

the
AURANTIACO





A Letter from the Editor

To the reader,

I can't express how grateful I am that we have made it thus far. What began when I was first approached by Louise and Dr. Thomas with a seemingly simple idea has now officially come to fruition as *The Aurantiaco*. Having been established on Clemson's campus for less than 8 months, and its conception being less than a year old, I cannot thank the contributors, writers, team of editors and designers, Clemson staff, and our faculty advisor who each have contributed to the early success of *The Aurantiaco* enough.

Seeing the niche which existed within Clemson's publication space of interdisciplinary writing within the humanities and social sciences, during the summer of 2021 Louise conceived of the first idea of the journal which you now hold in your hands. She, along with Dr. Thomas, approached me with her idea, asking that I help co-found this new journal and serve as its editor in chief. Louise's vision was simple yet ambitious – the journal was to be a collection of student work within the humanities and social sciences, solicited via a submission process from the student body, and published by a student-led team. It would highlight the exceptional student work which already existed, offering the space for it to be publicly featured, thereby increasing an appreciation for the social sciences and humanities within the greater Clemson community. Believing in her vision and wanting to leave my own positive mark upon Clemson, I readily accepted the opportunity and am now extremely proud to have served as the editor in chief for the inaugural edition.

Over the past academic year, countless hours have been dedicated to decisions regarding how to translate our vision into reality. We knew what we *wanted* the journal to be – it should display work which demonstrates strong writing skills, serious intellectual thought, and is found within disciplines which fall under the broad category of the humanities and social sciences. Thankfully, Clemson students provided *exactly* that. The pieces contained within this edition span a wide range of disciplines – anywhere from history to political theory to architecture – yet they all share one common thread: deep, intellectual thought which sheds light on some aspect of the human experience. While the social sciences and humanities are broad categories, and the various subject areas highlighted by selections within this edition are not nearly exhaustive, we are excited to offer the space for both distinct subject areas and individual student works to be featured.

Surreally, *The Aurantiaco* has become everything I envisioned. From the high level of academic work contained within, to the beautiful layout and cover art, to the wonderful student organization which has formed up around it, it is exactly as it should be. Although it is bittersweet that graduation has put an end to mine and many others' time serving *The Aurantiaco*, I hope that this project will continue to grow and feature even more exceptional work in the future. My hope for you is that you will enjoy reading this journal as much as we enjoyed producing it, and that when you turn the final page, you will be left with a great feeling of pride at the work being produced by Clemson students for Clemson University.

Ever Loyal,



Meredith Johnson, Editor in Chief



Inaugural Staff, 2021-2022

Table of Contents

A Letter from the Editor	1
Arts & Architecture	
“Natural and Built Environments: An Abridged Analysis of the Architecture of National Parks”.....	4
“The Documentary Filmmaker as <i>Auteur</i> ”.....	9
Economics	
“Keynesianism and Classical Liberalism”.....	13
English	
“Postmodern Philosophy Within the Context of Haruki Murakami’s <i>Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World</i> ”.....	16
Geography & History	
“German Roads Lead to Rome”.....	19
Philosophy & Religious Studies	
“Christianity and the Pluralist Capitalistic Society”.....	22
Political Science	
“Russia and International Law: An Interest Based Relationship”.....	26
“Examining US Foreign Policy through the Lens of Critical Theory”.....	30
Political Theory	
“On the Need for a Long-Term Mindset in Government”.....	34
“Locke and Tacit Consent: The Best Form of Consent Available to Us?”.....	37
Visual Arts	
“in-festation”.....	42
References	44
Inaugural Staff Page	48

Arts & Architecture

“Natural and Built Environments: An Abridged Analysis of the Architecture of National Parks”

by Jack Lodmell

Nestled in the wildernesses of America lie vast untracked areas of stark natural beauty. Preserved by acts of Congress “for the benefit and enjoyment of the people,” the US National Parks function as havens for endangered flora, rare fauna, and those who wish to escape the confines of civilization. However, an oft overlooked aspect of these parks is the way in which they are “designed.” While it isn’t intuitive to think of wilderness areas as “designed,” the ways in which users interact with these parks are carefully considered and scripted. Whether via road, trail, or simply a visitor center, the built environ-

ment is highly influential in the experience of a National Park. Looking specifically at the changes over time to these designs yields valuable insight about the trends in architectural design and the evolution of American society.

