing *studia humanitatis*. This does not reflect an intellectual conservatism but a force for change, even if that force had not yet wielded radical results.

The significance of the Reuchlin affair in relation to Humanism, particularly regarding Humanism's triumph, has sparked considerable debate amongst scholars. Overfeld argues that the dispute was not inherently a Scholastic-Humanist concern, but that this was an opportunistic and polemical construction of radical Humanists such as Ulrich von Hutten to create the image of a unified Humanist movement. Rummel, on the other hand, disagrees and emphasises Reuchlin's motivation of the preservation of Hebrew texts for a greater understanding of both religions as indicative of the intellectual dissonance between Humanism and Scholasticism. The publication of '*Letters to Obscure Men*' by Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich von Hutten in response to the Reuchlin affair categorically characterises German Humanist scholars as forces of radical change. The Humanistic elements of the controversy are emphasised by Reuchlin himself in his '*Defence against the Cologne Slanderers*', addressed to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, where he establishes himself in a tradition of Humanist scholars attacked by theologians after attacking their intellectual capabilities, 'I am obliged here to deal with boors who are more intent on fighting than finding truth,' and again, 'I must adapt my speech to those trifling sophists and make my case almost ungrammatically...

so my opponents understand me for their speech is rustic and barbarous. They are inexperienced in the Latin language' (Reuchlin, translated in 2002). Reuchlin's emphasis on the intellectual limitations of his opponents, specifically their linguistic limitations, demonstrates an ideological conflict between variant intellectual traditions. Similarly, Pfefferkorn in *'The Enemy of the Jews'* has a decisive focus on the sacrilege of the Hebrew language stating, 'I will tell of the various insults and shameless words the Jews utter... and I will offer proof in their Hebrew language' (Pfefferkorn, 1509). The linguistic element of his attack associates this controversy with a Humanist opposition. Reuchlin's contribution to Humanism is identified by his defence of textual purity which was outside of the accepted framework of Scholastic sources. The expansion of literary activities was motivated by the search for linguistic and textual purity. Reuchlin emphasises this in the introduction to the *De verbo mirifico* where he states, 'The language of the Hebrews is simple, pure, uncorrupted, holy, and consistent. It is the language in which God spoke with man' (Rummel, 2006).

Thus, the contention between them does relate to the approach to Hebrew and the value it has for the Christian faith and not only, as Overfield states, to the legal dimension argued by Reuchlin as the primary motivation for the protection of Hebrew books. Regardless of whether the defence of Hebrew constituted a primary motivation for German Humanism and the growing configuration of their identity as a movement, the linguistic deficiency of Scholasticism remained a constant motivator for change. Rubeanus and von Hutten's *'Letters to*

Obscure Men' is a pertinent example of this, where Humanism is asserted as intellectually superior in the ability of Humanist scholars to mock and berate the inadequacy of the scholastic's comprehension of Latin. The authors compiled letters using what they called 'Kuechenlatein,' the everyday Latin of universities which was considered inferior to the classical Latin of the Humanists, and followed the classic genre of the Epistle, inspired by Cicero, with exaggerated elements deliberately mocking scholastic tradition. An example of this can be seen in the exaggeration of the *salutatio*, with superfluous compliments satirising the authority of scholars:

'Most humble professor of the Seven Free and Liberal arts and all holy Theology, in sundry parts of Germany, master, that is corrector of Heretics sendeth greeting in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ.'

This epistle holds a linguistic focus, mocking Erasmus and his Greek New Testament:

'he hath also written in Greek, this is not well... for none could understand him' (Ulrich von Hutten, 1964).

Further significance is noted in the author named as Jakob von Hoogstraeten, the inquisitor of Mainz whose *Apologia* was prefaced with a direct attack on the 'heretical' Humanists who 'are powerless when it comes to argumentation' after expressing his focus not on 'verbal pomp' but on the truth of scripture (Hoogstraten, 2002). Hoogstraten had continuously undermined the Humanist endeavour, specifically Reuchlin and his Cabbalistic studies, and had been the

subject of Humanist critique by scholars such as Hermann Buschius, Hutten, Pirckheimer, and Reuchlin himself. The German Humanists evolved into a formidable force for radical change, developing a unique style characterised by mockery and satire. They galvanised a movement that challenged established norms and reshaped intellectual discourse, coalescing scholars across a spectrum of radicalism around a need to defend their own, and to discredit the Scholastic movement. Geiger reflects on the aftermath of the Reuchlin affair as the time when, 'kindred minds who were uncertain of their inherent strength felt a need to band together,' (Rummer 2002), demonstrating the increased vigour with which Humanist scholars felt regarding the articulation of their unity and the pursuit of their expanded intellectual agenda.

A testament to the Humanist force for change regarding the legitimacy of Hebrew texts as valuable sources of knowledge can be seen in the reorganisation of university curricula and the embracing of Hebraic studies. In a 1518 letter, Friedrich the Wise expressed to Reuchlin his wish to find suitable professors of Greek and Hebrew for the University of Wittenberg. Reflecting the growing esteem of these languages, Reuchlin himself was appointed Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Ingolstadt in 1520. Steimann persuasively discusses how Hebrew texts transitioned from being seen as exclusive and potentially dangerous Jewish artefacts to valuable collectibles in Christian contexts, demonstrated by the proliferation of Hebrew texts in humanist libraries. This aspect of the Reuchlin affair highlights the prevailing anti-Judaism sentiment among scholars, a trend not exclusive

to, but inclusive of, both Scholastic and Humanist traditions. Humanists used Hebrew texts as pedagogical tools to enhance Christian theology. Rather than demonstrating a radical and novel acceptance of Jewish culture, they sought to dismantle Judaism's perceived anti-Christian elements, enabling scholars to explore Jewish texts intellectually without risk of persecution.

Debates in academia often portray the Reuchlin affair as an issue co-opted by humanist rhetoric rather than a genuine concern. However, this view neglects the significant emphasis both Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin placed on linguistic elements, central to the Humanist ethos. The German Humanist movement had significant implications for the institutional organisation of Germany during the Reformation, emphasised by Kittelson in his analysis of the Humanist reformers who used the values which shaped their academic careers in pursuing a reorganisation of theological authority by challenging the accepted knowledge sources of prevailing scholastics. A devout Christian, Reuchlin used Hebrew sources to validate his faith, seeking to forge a purer relationship to scripture by exploring its original language. The Humanist was sparked by efforts to discredit individual scholars, leading to the formation of a cohesive and formidable front which effectively used satire and mockery, drawing from Classical tradition, to establish its intellectual credibility and to counter criticism. In light of these factors, the German Humanist movement transcends mere intellectual conservatism. It emerges as a potent catalyst for radical change, reshaping the intellectual and cultural landscapes of its time.

Black Women: The Backbone of the Civil Rights Movement



Photo Courtesy: Getty Images, 2020.

Emmanuella Elia



Sojourner Truth once said that Black women suffered by having to work like men without the rights of men, while also having to deal with the agonies of being women with none

of the privileges and advantages of being a white woman. Black women sit at the intersection of race and gender. They are mothers, daughters, teachers, and caretakers. They are protectors. They have always been workers – as slaves, farmers, domestics, skilled and unskilled labourers, and even, in small numbers, as professionals. But since Africans arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, they have remained at the ‘bottom of the social ladder, deprived of all rights’.

Despite this, black women ‘systematically organised social welfare services in African American communities and worked for the passage of legislation to eliminate segregation and discrimination in education, voting rights, the military, and employment’ (Patton, 2004).

During the Civil Rights Movement, Black women seized every opportunity to achieve success while helping lead their community to freedom. They operated as ‘bridge leaders,’ initiating ties between the social movement and the community. In Montgomery, Alabama, thousands of Black women steadfastly refused to ride the city buses in December of 1955 in response to the arrest of Rosa Parks, who, on December 1st, had refused to vacate

her seat for a White passenger. Black women who had to ride the bus to reach their place of employment, whether in white neighbourhoods or factories on the edge of town, found their own way of undermining segregation. They often sat with their white employers’ children in the ‘white only’ section or pushed a white passenger out of their way.

African American women have petitioned the courts; formed abolition and self-help societies; published newspapers, poems, and stories; fought against lynching; and forged the modern civil rights movement. Daisy Bates, for example, played a critical role in shaping African Americans’ social and educational history in a time of constitutional crisis.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled segregated schools unconstitutional in the monumental *Brown v. Board of Education*. Resistant to integration, Governor Faubus of Arkansas sought to prolong the process, stating, ‘It is evident to me that Arkansas is not ready for a complete and sudden mixing of the races in the public school.’ The Little Rock School Board proposed a three-phase plan for a gradual, desegregation of the schools, however, by 1956, this plan had still not been realised. African American parents within the districts filed a lawsuit, winning the suit in the court of appeals.

To combat Arkansas’s delay in officially implementing *Brown v. Board of Education*, Daisy Bates independently

developed a plan for action to integrate schools. In 1957, she began to gather black students to enrol at white schools. One of the most famous examples of her efforts for educational integration are the Little Rock Nine. Bates asked local white and Black ministers to accompany the Nine to school for protection and to serve as powerful symbols against the bulwark of segregation. Furthermore, Bates regularly drove the students to school, and she even joined the school's parents' organisation.

Similarly, Gloria Richardson was 'the first woman to be the unquestioned leader of a major movement' (Giddings, 1996). As chair of the Cambridge (Maryland) Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, she was one of the first to identify needs beyond desegregation. She began to look more toward attaining economic justice in housing, education, job opportunity, and health care. For instance, in the spring of 1963, when a local theatre began to limit Black patrons to the back half of the balcony (instead of the entire balcony, as had been the tradition), she spearheaded a local protest using the involvement and support of students from Brown, Swarthmore, Harvard, Morgan State, and Maryland State. Furthermore, under her leadership, the organisation participated in voter registration drives and encouraged support of political candidates.

To fully commit to Black liberation and prioritise the cause, African American women had to subjugate their own intersectional identity. The 'greater good' required they identify as Black first, and women afterwards. Hence, they had to negate a part of themselves that was inextricably tied to their being. Black

women should not have to separate their womanhood. To do so denies the recognition of their lived experience. Their intersectional identity shapes their position in the world, their interaction with it, and their understanding of it. The act of placing one's community before one's self is an act of self-sacrifice by Black women, which remains unacknowledged and unappreciated. For, although Black women were denied their womanhood, Black men still weaponised this same femininity as a means of subjugation and a way to impose their power over them.

Black women were virtually barred from participation in the American civil rights movement. For instance, on August 23, 1963, during the March on Washington, the organisers did not schedule any female speakers. Even though Rosa Parks, Diane Nash Revel, Gloria Richardson, and Daisy Bates were as radical and as influential to the cause as Martin Luther King Jr, male chauvinism within the American civil rights movement restricted the scope of their power and influence.

To this point, Ella Baker, one of the creators of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), stated:

There would never be any role for me in a leadership capacity with SCLC. Why? First, I'm a woman. Also, I'm not a minister. And second... I knew that my penchant for speaking honestly... would not be well tolerated. The combination of the basic attitude of men, and especially ministers, as to what the role of women in their church setups is – that of taking orders, not providing leadership – and the... ego problems involved in having to feel that here is someone who...had more information about a lot of things than they possessed at that time... This would never have lent itself to my being a leader

in the movement there (Giddings, 1996). Dorothy Cotton, the highest-ranking female member of the SCLC's staff, also faced problems, 'Historically, where there was a female sitting, she was always asked to go get the coffee and to take notes. And interestingly enough, it was a male member of our staff who finally protested that, because I was the educational director, I needed to be part of the deliberations' (Giddings, 1996).

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Moreover, looking at the Black Panther Party (BPP), one of the most revolutionary organisations within the Black Power Movement, it is interesting to observe the gender politics between different members. Tracye Matthews found that the gendering of the BPP was heavily influenced by masculine concepts and ideas that in some ways fomented conflict between men and women and at times resulted in the mistreatment of women. Kathleen Cleaver resented answering questions dealing with sexism in the party because, from her view, it deflected from the most important issue – institutional racism. But Regina Jennings states that there were women that immediately left

the party due to 'vulgar male behavior' and there were others that 'tried to hold on because [they] understood the power, the significance, the need for our organization' (Jennings, 2001).

Though Black women have consistently been relegated to the fringes of the Black Power movement, the very definition of the movement hinges on their marginality, according to Robyn Spencer.

Despite their inarguable importance, their agency and empowerment within the movement were severely stifled. The efforts of Black women within such a revolutionary period of history are more than worthy of appreciation. In fact, they demand it, especially accounting for the treatment they received from their male counterparts. Black women have been the backbone of American society. They are fighters. And as such, their resilience should be celebrated.

The Evolution of Space Programmes:

From State-Funded Expeditions to Private Ventures

Ellen Winters



In December 2011, China released an official strategy paper describing a five-year plan to advance its space capabilities. This came just one year after President Barack Obama announced his administration's 'transformative agenda for NASA' with the intent to expand space exploration in order to 'leap into the future' (Obama, 2010). A competitive private spaceflight industry also took off in the 2010s, led by companies such as Elon Musk's SpaceX, Jeff Bezos's Blue Origin, and Richard Branson's Virgin Galactic. Space exploration in both private and public sectors took off, pivoting away from the government-run 'space race' era of the mid-20th century, redefining the concept of aerospace competition in the modern day. Now, one decade later, is the industry still making advancements? Where will this renaissance of space exploration take us?

As in the preceding decade, 2024 will continue to see rapid advancements in rocketry, satellites, research, and technology. The three predominant groups driving space exploration and innovation in the present era are state-sponsored programmes, militaries, and private groups. As geopolitical competition increases in the fields of security and research, parallels can be drawn to the original space race of the 1960s. The lessons learned from that time can help us chart a path forward and ensure this current period of space exploration is beneficial for all. Examination of the space race of the mid-20th century reveals the manner by which political competition and the threat of war first produced rapid developments in space exploration.

Space Exploration Through the Ages

In the autumn of 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the world's first man-made space satellite. In response, the United States quickly transformed the 'National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics' into 'the National Aeronautics and Space Administration,' more commonly known as NASA. Thus the space race was born, and incredible feats of aeronautical engineering by the Soviet Union and the United States only fueled further competition and technological advancement. Throughout the 1960s, both states invested heavily in their space programs, resulting in massive achievements such as the first space walk, the first space station, and of course, the first man on the moon. The aptly termed 'space race' was important not only for appearances abroad, where 'the US saw outer space as a new arena for superpower sparring,' but also for domestic politics' (Shreve, 2003). Achievements in space were a source of propaganda and patriotism. Astronauts themselves became a source of pride, emblematic of bravery and strength. Karsten Werth put it bluntly: 'America loves heroes and therefore it loved space' (Werth, 2004).

Even in the context of the Cold War, the space race was conducted and concluded peacefully. 'Both the Soviet and American governments consistently stressed the greater human achievement of space exploration and that the conflicts and misunderstandings between the superpowers were of an earthly nature,' with Chairman Khrushchev and President Kennedy frequently congratulating each other's states on

their successes' (Shreve, 2003). From an American perspective, the space race ended when Apollo 11 landed the first man on the moon and the astronauts 'declared that they had come in peace,' in a world where 'the superpowers could practise peaceful cooperation or at least peaceful coexistence' (Shreve, 2003). The space race resulted in great achievements for the US and Soviet Union alike, but the greater achievement was the sense of pride for humanity and the potential for future international collaboration in space.

After the last Apollo mission in 1972, the US, in astronaut Buzz Aldrin's words, 'lost its love of space.' In the modern day, state-sponsored institutions are greatly influential, though no longer the leaders of the industry. Though their influence has diminished considerably since the days of the original space race, analysis of that era is still critical to understanding the nuances of the present space age.

Modern State-Funded Space Exploration

The space race of the 1960s provides a valuable perspective on today's space race – a lens through which we can understand the importance of political competition in the cultivation of technological successes. Currently, as the organisation of international states becomes increasingly multipolar, states have turned to space exploration to demonstrate their power and capability. This has reignited interest in space at the state actor level. From a solely state-sponsored lens, the main players in this space renaissance include but are not limited to China and the United States,

although other actors such as Russia and the European Space Agency are engaged in expansive space programs. China has 'witnessed rapid and observable progress with regard to its space activities, with plans for expanded lunar exploration and research (Goswami 2018). Similarly, the United States has extensive plans for space exploration, with its eyes set on Mars. According to NASA, the US plans to send astronauts to Mars as early as the 2030s. To manage this new rivalry, policy makers would be wise to look to the past for inspiration.

Militaries and Space

Closely related to state-funded programs, but distinctly different in motives and foundations, militaries are becoming important agents in space exploration. As of 2016, 'more than 20 nations currently operate military satellites, making space a critical domain in modern warfare,' as satellites provide essential intelligence information (Harrison et. al 2016). As militaries develop their weaponry and spacecraft equipment, it is possible we will see disputes over space territory. Until recently, space was the last frontier of peace. There are no borders, no physical conflicts, and no claims of 'ownership' of space by any actor. While during the space race the Soviet Union and the US extended military rivalry into space, the states never engaged in a physical altercation. Military exploration in space could come with great rewards in scientific discovery. However, the ethics of militarising space are dire. States must manage their militaries carefully to ensure space stays as a realm of discovery, not an extension of wars on Earth.

The Rise of Private Companies in Space

The final sector invested in space exploration is that of private companies, including well-known names such as Elon Musk's SpaceX or Jeff Bezos's Blue Origin, and a 'robust group of space startup companies injecting a fresh wave of innovation and competition in the space industry' (Harrison et. al 2016). This sector was almost entirely absent from the previous space race and likely will change space exploration as we know it. As the private space sector expands, it is well-noted that NASA and US policymakers have begun to cede the direction of human activities in space to commercial companies. The motives of these companies vary - some seek to advance space research to the likes of NASA, while others are focused on developing 'space tourism' for wealthy buyers. A third motive is more tentative and entirely dependent on the systems of capitalism. It is the race to capitalise on resources found solely in space, such as in asteroids. Both Neil deGrasse Tyson and Peter Diamandis famously claim that Earth's first trillionaire will be an asteroid-miner. Whether in asteroids, the moon, or perhaps another planet, space is yet to be explored from a profit-driven standpoint. As capitalism and competition go hand in hand, there is no end in sight to what could be achieved by the private industry in space.

By monetising space, there also come many potential dangers, perhaps even more dire than military ones. If private companies are to impose their systems of profit upon space, we cannot ensure that companies will act in the best interests of humanity and the environment. In

terms of asteroid mining, tourism, or any other way to profit in space, there are no real laws in which to govern space. The space exploration industry was valued at \$300 billion in 2018, an estimate likely to increase as companies continually improve their technology and supply chains. Already civilian visits to space have been made possible through Blue Origin and Virgin Galactic, two leading private companies. These missions were met with equal excitement and backlash. While expanding space exploration to civilians is a hopeful prospect, the industry is entirely inaccessible to anyone except the wealthiest members of society. As the industry continues to grow, we must be conscious of the inherent threats and inequities that exploring space for profit incurs.

The renaissance of space exploration poses exciting potential for the upcoming decade. Emulating the political context of the space race in the 1960s, we live in a time primed for competition. Competition between states, militaries, and private companies will lead to abundant innovations and achievements. It is likely that we will see the first humans on Mars in the next quarter-century, an inspiring feat worthy of global cooperation and celebration. While there are risks that accompany ever-expanding space exploration, including military escalation or capitalisation of space, the benefits make space exploration a critical industry for the 21st century. Provided humanity is able to overcome these challenges, the modern renaissance of space exploration has the potential to be one of the most enlightening periods of exploration in human history.

Medical Anthropology in Southeast Asia: A Digestible Review

Allyson Chai



Anthropology is a social science seeking to define the human condition through the study of cultures and their development.

It branches out into four sub-disciplines: social and cultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology, biological anthropology, and archaeology. Medical anthropology is an extension of social and cultural anthropology, where social science theories and methods are applied to the medical field to help examine how various societies utilise diverse understandings of well-being, illness, and healing to operate their healthcare infrastructures. In this respect, medical anthropology encompasses the social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of health and healthcare. The concepts of health, illness, healing, and systemic care are particularly unique in Southeast Asia, where Western and local knowledge of health have combined.

Colonial History of Medical Anthropology in Southeast Asia

With the exception of Thailand, every modern state in Southeast Asia was subject to European colonialism. As a result, the development of healthcare systems in Southeast Asia is closely tied to imperialism. As part of French Indochina, Cambodia's healthcare infrastructure held meaning beyond its objective purpose of administering medical treatment to colonial subjects. Politically and socially, it was symbolic of the enduring superiority/ inferiority complexes between French colonial government administration and the Cambodian people, due to the language and manner of imposing civilian regulations. In Sokhieng Au's ethnography, *Mixed Medicines: Health, and Culture in French Colonial Cambodia* (2011), the author explores how the use

of the adjective 'detrimental' by French colonists to describe the first plague outbreak in 1898 drastically understated the severity of the disease itself as well as the sociocultural repercussions of the epidemic on the local Cambodian population. The French colonial government's conspiracy to obscure their faults in local disease management policy exemplified the dangerous dependency and lack of political agency of locals in colonial healthcare systems.

Concurrently, however, an enduring area of colonial interchange was the primacy of local healing remedies and beliefs within the community. In French-occupied Cambodia, French colonial policymakers recognised the contributions of indigenous spiritual healers, mediums and monks. Similarly, in British-occupied Burma (present-day Myanmar), there were struggles to integrate existing Burmese forms of medicine and healing with new foreign Western methods. Mairii Aung-Thwin's *Healing, Rebellion, and the Law: Ethnologies of Medicine in Colonial Burma, 1928-1932* (2010) ethnographic fieldwork describes attempts to systematise indigenous medicine through a standardised curriculum for indigenous medicinal training and the establishment of traditional medicine schools.