Key to understanding the context of the early American National Parks is the Romantic movement of the late 19th Century. This movement emphasized “the individual, the subjective, the irrational, the imaginative, the personal, the spontaneous, the emotional, the visionary, and the transcendental.”¹ The movement also embraced a deep awe and respect for the natural world, espe-

cially portions of the natural world of outstanding beauty. These ideas led them to a greater appreciation for the natural world, especially in the face of increasing industrialism. While factories and smog dominated the landscape of contemporary cities, the Romantics found solace and solitude in the wildernesses of France, Germany, and Switzerland.

John Muir, in the proud tradition of Transcendentalist philosophers Emerson and Thoreau, was a fervent defender of that wilderness of America.² Muir loved the American West, worked to urge the passage of the bill authorizing the protection of the Yosemite Valley, and was an early defender

of the very idea of National Parks. Rooted in the idea of protecting America's wild spaces, Muir took upon himself the mantle of the Transcendentalists (and the Romantics before them) and worked to create a space for the enjoyment of all people.

Out of Muir's initial reverence for nature grew his philosophy of conservation. For him, "nature was God, best preserved far from the degrading touch of man."³ However, this view was not without controversy. Gifford Pinchot, the fourth head of the US Forest Service⁴ and a contemporary of Muir's, saw the use of the natural resources of the United States to be a necessary sacrifice for the growing republic. Muir and Pinchot were close friends despite their ideological differences. On the one hand, the Parks exist for the "benefit and enjoyment of the people," as enshrined on the arch at the gates of Yellowstone. However, it is impossible to allow the future generations to experience the parks without somehow preserving them, and excluding certain types of "enjoyment by the people." This contradiction, encapsulated in the debate between Muir and Pinchot over short and long term use, is one which the Park Service has grappled with and continues to explore to this day.

Prior to the establishment of the National Park service, the area within what is now considered Grand Canyon National Park was a part of the larger battles around conservation in the United States. It was known to the general public as a place of impressive natural beauty, but development and recreation was not controlled by government regulation, but rather, by private companies. The Fred Harvey Company functioned as the dominant concessionaire in the area

of the Grand Canyon at that time, and architect Mary Colter was their secret weapon. Active in the early 20th Century, her work reflects her background in the American Southwest, and she worked on several buildings surrounding what is now Grand Canyon National Park. Her notable designs include Hermit's Rest, Lookout Studio, and Desert View Watchtower, all of which are now designated and preserved as a National Historic Landmark.

Colter's work is unique in its attitude toward its context, as the buildings appear either to fade away into their landscapes, or into the books of history. The Hermit's Rest and Lookout Studio projects both are designed with rough edges and natural colors to mimic the surrounding landscape, and the Desert View Watchtower seems to be a ruin of a forgotten era. In each of her projects, Colter reveals the ways in which contemporary ideas about the natural world can influence the execution of a project. According to the National Park Service, "Hermit's Rest was designed to resemble a dwelling constructed by an untrained mountain man using the natural timber and boulders of the area."⁵ It functioned as a rest-stop along the Fred Harvey stagecoach trail, which carried visitors to the surrounding areas.

In the actual building, the eponymous "Hermit" shows his handiwork throughout the building, despite his fictionality. The materials, primarily stone and local bark stripped timber, are hyper regional, to fit a narrative backstory of construction by an early settler.⁶ Their use is designed to suggest an author lacking in traditional training, who nonetheless has put a painstaking amount of care into the construction. The interior structure of Hermit's Rest includes hidden concrete support, within two wooden posts of the main room, and a large slab in the ceiling.⁷ Colter's design is an example of artifice, a form of false aesthetic narrative which attempts to tell a story through the visual quality of a thing. Typically, the artifice is one of "false" age or authenticity, and Colter's example is no different. It is said that she even rubbed soot above the fireplace to convey a sense of use and age.⁸ The entire building reads as an artifact of a past history.