Social Complexities of Health, Medicine and Well-being

Beyond empirical evidence of illness, many communities in Southeast Asia medicinally associate the physical expression of symptoms with internal or social maladies. Many times, sickness is

generally attributed to local causes such as poor family relations and labour-induced anxiety. In addition to combining physical and cultural attributes in diagnosis, the two are interwoven in treatment. Angela Hobart's *Healing Performances of Bali: Between Darkness and Light* (2005) explores the therapeutic properties of cultural arts performances in Bali. It emphasises the rituals that influence the individual's intangible senses that can either recreate or destroy patients' realities. The key underlying themes are consciousness and transforming consciousness through the performance of ritual aesthetics. Meanings and symbols become activated in the healing performance and social action initiated by the relevant participants. The performance does not solely move participants and patients physiologically and psychologically, but artistically as well through evoking change in sensibilities that comprise an individual's health.

In Thailand, approximately one million people have been infected with HIV/AIDS. The growing demographic of patients has seen a rise in support groups amidst social stigmatisation. *Fleeing the Fire: Transformation and Gendered Belonging in Thai HIV/AIDS Support Groups* (2004) by Chris Lyttleton demonstrates how this stigma is heavily gendered, especially in the context of Thailand being a hub for commercialised prostitution. The gender hierarchy that arose from this phenomenon rendered women the first 'scapegoats' of widespread transmission; the disease has become inextricably linked to their gender identity. The body of this ethnography focuses on the journey of patients within these support groups and further explores gender models underlying safe spaces,

as pervasive masculine social norms inhibit collective sharing when discussing health. The imbuelement of gendered norms in various aspects of the lives of Thai patients ensures distinctly different experiences in familial, social, and societal treatment for infected men and women. Hence, single women with HIV are often subject to discrimination more than their married counterparts.

Southeast Asian Medical Anthropology in International Relations

Systemic healthcare on the international stage is another contemporary political discussion related to medical anthropology. Within this discussion, system-level analyses of healthcare infrastructures, multinational NGOs, and intergovernmental organisations and their role in ensuring sustainable frameworks to regulate water, food safety, and positive health outcomes are discussed.

Additionally, medicine as a form of diplomacy has attracted interest from medical anthropologists and International Relations scholars alike. The COVID-19 pandemic is a good example of medicine becoming relevant to diplomacy. With the rise of ‘vaccine diplomacy,’ it can be said that vaccines can come with agendas attached, evidenced by their use during the COVID-19 pandemic to advance geopolitical influence. While many countries used vaccines to build soft power, China’s move to do so in Southeast Asia was widely analysed. China is known to have expansionist intentions within the region, as seen from its disputes with the Philippines over the

“nine-dash line” created to demarcate territory in the South China Sea. Hence, donations of 60 million Sinovac vaccines to the Philippines were seen as strategic moves to establish friendly ties as part of China’s ‘peripheral diplomacy’ strategy.

Disparity and Deprivation in Research on Southeast Asian Medical Anthropology

Although medical anthropology seeks to study a multitude of cultures and their developments, it has yet to venture

beyond the perspectives cultivated by anthropologists in academic settings. A 2023 report on knowledge disparities in medical ethnographic fieldwork in the Philippines demonstrated that a lack of anthropological knowledge is produced locally in non-western, educated, industrialised, rich, and democratic nations (‘WEIRD’). Citations on theory and methodology are often drawn from Euro-American ethnographies, and those from other cultures are used to evidence the claims of Western ethnographies.

As a student of anthropology, I have seen firsthand that all ethnographies and

theories used in the university curriculum are rooted in WEIRD studies of the human condition. Anthropology as a distinct field has emerged largely out of a desire to educate Europe and America on the sociocultural dynamics of non-Western societies. Hence, it would be difficult to detract from the pioneering practices and theories that have shaped the discipline. Considering this, pursuing more inclusive anthropological philosophies could broaden the field of study by bringing attention to cultural developments outside the Western context.



Photo Courtesy: Atlantic Fellows, 2023.



Reinventing Healthcare Supply Chains

Ghana's Zipline Drone Deal, Four Years Later

Sarah MacKel



In 2018, the Ghanaian government embarked on an ambitious and groundbreaking project to revolutionise its healthcare delivery system. With a budget of USD\$12.5 million, this initiative targeted the healthcare sector's critical challenges: inadequate infrastructure, poor sanitation, limited funding, workforce shortages, and scarce facilities. These factors contributed to a maternal mortality rate of approximately 319 deaths per 100,000 births in 2015. The Ghanaian government's partnership with Zipline, a San Francisco-based drone delivery pioneer, has led to the establishment of four healthcare drone distribution centres, strategically positioned to deliver medical supplies to over 2300 healthcare facilities nationwide. Valued at USD\$4.2 billion, Zipline has played a transformative role in streamlining healthcare logistics in Ghana. Operating globally in Rwanda, Japan, the USA, Nigeria, and Ghana, Zipline employs drones to deliver critical medical supplies, including blood, platelets, frozen plasma, and other medical products during emergencies. In Ghana, Zipline collaborates with the health ministry, managing four distribution centres that act as centralised, round-the-clock warehouses delivering supplies to healthcare facilities around the country. This setup enables the swift delivery of medical supplies to healthcare facilities during emergencies, with orders placed via phone or text messages and deliveries executed with parachutes within an impressive 30 to 45 minutes of the request.

A notable advantage of Zipline's drone logistics system lies in its ability to address

the challenge of blood product wastage in hospitals. By allowing healthcare facilities to order supplies as needed, hospitals can avoid unnecessary stocking, leading to more efficient inventory management and reduced wastage. According to Remi Adesun, Director for Africa at Salient Advisory, the implementation of Zipline's drone logistics has not only streamlined supply chains but also translated into significant cost savings, debunking the myth that such technological innovations inevitably incur higher expenses. As Zipline continues to expand globally, its drone delivery model emerges as a transformative solution to enhance the efficiency of medical supply chains, particularly in emergency situations. The advantages offered by Zipline's system not only present a solution to immediate logistical challenges, but demonstrate that efficiency and cost-effectiveness can go hand in hand in the delivery of essential medical supplies.

The burgeoning interest in drone technologies as a transformative force in Ghanaian healthcare delivery is fueled by the multiple challenges to the country's medical supply chains. These include harsh roads for traditional transportation systems, which is counterbalanced by the demonstrated success of large-scale drone deployment in health supply chains. A 2020 study by Demuyakor sheds light on Ghana's healthcare transport challenges, such as difficult road conditions, which paved the way for the government's collaboration with Zipline. This initiative significantly improved the emergency health delivery system, evident in its swift response to the COVID-19 pandemic by transporting medical supplies to health facilities and suspected COVID-19 patients, ultimately saving lives.

Zipline's impact on healthcare extends beyond emergency response. Zipline's automated, on-demand delivery system played a pivotal role in the successful delivery of 1 million COVID-19 vaccine doses by the Ghana Health Service during the pandemic. The system reduced vaccine stock-outs by 60%, decreased inventory-driven missed vaccination opportunities by 42%, decreased the days facilities were without critical medical supplies by 21%, and increased the types of medicines and supplies stocked at health facilities by 10%. Despite these successes, challenges such as increasing the payload capacity for more efficient deliveries remain areas for future improvement.

Furthermore, in the Western-North region of Ghana, districts served by Zipline experienced a faster recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic compared to regions relying on traditional supply chains. However, a study of 330 health facilities revealed that only 23% of respondents had experience with drone technology in healthcare delivery, suggesting a lower uptake than expected. Nevertheless, 72% of respondents advocated for the continuation of drones in healthcare, which emphasises the need for policy considerations to allocate sufficient financial and technical resources for the widespread deployment of drone technologies.

The implementation of drone delivery technology, particularly in Ghana's Western-North region, has demonstrated notable benefits. According to a study published in the magazine *Vaccine*, facilities served by aerial logistics experienced significant reductions in vaccine stockout duration and missed

vaccination opportunities. The study also reported increased satisfaction with vaccine access and variations in vaccination coverage, ranging from 13.1 to 37.5 percentage points. Additionally, there was a 41.6% reduction in infectious diarrhoea cases among 5- to 9-year-olds in health facilities served by drones. These findings suggest that end-to-end aerial logistics effectively improves the vaccine supply chain, potentially enhancing health system resilience and increasing vaccination coverage. Complementing this, a Science publication highlights Zipline's successful delivery of routine vaccines to over 15,000 children in the Western-North region and more than 2 million COVID vaccines to remote areas of Ghana.

The multifaceted impact of Zipline on Ghanaian healthcare marks not only a technological shift but a renaissance in the Ghanaian system's adaptability and resilience. The embrace of innovative technology in overcoming challenges reflects a newfound dynamism in healthcare strategies, transcending traditional limitations.

However, this technology comes at an important financial cost to the country. In late April 2023, Ghana's Minister of Health, Kwaku Agyemang Manu, raised concerns over the potential misuse of Zipline drones, accusing the technology of draining the ministry's coffers. Speaking at a senior manager meeting of the Ghana Health Service in Kumasi, the minister emphasised the need for health workers to limit the use of Zipline drones to emergency situations only. He expressed dissatisfaction with the perception that those operating the drone centres aimed to profit excessively from

the ministry, asserting that there was no obligation to procure services that resulted in significant financial outlays. Minister Manu urged senior officers to manage requests more efficiently, emphasising the importance of controlling costs, as the ministry could not afford the escalating expenses associated with drone deliveries. Additionally, he emphasised the necessity of implementing robust authorization processes and discussed broader efforts to enhance healthcare coverage in the country.

The concerns raised by Minister Manu were also reflected in his stance on the high service charges associated with Zipline's drone deliveries, as reported in another source. The minister stressed that Ghana already had its own supply chain for vaccines, including land cruisers and cold rooms, questioning the need for excessive reliance on drone

deliveries. The ministry's subsequent new requirement for authorization above the facility level further signifies a shift towards a more controlled and regulated use of drone technology in healthcare.

As the Ghana-Zipline partnership nears its four-year mark, it stands as a testament to the potential of innovative technology in reshaping healthcare. The progress achieved in terms of maternal health, vaccine distribution, and overall supply efficiency demonstrates the program's value. However, careful resource management and alignment with broader healthcare strategies will determine its long-term viability. The Ghana-Zipline partnership underscores the delicate balance required between technological advancement and sustainable healthcare development.



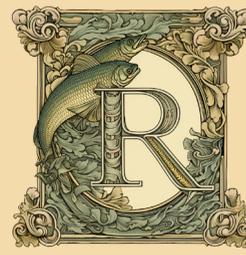
Photo Courtesy: Zipline, 1519.



From Overfishing to Sustainable Fish Farming:

Innovations in Responsible Aquaculture

Stella Mortarotti



Recognizing the unsustainable nature of wild fishing, also referred to as capture fishing, is crucial in addressing the challenges facing

the global aquatic animal production industry. The detrimental impact of overfishing on marine ecosystems has led to an irreversible depletion of wild stock, an issue exacerbated by the fact that capture fishing constitutes 51% of global aquatic animal production. Despite this significant contribution, the demand for fish continues to grow at a rate of 3% per annum, surpassing the capacity of capture fisheries to meet these needs. The evident strain on the global fish population necessitates urgent intervention through the implementation of strict regulations and fishing quotas. However, the effectiveness of such measures in salvaging the potential of capture fisheries remains questionable. Given this predicament,

it is imperative to explore alternative, sustainable approaches. A shift towards offshore aquaculture and the promising advancements in its on-land counterpart, recirculating aquaculture systems (RAS), emerges as a compelling solution to secure a future where fish production aligns with escalating demand.

In the realm of offshore fish farming, or mariculture, fish are reared from egg to parr in freshwater tanks on land. These tanks serve as nurseries until fish reach a size suitable for transfer to sea pens. The fish continue their growth in the sea until maturity, at which time they are harvested and brought to market. The feeding regimen for these farmed fish encompasses a diverse range of feed, such as wheat, canola oil, soy meal, and fish meal enhanced with nutrients and antibiotics. Fish waste, comprising faeces and food residues, sinks through the nets and either lies on the seabed below or dissolves into particulates in the surrounding waters.

Recent mariculture initiatives embrace innovative practices like integrated multi-trophic aquaculture (IMTA). These projects aim to harness the waste of fish farming to cultivate shellfish or seaweed. Bivalves such as mussels and oysters play a crucial role in this system, absorbing particulate and dissolved organic matter from the sea around the fish pens. This results in a reduction in the chemical and nutrient pollution associated with fish farms, which not only benefits the marine environment but also carries significant economic advantages. Both shellfish and seaweed crops are not only environmentally sustainable but also lucrative commodities that can be harvested and sold in the market.

The primary advantage of mariculture is its controlled production capacity. It is far easier to monitor levels of fish stocks and regulate supply. There is reduced risk of fishing non-target species, and fish are only harvested at peak maturity, ensuring consistent quality and reduced waste. The nutritional value of fish can also be improved to increase levels of iodine, selenium, and vitamin E, for example. The level of environmental contaminants within the fish can also be better regulated and reduced due to regular monitoring. Furthermore, transport times and costs are reduced, leading to fresher fish and longer shelf-lives.

Mariculture presents a distinctive advantage in its ability to offer controlled production capacity, which makes it far more efficient to monitor levels of fish stock and regulate supply. This controlled environment significantly mitigates the risk of unintentionally capturing non-target species. The harvesting process is carefully timed, taking place exclusively

at peak maturity. This approach ensures a consistent quality of fish and minimises waste throughout the production cycle. Moreover, the nutritional profile of farmed fish can be tailored to enhance specific elements such as iodine, selenium, and vitamin E, as exemplified by research findings. The advantages extend beyond mere production control. With mariculture, it is easier to regulate and reduce environmental contaminants within the fish due to regular monitoring. Additionally, mariculture contributes to a reduction in both transport times and associated costs. This results in fresher fish reaching the market and extends the shelf life of the fish products.

There are downsides to mariculture, like any intensive anthropogenic interference with ecosystems. As previously mentioned, the nutrient discharge (nitrogen, phosphorus, and particulate matter) has significant polluting effects, leading to a reduction in water quality through oxygen depletion and algal blooms. IMTA, the aforementioned process of harnessing fish waste to cultivate shellfish or seaweed, has been relatively ineffective, showing that the rate of water contamination often exceeds the possible absorption rate of shellfish, thus leading to widespread repercussions on surrounding marine life. A final risk that carries longer-term, yet unquantified repercussions, is that of escaped fish. Often genetically modified to increase the rate of growth and flesh volume, these fish pose a risk of genetic contamination if they escape and reproduce with wild strains. The consequences of such cross-breeding are yet unknown for fish species, but the results are irreversible. Even variables such as shallower water and reduced currents pose a risk to the welfare

of fish within the pens, occasionally leading to mass mortality due to lack of oxygen in the water.

Recirculating aquaculture systems (RAS) emerge as a meticulously controlled alternative to traditional offshore fish farming. In RAS, the entire life cycle of the fish is carried out onshore. This innovative approach involves the circulation of water through vats, simulating sea currents to foster optimal fish growth while simultaneously expelling waste and byproducts. Atlantic Sapphire, a company using RAS, has been conducting fish farming activities inland since 2011. Among the touted benefits of RAS, Atlantic Sapphire asserts that both their Florida-made and Danish fish are devoid of mercury or microplastics, have no antibiotics, and are particularly suitable for raw consumption due to the reduced travel distance. The Miami facility strategically utilises freshwater sources, specifically the Biscayne Aquifer and the Floridan Aquifer, ensuring an abundant and cost-effective biosecure water supply. The water undergoes a recycling process over a ten-day period, after which it is pumped back into the aquifer 3,000 feet below ground.

The RAS method of aquaculture exhibits further practical benefits. Firstly, the proximity of these land-based farms to the consumer ensures greater long-term quality at a lower cost. Secondly, the ease of monitoring the volume of consumed feed in RAS leads to a decrease in the volume of solidified particulate matter. RAS circumvents a major drawback in marine aquaculture by purifying the water and extracting organic waste before pumping it back into the sea or water reserves. In this closed-loop system,

the solidified waste holds additional value as it can be sold to those in the land agriculture industry as a more sustainable option for fertilisers. Additionally, RAS theoretically eliminates the risk of fish coming in contact with fish lice, parasites or wild diseases, which often cause sudden and substantial losses of stock. Such controlled containment not only safeguards against the escape of fish but also allows for complete control over the entire life cycle and harvesting process without the loss of time and the need for transporting fish across the facility.

Building RAS facilities remains highly expensive, with stock production being extremely susceptible to human error and engineering. Atlantic Sapphire's Salmon facility in Denmark burnt down in September 2021, after the reported mass mortality of 400 tonnes of salmon in July 2021. Their share price from January 2021 was 16.85 USD, and only 0.16 USD as of October 2023. For the moment, RAS has also only been tested on very few fish, focussing on the profitable large species of salmon and trout. However, these fish require a large volume of feed per kilogram of final product, and occupy a large amount of space in tanks. Atlantic Sapphire is not the only firm struggling with the technical specificities of such a large-scale operation.

We cannot yet judge the full possibility of RAS as a viable alternative to offshore or wild fisheries, yet it provides an exciting progression in marine production. When perfected, it provides a fully controllable, reliable, and profitable method of rearing specific breeds of fish, without dependence on external conditions or degradation of the surrounding environment.

Don't Say It's Over: The Beginning of the End of Globalisation?

Elliott Vavitsas

It seems as though policy makers are anxious to call time on globalisation. A little more than a year ago, while visiting South Korea, US Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen introduced the concept of 'friend-shoring,' defining it as 'about deepening relationships and diversifying our supply chains with a greater number of trusted trade partners to lower risks for their economy and ours' (Yellen, 2022). As a soundbite, friend-shoring seems to be an adaptation to the geopolitical realities of the shifts in trade since 2020. As a geopolitical strategy, friend-shoring is understandable. In a world where Western powers may no longer find themselves unilaterally influencing the economic order, security through diplomatic ties has become a priority. What friend-shoring means in practice, however, is a move away from the liberal and free trading consensus which has delivered the consistent economic growth that the world has grown accustomed to in the last quarter-century.

So why move away from a model which has proven itself to deliver the results we all expect? Recent legislation passed in the U.S. Congress is helpful to understand the move. The passing of both the Creating Helpful Incentives to Produce Semiconductors for America Act (CHIPS) and the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), bills which outline the United States' industrial strategy for the foreseeable future are indicative of a transition to a less globalised economy. However, the track record of industrial policy globally can demonstrate why reducing globalisation to increase national security is undesirable. An alternative to sacrificing globalisation as we know it in light of present-day security concerns is worthy of discussion. Put simply, we should not be so quick to transition towards a more closed version of the open economy that has proven itself to be a reliable engine of growth and prosperity.

Analysing recent American policy towards globalisation provides an insight into where globalisation stands as a concept. Traditionally the world's patron of globalisation, the United States has shifted gears and recently led the movement to relocate critical industries to factories within its borders or to its allies. This policy arises as Western policymakers have recognized the security threat which China poses to the current global semiconductor supply chain. Taiwan possesses 67 percent of the world's semiconductor production capacity and has been the US's critical partner in the industry, but it receives constant threats to its global partnerships and democratic allegiances from its neighbour across the Taiwan Strait. Although semiconductors are designed and installed into finished goods all over the world, the concentration of production in Taiwan has been recognized as a national security risk by both the US and the EU.

In response, the US Congress passed the Creating Helpful Incentives to Produce Semiconductors for America (CHIPS) Act in 2022, allocating USD\$39 billion towards financial assistance for



semiconductor production facilities within the United States, and USD\$11 billion for the research and development of semiconductors (United States Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, 2022, 1-2). Increasing domestic production is meant to mitigate the potential impact of conflict on America's access to semiconductors for both civilian and military applications. CHIPS, in this sense, can be considered both a piece of national security and industrial policy legislation. The energy and climate subsidies introduced in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) are also meant to strengthen industries directly and indirectly involved in the renewable energy transition. The act appropriates USD\$370 billion for this purpose. Both the CHIPS and IRA acts are pieces of industrial policy which fulfil the goals of friend-shoring, risking the consensus of a globalised economy that has benefited many.

The specifics of both acts demonstrate that large-scale industrial policy is not a substitute for what can be achieved through the globalised economy. While investment in American semiconductor manufacturing will increase, the development of a global semiconductor industry that can withstand economic or geopolitical shocks may slow down as other nations will not be able to deploy similar levels of capital into semiconductors. America already leads in one of the highest-skill parts of the semiconductor value chain—chip design. To build upon a competitive advantage, CHIPS could have invested heavily in design rather than production. There is also the chance that in the pursuit of strategic control over the semiconductor supply chain, US policy emboldens China



to invest more resources into its own chip development and manufacturing, thus potentially surrendering the advantage the US currently holds in semiconductor R&D. The manufacturing jobs which the act promises to create are also susceptible to automation, meaning that the new facilities funded by CHIPS could fail to provide the upward economic mobility that the public has been led to believe that semiconductor manufacturing will produce. Taking specifics into consideration, in the name of national security, the CHIPS act may lead to a less global and less competitive semiconductor industry that carries its own set of risks, rather than one that gives the United States, and by extension the West, a strategic advantage.