Author Arnold Berke notes an interesting distinction in Colter's work from other designs of the time, saying "she made no attempt to design or formalize the natural surroundings; no yard or garden sphere mediates between structure and landscape."⁹ This reflects a reverence towards the natural environ-



ment. Colter did not see a need to “tame” the natural desert landscape by planting specific species of bushes or flowers. Instead, she took the canyon on its terms and designed in deference to it. Rather than form the wilderness to fit the building, she designed the building to fit the wilderness.

Colter’s style of work was influential as an example in the early Park Service discussions. These works set the tone of reverence to the landscape and of reliance on natural materials which spread across the US parks. They also show the profound influence of the Romantic and Transcendentalist movements and display the cultural values of the wilderness movements at the time. Colter’s ideas were important in the development of the NPS Rustic Style, and her fingerprints are still seen to this day.

After the conclusion of the Second World War, architectural design changed rapidly to reflect the new ideas of the space age and the booming population. With the repurposing of the war-time economy and manufacturing back to civilian life, production of steel structural elements was faster and more efficient than ever before. Use of steel reinforced concrete was on the rise, and these modern materials influenced the typologies of the designs of the day. Especially influential were the works of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright.

Charles Eduoard Jeanneret, better known as Le Corbusier, began his architectural career in relatively conventional ways. As a student, he designed several buildings in alpine Switzerland which mirrored the existing Victorian stylistic movement. However, as he began to explore the potential uses of reinforced concrete, his architectural ideas quickly moved beyond the realm of tradition. His particular choice of materiality enabled an architectural expression which had not been technologically possible before, with open spaced plans, long continuous ribbon windows, and cantilevered spans.

Frank Lloyd Wright worked similarly, beginning with the relatively conventional Victorian styles, but his evolution had a distinctly American flavor compared to Le Corbusier’s International Style. Whereas buildings in the International Style could theoretically be built anywhere, regardless of surrounding context, Wright worked in what we might now describe as a critical regionalist framework, tying his works clearly to their contexts. His early works reflect the language of the American prairie, with long, low-

slung massings and his use of the Chicago vernacular brick. However, through the course of his career, he expanded into methods that became more and more experimental. Wright’s career, just like Le Corbusier, paved the way for further transitions into the experimental realm of modernity.

The Mission 66 Plan was developed in 1956 as a response to the continual frustrations encountered by NPS Director Conrad Wirth in securing yearly funding for the Park’s improvement projects. Rather than rely solely on his ability to convince Congress of their need on a fluctuating basis, he proposed a long-term plan to bring the park facilities into modernity. Envisioned as a ten-year process, the Mission 66 Plan was intended to be completed in 1966, the year of the service’s 50th anniversary. Among the intended improvements were more accessible roads, newly renovated or constructed visitor centers, and facilities such as restrooms and picnic areas.

The Mission 66 project, as a radical expansion of parks access to the public, signaled a change in tone for the park service. In keeping with the ideology of the 1950’s, automotive access was widely increased, park visitorship widely increased, and the style of design changed from the highly traditional rustic style seen at the Grand Canyon to a more expressive modern style similar to those of Wright or Le Corbusier. Whereas Mary Colter sought to make her designs appear to have existed from the distant past, the new architecture seemed to speculate on the possibilities of the future. With this focus on modernization came a broadening of the parks to the public. By reducing the time and resources spent on a single facility, more



of them could be built, and the overall capacity of the parks was increased. This increase in parks visitation was both a cause and effect of the Mission 66 plan. This increased visitation drove another main focus of the Mission 66 project, the focus on visitor experience.

Designed by Bebb and Olsen and completed in 1959, the Clingmans Dome Observation Tower is described as “precedent-setting”¹⁰ for the Mission 66 movement, but it is also commonly criticized.¹¹ The primary complaint is that the tower places too much emphasis on the architecture, thus drawing attention away from the scenic landscapes. It is evident from this controversy that there has been a massive shift in the language of design in the National Parks.