The IRA in a similar sense rolls back global supply chains for climate-friendly technology in the name of security, therefore potentially not delivering the economic and climate outcomes that policymakers seek. For example, the tax credits that the IRA has set out for electric

vehicles are dependent on manufacturers ceasing to source critical minerals and parts from 'countries of concern' by 2024. While accomplishing a strategic objective, market evidence indicates that the number of electric vehicles in the United States eligible for tax credits decreased from 43 to only 19 models when the restrictions came into effect at the beginning of 2024. Consequences could include higher EV prices, counteracting the bill's stated goal of lowering inflation. As for climate, this issue becomes more pressing when considering the potential impact of these laws on the goal of electrifying the long-haul trucking industry. Additionally, these requirements and the subsidies to make them feasible have a distorting effect on the global economy. The local content requirements outlined above contravene World Trade Organisation rules. The substantial scale subsidies will likely divert investments from allied nations. This indicates a shift in the United States's priorities, and by extension, shows that globalisation is becoming less relevant. In this regard, the

IRA and CHIPS acts share the feature of sacrificing unhindered free trade in favour of strategic interests.

The trade-off between free trade and strategic security implies that policymakers see an upside in prioritising domestic industrial policy at the expense of globalisation. However, when looking at the history of industrial policy, CHIPS is not the first instance of the U.S. government attempting to enhance domestic semiconductor capacity through such measures. Facing competition from Japanese firms in the 1980s, the U.S. government established Sematech, forging a public-private partnership between the American semiconductor industry and the government. Its results were mixed, ultimately concluding that while it created great efficiencies within the industry, it did not meaningfully change the investment priorities of the firms involved. It seems that industrial policy seems to work better in theory than in practice. While legislation or decree can allocate substantial funds to industries like semiconductors and electric vehicles, it cannot secure the market control necessary for ensuring their success. After all, at least within Western democracies, the government cannot choose which firms win and lose in the marketplace, nor is it capable of training the thousands of skilled workers in time to staff the production facilities that subsidised industries will need. There is already evidence of the pitfalls of industrial policy turning into reality in the United States. In August 2023, the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company announced it had to delay the start of production at its Arizona facility, due to a shortage of trained workers. In sum, a shortage of workers as well as

market expectations demonstrate that opting for security through industrial policy at the expense of globalisation may be a short-sighted approach.

While CHIPS and the IRA act will have effects that precipitate a less globalised world economy, the national security concerns that the US government aims to address must not be ignored. However, the mix of national security concerns and nostalgia for America's manufacturing heyday skip over solutions that would continue to support the globalised economy. A focus on import/export controls for intellectual property and research for critical technologies could be more productive. Especially when considering Southeast Asian nations' focus on building their own semiconductor and electric vehicle capacity, globalisation could be the actual silver bullet for Western national security interests.

Of course, it is unlikely that U.S. policymakers will change course anytime soon, as the CHIPS and IRA acts are years old now. The implications of both pieces of legislation will force other economies into a more protective position, solidifying the decline of globalisation. If the global economy is going to continue to fragment, it should be acknowledged that the beginning of the decline was a choice, not fate. Amidst the resurgence of the populist strain of economics, one should remember that our common prosperity is found when we look beyond borders, not within.



QUICK TAKES

From Battlefields to Breadbaskets: Africa's Food Scarcity Induced by the Ukraine War

Shalina Prakash



The invasion of Ukraine has significantly affected the countries that are heavily reliant on vital grain exports from Kyiv and Moscow.

As of 2023, exports have plummeted to just one-sixth of their pre-war volumes, leading to a worldwide surge in food prices.

To prevent significant disruptions to the global food supply chain, in July 2022 a pivotal agreement known as the Black Sea Grain deal brokered between Ukraine and Russia, facilitated by the United Nations and Turkey. This agreement established a secure shipping corridor for agricultural exports, specifically through Ukraine's Black Sea ports. The deal outlined a set of terms: exports could flow through three Ukrainian ports – Odesa, Chornomorsk, and Pivdennyi – via a mutually agreed-upon maritime route. Both inbound and outbound ships were subject to inspections by Russia, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Nations.

Simultaneously, a parallel Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was enacted to mitigate the impact of sanctions on Russian exports. This diplomatic achievement endured despite profound scepticism and mutual distrust. Once exports resumed, prices rebounded to pre-war levels. Throughout the course of a year, amidst the ongoing conflict, Ukraine managed to safely export nearly 33 million tonnes of agricultural products.

The deal underwent three renewals: first in November 2022, followed by subsequent renewals in March and May 2023. However, Russia gradually reduced its inspections over the course of that year, contending that Western nations remained steadfast in their refusal to ease restrictions or permit increased Russian exports. Regrettably, the deal ultimately reached its conclusion in July 2023, as negotiations for its renewal failed to yield any consensus. In response, Russia has since pledged to directly supply and support six African countries with free grain. Nevertheless, even if Russia's



Photo Courtesy: Reuters, 2022.

commitment is genuine, the removal of essential Ukrainian exports from global markets is bound to lead to a significant surge in worldwide prices. Ultimately, it is the people in developing nations, such as those in Africa, who will bear the brunt of these elevated prices.

African countries, for the most part, have not achieved self-sufficiency, relying on imports for as much as 80% of their food requirements. This leaves the continent highly vulnerable to fluctuations in global markets. The cessation of grain supplies has had the most severe impact on countries in the Horn of Africa. Their slow post-pandemic recovery, compounded by the conflict in Ukraine, has pushed many African economies into significant debt risks, intensifying their reliance on foreign assistance. Adding to their challenges is their susceptibility to climate-related shocks, with Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia facing recurring droughts, while Sudan contends with persistent floods. Taken together, the continent's ability to recover from each crisis is diminishing rapidly. Surprisingly, despite its NATO membership, Turkey has managed to maintain a neutral stance in the conflict. As a result, Turkey emerges as the most likely candidate to intervene and help prevent the collapse of the Black Sea Grain deal, potentially

alleviating some of the repercussions in this dire situation.

Ankara and Moscow have maintained robust trade and defence relations since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, establishing a relatively solid and stable alliance. Turkey's decision to not align with Western nations in imposing sanctions has positioned it as Russia's primary and dependable overseas trading partner. However, the effectiveness of Turkey's efforts to coax Russia into the agreement remains a subject of debate. Nevertheless, it is Africa that bears the brunt of the consequences, grappling with the tangible fallout of the geopolitical actions of other states. This intensified hunger crisis carries far-reaching interregional implications. Impoverished nations struggle to contribute to the global economy, food insecurity disrupts domestic tranquillity and may incite international conflicts, while malnutrition transcends borders, posing risks to global public health. The ripple effect of a starving Africa resonates across the world. By refusing to renew the Black Sea Grain deal, the Kremlin has placed the lives of millions overnight. Russia's weaponization of hunger constitutes an alarming violation of international humanitarian law.

Quantum Computing: A Double-Edged Sword in the Digital Age

Mohammed Ali



Ever since the introduction of Shor's algorithm in 1994, a groundbreaking technique capable of breaking traditional encryption methods, there has been a worldwide competition among governments and corporations to advance the development of quantum computers. These quantum computers, unlike classical computers, leverage the principles of quantum mechanics to execute intricate calculations at an unprecedented speed. The prospect of having such powerful computing devices readily accessible holds great promise for a wide range of applications, spanning from tackling complex scientific problems to optimising the efficiency of logistical processes.

However, the imminent advent of quantum computers also raises significant cybersecurity concerns. The very same computational power that makes

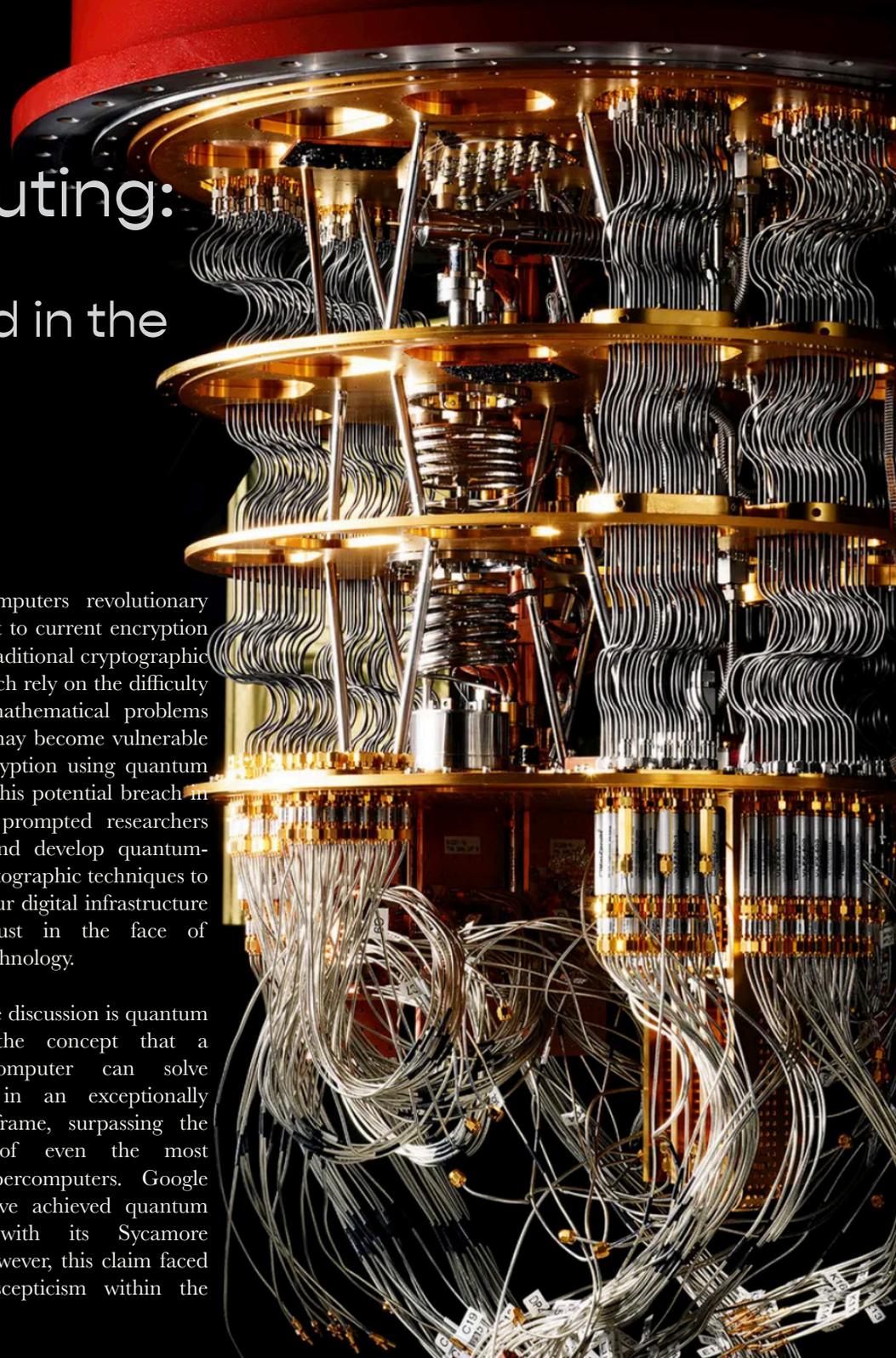
quantum computers revolutionary poses a threat to current encryption standards. Traditional cryptographic methods, which rely on the difficulty of certain mathematical problems for security, may become vulnerable to rapid decryption using quantum algorithms. This potential breach in security has prompted researchers to explore and develop quantum-resistant cryptographic techniques to ensure that our digital infrastructure remains robust in the face of advancing technology.

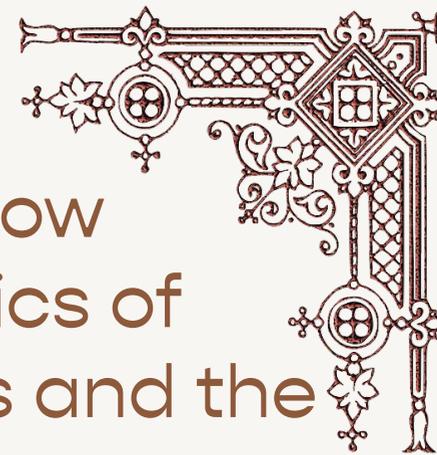
Central to the discussion is quantum supremacy, the concept that a quantum computer can solve a problem in an exceptionally short time frame, surpassing the capabilities of even the most powerful supercomputers. Google claims to have achieved quantum supremacy with its Sycamore processor; however, this claim faced widespread scepticism within the

scientific community, with some researchers questioning the validity of the benchmarks used and the real-world applicability of the demonstrated quantum advantage.

The quest for achieving quantum supremacy aims to demonstrate the remarkable capabilities of quantum computers. Quantum computers surpass classical computers in power due to the quantum principle of superposition, which enables quantum bits (qubits) to simultaneously occupy multiple states, a capacity beyond the one-state-per-bit limitation of classical computers. This unique property empowers quantum computers to execute multiple complex calculations concurrently. To emphasise the power of qubits, consider that it takes 4 classical bits to model the state of just 2 qubits. Extrapolating further, modelling 50 qubits would require a staggering 1.25 trillion classical bits. This exponential increase in computational power highlights the quantum advantage and underscores the transformative potential of quantum computing in solving problems that were once deemed practically insurmountable for classical systems.

The development of a functional quantum computer will allow us to simulate complex systems that were previously beyond the reach of classical computers. Notably, the ability to simulate





The Hollow Virtue Ethics of Entrepreneurs and the Manosphere

large systems, such as of molecules, has far-reaching implications for fields like physics, pharmaceuticals, and technology. This quantum computational capacity opens avenues for accelerated discoveries, simulations, and optimizations, improving our understanding and application of complex systems in various scientific and technological domains.

Despite these positive prospects, the advent of quantum computing also introduces concerns for potential malevolent applications. Of particular concern is the vulnerability of modern encryption methods in the face of quantum supremacy. Through Shor's algorithm, the achievement and demonstration of quantum supremacy could compromise the security of current encryption standards by enabling decryption within mere hours. The implications extend to sensitive data across various sectors, emphasising the need for proactive measures in developing quantum-resistant cryptographic techniques.

Many may dismiss the imminence of this problem. The truth is, however, that all forms of data are currency at risk. Any individual who possesses stolen data cannot decrypt that data today; however, promising advancements in decryption exemplified by IBM indicate that this will be a reality in a few years. With all forms of data being at risk and the digital economy being valued at approximately USD\$21 trillion dollars by 2025, it is important to acknowledge the legitimate implications of a massive loss of digital trust and global revenue.

While it may seem that big technology corporations hold the reins on achieving quantum supremacy, states have equally vested interests in adding

quantum supremacy to their arsenal. China currently leads the race, as it has allegedly already achieved quantum supremacy and is believed to have more advanced quantum technology and computing capabilities than the US. However, while China has more sophisticated technology, the US has more patents. Realising it was falling behind in its technological capabilities, the US passed the 2021 Innovation and Competition Act authorising the funding of quantum technology. Quantum computing will prove to be an invaluable tool to governments once they are fully developed. With the use of these computers, countries can simulate just about anything, from molecules for drug discovery to chemical reactions used to develop new weapons.

The advent of quantum supremacy may usher in a substantial rise in state espionage capabilities, paving the way for potential interception and decryption of data transmitted via secure channels by foreign states. This may even incite a competitive race reminiscent of the historic moon landing pursuit. Equally concerning is the prospect of states harnessing the technology to conduct surveillance on their own citizens.

While quantum computing holds immense promise for the world, we must proceed with caution. A small misstep in handling this powerful technology could yield immense negative ramifications. Fortunately, research into stronger encryption methods is already underway, but the true extent of quantum computers' abilities remains uncertain. Therefore, we must take action to regulate this technology, ensuring it benefits society while minimising its potential for misuse.

Blaze Ras



From the masculine entrepreneurial culture currently ripe in the United States, a curious intersection has arisen between classical ethics and the controversial realm of the manosphere. According to the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, the "manosphere" refers to several interconnected misogynistic communities found primarily online and ranging from male supremacist discourse to men's rights activism and incels. Certain manosphere influencers, including figures such as Andrew Tate and even some Silicon Valley leaders, profess an adherence to Stoic philosophy. Initially conceived as a philosophy for Meditations, the famed Stoic work authored as a personal diary by Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Stoicism has become a staple for C-suite executives dealing with the complexities of the corporate world. They strive to emulate its four virtues of temperance, courage, wisdom, and justice, and to keep the mind calm, rational, and free from pain and emotions. Tim Ferriss, author of books such as *The 4-Hour Workweek* and *The 4-Hour Body*, describes Stoicism as an 'operating system,' and his words are widely read by both manosphere influencers and executives alike. However, a fundamental question, first posed by the Roman Stoic Cicero, still demands exploration: *Cui bono?* Who benefits?

John Doerr, an early investor in Google and Amazon, called the Silicon Valley Moment ‘the greatest legal accumulation of wealth in history.’ While manosphere influencers might not have developed the tools that led to this wealth, they employ them for marketing and wealth generation. This stands in direct opposition to Stoic purpose. In *Meditations*, Marcus Aurelius reiterates the universal Stoic principle: ‘The only rewards of our existence here are an unstained character and unselfish acts.’ While traditional Stoic understanding of civic virtue is tailored to a form of classical republicanism no longer present in the modern day, the root purpose of Stoic action, the benefit of the common good, remains applicable to any social circumstance. However, for these entrepreneurs, Stoicism is employed merely as a means to an end, a tool for the accumulation of wealth, made worse still considering the well-documented harmful effects of social media on mental health. Aurelius said that ‘what injures the hive injures the bee,’ yet influencers like Tate will run affiliate marketing programs, encouraging production of attention-grabbing media to keep their audience on platforms that they

simultaneously encourage their audience to avoid and which they avoid themselves.

Narrowing in on Tate’s actions and beliefs illuminates this. The first of his ‘41 Tenets’ is the belief that men have the ‘divine imperative’ to maximise their power and competence. He writes toward the end of the list that he believes men should try to help the world and those they care for. In one social media post, Tate shared a video of himself ostentatiously throwing money around on a train. Tate has claimed in articles to have started a foundation to protect women from domestic violence; however, no trace of any such organisation or action can be found beyond these statements. To many, Tate’s persistent exploitation of women on the internet through his webcam business appears to conflict with the stated mission of his alleged philanthropic foundation. However, his proclivity for making overconfident assertions lacking substantial evidence reflects Tate’s support for the capitalist hustle culture. His focus on accruing wealth and power above all else is also an expression of a hegemonic understanding of masculinity, one fixated on dominance and exploitation. Perhaps

Tate views selling sex on the internet as an act of philanthropy in itself – that all men have the right to sexual gratification. Whether it’s women crawling around on camera to earn money for him, or strangers crawling to take it, this Stoicism fixates on power and how to accumulate it.

Those who propagate Tate’s affiliate marketing often post clips of him discussing these endeavours with titles like ‘reject modernity/embrace tradition,’ pairing this with video clips of bodybuilders or Greek statues. Yet their efforts at escaping modernity are demonstrations of modernity par excellence. Firstly, by valuing power and capability in their own right, they are playing into the modern understanding of virtue. That is, *virtu*, as elucidated by Machiavelli. Their valuation of Stoic habits and bodybuilding as an expression of virtue demonstrates this well – these habits are employed for their own sake, or toward achieving greater personal gratification in the long run. The value of these tools is self-referential, rather than aimed toward a higher purpose, the classical understanding of virtue.

Their failure to escape modernity becomes even more apparent through the juxtaposition of Ancient Greek Statues alongside bodybuilders. This juxtaposition evokes the concept of ‘a supermarket of identities,’ or an ideology resembling a salad bar. Modernity and its social structures possess a malleable, liquid nature, allowing individuals to select and adopt them like commodities in a shopping mall, devoid of historical context or traditional significance. The classical value of strength, which holds only when directed towards the

betterment of the community, bears no resemblance to figures like the bodybuilder Ronnie Coleman. From an Aristotelian perspective, as outlined in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, such excess would be deemed undesirable. The manosphere confuses inherent capability with intrinsic value, failing to recognise the nuances of virtue and its alignment with the common good.

At the heart of this critique lies the prioritisation of individual interests over the welfare of the community. The Stoics, as previously mentioned, were not the sole proponents of valuing the common good. Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, which delineates virtues similar to those endorsed by the Stoics also emphasises the importance of being a responsible citizen. Even Socrates, often quoted by these influencers while promoting physical training, as noted in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, later describes that this emphasis on physical fitness is driven by its impact on one’s reputation as a citizen. Thus, the traditional perspective on the value of physical prowess centred around its contribution to public virtue. The contemporary view regarding strength as inherently valuable or primarily serving personal interests is a distinctly modern and strictly non-classical concept. In other words, these appeals to virtue ethics merely serve as superficial representations of cultures these influencers fail to understand. At best, the entrepreneurial adoption of Stoicism can be seen as effective branding and a shallow ethos guiding their pursuit of wealth, often to the detriment of the community. In this view, the bee can survive while the hive dies.



Photo Courtesy: AP Photo/Vadim Ghijirada, 2023.

On Saudi Arabia's Ascendance in the Global Sports Industry

Karan Kang



he most prominent sporting events in recent history have predominantly featured American and Western European teams. However, a new contender has recently emerged on the global sporting stage. Through its Vision 2030 campaign, Saudi Arabia is strategically utilising the sports industry as a means to diversify and expand its economy.

Saudi Arabia's involvement in global sports dates back nearly four decades. It began with the collaboration between the Saudi airline, Saudia, and the Williams Formula One team in 1977, followed by the invitation of the former World Cup winner, Rivelino, to join the Saudi club Al-Hilal in 1978. Since then, Saudi sports have consistently grown and evolved. In the past five years, Saudi Arabia has

been notably successful in attracting major sporting events and high-profile athletes to the country. Additionally, the state's Public Investment Fund has made substantial investments in entities such as the McLaren Group, Newcastle United, and LIV Golf. Remarkably, this aligns with Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 campaign goal of increasing the assets of its Public Investment Fund.

Saudi Arabia's economic diversification efforts are driven by the need to reduce its heavy reliance on oil, prompted by the volatility of global oil markets and the desire for long-term economic stability. The Vision 2030 campaign also aims to boost foreign investment, promote tourism and hospitality, and establish new industries that can directly benefit from the hosting of major sporting events within Saudi Arabia. However, Saudi Arabia's involvement with sports has not been without controversy.



Photo Courtesy: Ross Kinnaird/Getty Images, 2021.

A central objective of the Vision 2030 campaign is to enhance Saudi Arabia's global image, especially in the wake of allegations of human rights violations, including the death of Jamal Khashoggi, where a declassified United States intelligence report claimed Saudi Crown Prince and Prime Minister Mohammed Bin Salman. The term 'sportswashing' has been used to describe nations that seek to divert public attention away from unfavourable aspects of their nation, thereby improving their international image. When confronted with accusations of sportswashing, Saudi Crown Prince and Prime Minister, Mohammed Bin Salman responded, 'If sportswashing is going to increase my GDP by 1%, then we'll continue doing sportswashing. I don't care [about the term]. I have 1% growth in GDP from sport and I am aiming for another 1.5%. Call it what you want – we are going to get that 1.5%.' Regardless of the true motivations behind

Saudi Arabia's recent surge in sports investments, it has proven economically beneficial, and the state intends to further bolster its engagement in the industry.

There is some apprehension concerning Saudi Arabia's involvement in global sports. In 2019, tennis stars Novak Djokovic and Rafael Nadal initially agreed to play a match in Jeddah but withdrew their participation upon learning about the death of Jamal Khashoggi, following public pressure. Nevertheless, aside from a possible bid by Australia, Saudi Arabia stands as the frontrunner to host the 2034 World Cup. Despite the criticism Saudi Arabia may encounter concerning their alleged sportswashing and human rights violations, its growing influence in the sports industry may soon compel the sporting world to look past these concerns.

The Sustainability of the Nordic Model in the 21st Century

Ella Clifford



When discussing my upbringing in a Nordic country, people often express intrigue about the Nordic model.

Oftentimes, people are familiar with the benefits of living in such countries, such as universally accessible healthcare and education, along with other social services. In numerous discussions, it's evident that some regard Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and Finland as almost utopian, while others question the costs of enjoying these societal privileges. So far, the Nordic model, which merges a dynamic market economy with a comprehensive welfare state, has achieved substantial growth and equality. While many try to gauge

its applicability to other nations, I am more concerned about its sustainability in the twenty-first century. In recent years, Nordic governments have faced sustainability pressures, mainly due to changing demographics.

Adapting to an Aging Population

Like many countries, the Nordic nations are experiencing a demographic shift towards a higher number and proportion of older people. This global trend poses unique challenges to these governments. As social service states, they depend on income redistribution to fund services for children and the elderly. An ageing population strains these services. Despite

the perceived permanence of Nordic welfare mechanisms, adapting to ageing societies has spurred significant healthcare reforms. Consequently, healthcare services have undergone New Public Management (NPM) reforms, altering the role of medical professionals and patients through new incentive structures.

Addressing an Influx of Migrants

Migration policy has recently become crucial in the Nordic model's functioning and sustainability. The 2015-2016 migrant surge, predominantly from Syria, Afghanistan, and Africa, challenged the education, housing, and welfare systems. Nordic governments reacted by tightening asylum policies and reducing welfare benefits. Immigration discussions in these countries often focus on the impact on social welfare and public services. For the Nordic model to be sustainable, its services must be accessible and capable of supporting the entire population. Concerns about immigration straining welfare

systems can lead to reluctance to accept immigrants. Therefore, social integration is imperative to avoid further immigration-related issues.

Entering the labour market as a foreigner can be challenging, affecting not just employment prospects but overall societal integration. Many jobs require language skills immigrants may lack upon arrival, limiting their employment opportunities. Addressing this challenge involves reducing discrimination in hiring and providing resources for successful societal integration.

Ultimately, while changing demographics pose challenges to the Nordic countries' sustainability, their steadfast commitment to social welfare and economic stability has enabled them to adapt to evolving circumstances. The Nordic countries continue to address these challenges, upholding the core principles of the Nordic model while seeking sustainable solutions for the future.

The Resurgence of Pro-European Sentiment in Poland

Friedrik Haegerstrand



Prawa i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), known in English as the Law and Justice party, systematically consolidated control over various government institutions over its eight-year tenure in Poland as the dominant party from 2015 to 2023. Simultaneously, it fostered a close alliance with Hungary's right-wing Fidesz party, forming a united conservative front against the European Union (EU). Rule-of-law advocates have accused PiS of anti-democratic and authoritarian practices, arguing that under their governance, Poland can no longer be considered a constitutional democracy. PiS policy actions culminated in a significant impasse between Poland and the EU, prompting the EU to withhold roughly \$37 billion in COVID-19 recovery funds due to rule-of-law violations. This impasse highlights the escalating tensions, hostility, and deterioration of Poland's present relationship with the EU.

The actions of the Law and Justice party have raised concerns both within the country and throughout the European Union. Current Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk of the Civic Platform Party pledged to reverse PiS's rule-of-law infringements, emphasizing the importance of restoring trust between Poland and the European Commission to enable the disbursement of the previously mentioned COVID-19 recovery funds. Similarly, on October 15th, 2023, Polish voters expressed their distrust towards the PiS government by voting the opposition coalition into majorities in both parliamentary houses. This shift in electoral dynamics has sparked fresh optimism for imminent changes in a Poland that, over the past eight years, has

been increasingly viewed as authoritarian. Tusk, a seasoned pro-European leader with experience as the former President of the European Council, represents a significant shift from the preceding administration. His consistent dedication to European integration indicates to the EU that Poland is taking a more EU-friendly path. However, the degree to which this governmental change will lead to tangible policy changes remains to be determined.

Challenges are already manifesting within Tusk's coalition. Notably, some parties oppose lifting the grain blockade imposed on Ukraine, which was initially enacted to protect Polish farmers but has since strained relations between Ukraine and the EU because it goes against the EU's open market rules. Furthermore, the coalition displays a divergence of opinions on key issues, such as the acceptable term limits for abortion. Significantly, Polish President Andrzej Duda, supported by PiS, possesses veto power over legislation, positioning him as a highly influential figure in the nation's political scene. His role could impact the direction of the new government and potentially obstruct many initiatives proposed by Tusk.

The election of Robert Fico as Slovakia's leader also casts a shadow of uncertainty. It's unclear how Fico's leadership will influence responses to Hungary, previously met with resistance from the PiS government. It remains possible that Slovakia could become a Hungarian ally in opposing EU sanctions. This development could impede the efficacy of the EU's united front against perceived rule-of-law breaches by President Viktor Orbán of Hungary.

Amidst this complex and evolving political landscape, the 2023 election outcome is a significant win for pro-European factions. It conveys that a substantial segment of the Polish electorate disapproves of the PiS government's actions. Donald Tusk's rise to power indicates a change in Poland's direction, yet the path forward is laden with obstacles. Only time will tell the actual effectiveness and measurable achievements of the new administration. Nevertheless, the symbolism of having a pro-EU government in one of Europe's fastest-growing economies and increasingly influential militaries is significant, particularly compared to an administration that had consistently clashed with EU law and the principles of rule-of-law. The coming years will be pivotal for Poland's future within the European Union.



Photo Courtesy: Reuters, 2023.

Genocide Denial in Bosnia: Embers of a New Conflict?

Oliver Dann



early three decades have elapsed since the end of the Bosnian War (1992-1995) between Bosnia and the remnants of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo). This devastating conflict, Europe's deadliest since World War II, claimed the lives of more than 100,000 individuals. All sides committed atrocities, with none more deplorable than the events that transpired at Srebrenica in 1993.

In Srebrenica, designated as a UN 'safe zone,' Dutch peacekeepers passively watched as more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) men and boys were forcibly evacuated from the town, loaded onto school buses, and then systematically

executed by Bosnian Serb forces in the surrounding countryside. The scale of this ethnic cleansing shocked the world and prompted NATO's bombing campaign against Serbia. This ultimately led to Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic signing the Dayton Agreements in 1995, officially ending the war.

Modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina comprises three primary ethnic groups: Bosniaks (48%), Serbs (37%), and Croats (14%). The country's governance is overseen by a UN-appointed high commissioner and is divided into two autonomous provinces: Bosnia and Herzegovina (majority Bosniak and Croat) and Republika Srpska (majority Serb). A tenuous peace prevails, but it remains threatened by long-standing ethnic tensions. The primary point of contention between Bosniaks and Serbs revolves around the truth of what transpired in Srebrenica. In 2007, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) finally ruled that Serb actions amounted to a war crime, and since then, several Bosnian Serb officers have been found guilty of genocide, most notably Bosnian Serb leader Ratko Mladić.

However, many Serbs hold a different perspective. Some revere Mladić as a 'hero' and perceive the ICJ's ruling as further evidence of the West's bias against Serbia. Surveys conducted during the leadership of Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić estimated in 2020 that 80-90% of Serbs don't believe that a 'major crime' had occurred in Srebrenica. The denial of genocide gained sufficient momentum following the election of Milorad Dodik in 2022. Dodik, the separatist leader of Republika Srpska, has gained prominence through his denial of the Srebrenica massacre, which he labels 'a fabricated myth.' Additionally,

he has advocated for Republika Srpska's secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the Law on Prohibition of Genocide Denial (2021), such actions are illegal, and Dodik has recently been indicted for violating this law and for attempting to enact his own legislation in Republika Srpska that would enable him to defy the international envoy to Bosnia, Christian Schmidt – an appointment made by a body of 55 countries involved in the peace process known as the Peace Implementation Council. Not only did Dodik fail to recognise Schmidt's authority (a stance supported by Moscow), but he also threatened to arrest Schmidt should he enter Republika Srpska.

It is crucial to recognise that it is not accurate, justified, or prudent to claim that genocide denial is the primary unifying factor. Instead, the key unifier is the belief among Bosnian Serbs that they have been marginalised and unfairly treated by the international community. Genocide denial forms part of the broader narrative for a significant portion of the population, especially those who were directly involved in the conflict time. Over the course of thirty years, the passage of time has contributed to collective amnesia, enabling older generations to reinterpret the narrative for younger generations who may not be familiar with the details.

Many Bosnian Serbs aspire to see Republika Srpska join Serbia. On a regional level, this development could likely lead to conflict between Moscow-backed Serbia and a significantly weaker Bosnia, undermining the UN's already fragile legitimacy in the Balkans. A Serbian victory in this scenario would also embolden Serbia to adopt a more aggressive stance on the issue of Kosovo.

Serbia regards Kosovo as its ancient heartland and has steadfastly refused to recognise Kosovo's independence since 2008, fueling ethnic tensions between Kosovo's Albanian majority (93%) and Serb minority (2%).

Broader questions regarding the impact of, and approach to, conflict in Bosnia pose significant challenges. Bosnia is unlikely to receive substantial military aid from neighbouring countries or the United States due to reduced US interventionism and the looming threat of Russia as a backer – a threat that did not exist in the 1990s. Additionally, Bosnia is not a NATO member, and the conflict in Ukraine has demonstrated that while NATO may offer equipment and financial support under pressure, troops are out of the question. Even without the prospect of war, persistent economic and political instability in Bosnia serves as a permanent obstacle to EU membership, limiting the country's access to European markets, with no clear plan to membership in sight.

Regardless of whether Dodik is acquitted of charges, there is a concerning trend that threatens to repeat itself. Slobodan Milosevic's weaponization of historic ethnic tensions between Kosovar Serbs and Kosovar Albanians in 1989 ignited a conflict that could not be extinguished, ultimately leading to the outbreak of the Yugoslav wars in 1991. His meteoric rise from relative obscurity to a position of great power in Yugoslavia caught the international community by surprise. While the circumstances in Bosnia may not parallel those on the same scale, the warning signs of potential conflict are unmistakable. This time, they must not be disregarded.

Literature on Trial:

The Fight Against Censorship in US Libraries

Emma Brown



On January 6, 2021, a mob of rioters stormed the US Capitol building in a bid to obstruct Congress from certifying the 2020 presidential election – an event that stood as one of the biggest threats to democracy in American history. On that very night, Amanda Gorman finished her poem ‘The Hill We Climb’; two weeks later, she stood before the Capitol building to recite it during the inauguration of President Joe Biden. Amidst reflections on a fractured democracy, she emphasised hope for unity, proclaiming, ‘the hill we climb if only we dare it.’

Gorman later transformed her poem into a book intended for young readers, in part to inspire young people to find their voices. Her aim was to make her words accessible to the millions of children who rely on public and school libraries. As the First Amendment of the US Constitution articulates, the freedom to access knowledge stands as one of the of the

core principles of American democracy. Nancy Kranich succinctly captured this sentiment: ‘Libraries are the cornerstone of democracy.’ With more than a billion annual visits, libraries constitute one of the most frequented public service institutions in the United States, being the sole entities that grant free access to information and ideas for all. However, in spring 2023, a school in Miami-Dade County, Florida, took a controversial step by voting to limit access to Gorman’s poem in its libraries, specifically for elementary-aged students. This decision followed a single complaint from a parent who asserted that the poem ‘cause[d] confusion and indoctrinate[d] students.’

Book bans have a long history in the United States. Works such as Thomas Morton’s *New English Canaan* (1637), Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1851), and Margaret Sanger’s *Family Limitation* (1873) faced bans due to their sensitive or contentious subject matter. In 1982, this issue reached the

Supreme Court after a New York City school district banned eleven books. Highlighting students’ First Amendment rights, the Court ruled that ‘local school boards may not remove books from school libraries simply because they dislike the ideas contained in those books.’

Nevertheless, in recent years book bans have seen a resurgence, even though most Americans oppose banning books in public libraries. According to the American Library Association (ALA), which tracks censorship in libraries, 2022 saw 1,269 attempted book bans – the most in two decades. Sixty percent of these bans were implemented in

available in bookstores but are merely preventing children from accessing inappropriate material. Miami-Dade County used a similar argument, asserting that Gorman’s poem was not banned, as it remained available to older students. However, as Gorman contends, any form of restriction effectively functions as a ban. In her statement, Gorman condemned the school’s decision: ‘Robbing children of the chance to find their voices in literature is a violation of their right to free thought and free speech.’

Libraries have emerged as the battleground in a broader conflict

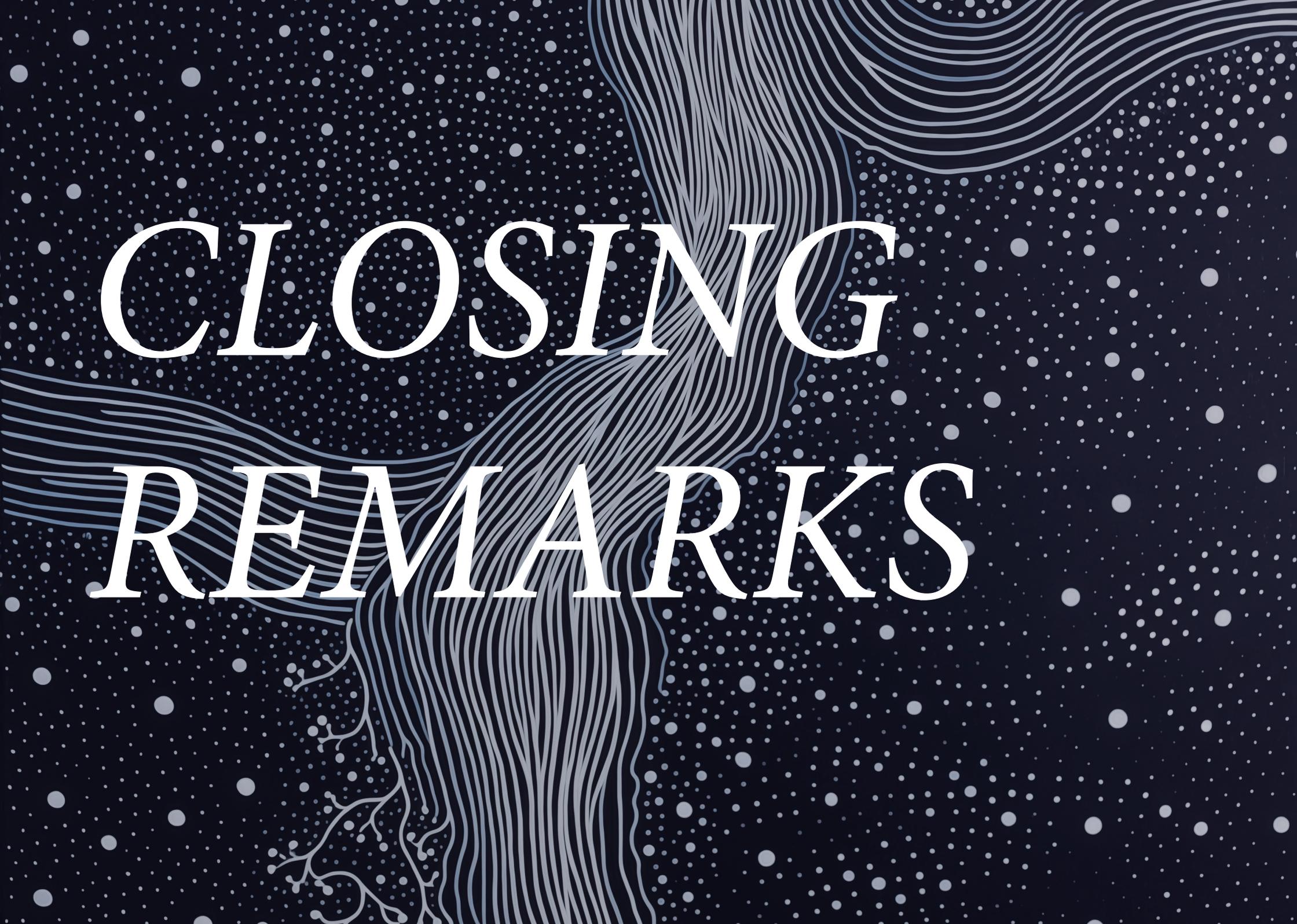
*We’ve seen a force that would shatter our nation
rather than share it.
Would destroy our country if it meant delaying democracy.*

*This effort very nearly succeeded.
But while democracy can be periodically delayed,
it can never be permanently defeated.*

– *Amanda Gorman, The Hill We Climb*

school libraries, while the remaining forty percent occurred in public libraries. Many of these banned books deal with subjects related to race and LGBTQ identities, including titles such as Toni Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye* and George M. Johnson’s *All Boys Aren’t Blue: A Memoir-Manifesto*. The movement fueling these bans has largely been led by small groups, particularly conservative organisations that focus on ‘parental rights.’ Brooke Stephens, the education director at Utah Parents United, argues that they are not ‘banning’ books since they are still

concerning democracy. As PEN America CEO Suzanne Nossel warns, ‘by depriving a rising generation of the freedom to read, these bans are eating away at the foundations of our democracy.’ As these restrictions continue to rise, they are in danger of becoming the new norm. If Americans can draw anything away from Gorman’s poem, it is the imperative to take action. In the past summer, Illinois passed legislation prohibiting book bans in public libraries, the first of its kind. There is hope, ‘if only we’re brave enough to be it.’



*CLOSING
REMARKS*

Closing Remarks



Through this issue of *New Annales*, we have traversed a landscape rich in ideas and found ourselves at the convergence of the past, the present, and the future. *Renaissance*, a concept deeply rooted in the annals of history yet strikingly relevant to our contemporary discourse, symbolises both a historical period of great intellectual awakening and an ongoing process of transformation and reinvigoration. In centering this issue on *Renaissance*, we hope the theme's galvanising spirit has inspired both our writers and readers alike.

In our journey through these pages, we have engaged with a multitude of perspectives, each echoing the *Renaissance* spirit in its call for re-examination and reinterpretation of established norms and beliefs. The renaissance as depicted through our collective contributions is not just about the resurgence of arts and culture; it extends into the realms of technology, politics, economics, and social structures, challenging us to rethink and reimagine the status quo. It prompts us to question long-held truths, to break free from the inertia of tradition, and to embrace change openly.

Each article in this publication, in its own unique way, challenges the conventional and embraces the innovative. Through this, we understand that the Renaissance is not a relic of the past but a continuous journey, a persistent rebirth occurring in every moment, with every small step we take.

In these closing pages of *New Annales VI: Renaissance*, I am reminded of a concept frequently examined in discussions of time travel: When people contemplate travelling to the past, they are often preoccupied with the fear of altering the present by even the smallest of actions. Yet, paradoxically, in the present, there is a frequent underestimation of the powerful butterfly-effect impact small actions have to radically shape the future. This issue, in its exploration of revitalization, renewal, and the interplay of historic and contemporary ideas, serves as a testament to the transformative power of our voice.

In light of this, let us move forward with the understanding that our actions, however small, serve as the foundations of the future. I hope these pages have sparked conversations about the potential of our passions in the realms of technology, policy, art, and health to forge the world of tomorrow. Let this *Renaissance* be a call to action, inspiring us to contribute, in our unique ways, to the creation of a future that reflects the best of what we have learned from our past and what we aspire for our tomorrows.

Gigi Glover
Head of New Annales
The Roosevelt Group

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