The summit of Clingman’s Dome is the highest in Great Smoky Mountain National Park, as well as the highest in the state of Tennessee, whose border with North Carolina the tower straddles. The viewing tower stands approximately 45 feet above ground, dwarfing the evergreens below, and is accessed via a long spiraling ramp, which curves dramatically around the site. The structure of the ramp is reinforced concrete, and the outside of the structure is bare, without ornament. The lines from the original formwork are visible on the underside of the viewing platform. The interior surfaces of the ramp are finished with pebble dash, a common treatment in the 1950’s and 1960’s, presumably to help protect those surfaces touched by visitors. The approach to the site is a steep half mile paved walkway, from a crowded parking lot and ranger station.

The architecture is clearly situated in a kind of dominance over the surrounding landscape. There is no attempt by Bebb to “blend” the structure into its context, or to use materiality to create a relationship to the site. It is jarring to see the monumental ramp and columns in the wilderness of a National Park. Instead, the focus is entirely on the ever-present visitor. The whole experience is carefully laid out and made accessible to the average tourist, with the approach hike short enough to be accessible to most, but steep enough to give a feeling of accomplishment. The visitor is then rewarded with a 360-degree view of the surrounding scenery. The price, of course, of this view, is the disruption of the skyline and of the natural environment. The futurist philosophy seen here is a step away from the Romanticism that formed historical attitudes about the parks. Instead, the focus moves from the picturesque and the sublime to the magic of progress and the atomic age. With such a pronounced shift,

many denounced this project as overly dramatic and attention seeking, especially when compared to the prior precedents in the parks. With such a dominant figure on the surrounding landscape, some argued that the Park Service was straying from its goal of preservation and imposing too much human influence on this designated wild area.

With the ever-expanding suburbs and the post-war boom in population, the populace turned to the prevalent technology of the era to assist in making life easier. Work-saving inventions were entirely fashionable, and the idea of using technology to ease the lives of the American citizens was refreshing and novel. This translated to the prevailing attitudes about nature and wilderness, with the general public often viewing the National Parks as purely user driven experiences, without consideration for what made the parks so beautiful. In seeking to make accessible the American wilderness, the parks faced an architectural overcorrection which threatened to drown out that natural beauty which they sought to protect.

As the Mission 66 project began to wind down, most parks had been outfitted with the resources needed to deal with the vast numbers of travelers now visiting them. The program funded and developed visitor centers at many of the major NPS sites, and this typology quickly became the dominant form through which tourists experienced National Park Architecture. By essentially combining the programs of the previously common park museums, as well as the administrative buildings occupied by park staff, the visitor center became a “one stop shop” for all those entering the park.¹² These singular entities also managed aspects of parking, automobile circulation, visitor information and orientation, and, eventually, retail sales. Obviously, this complex arrangement necessitated more sophisticated designs than of Clingman’s Dome, and here we see the architectural innovation of the modern era of our parks.

One of the most impressive examples of Park Service Modern style visitor centers, (although it was not completed during Mission 66 proper) is the Beaver Meadow Visitor Center at Rocky Mountain National Park. The storied Taliesin firm handled the design of the project. Founded in 1932 as a school of architecture by Frank Lloyd Wright, the studio began undertaking projects in the philosophy of Wright after his death in 1959. The philosophical fingerprints of Wright are easily evident on the visitor center, as the



long, low-slung roof, geometric designs, and areas of compression and release all echo Wright's own design philosophies. Taliesin also responded to its particular physical contexts, such as the striking view of nearby Long's Peak, one of the most prominent mountains in the park.

Wright had four principles of architecture which are easily visible in this project. These include the rejection of the traditional box shape seen in modernist design, the expression of horizontality in the low-slung roof, the integration of the building with the surrounding landscape, and the use of natural and weather aged materials to tie the architecture to its context. The massing of the building consists of two intersecting squares, turned on 45 degree angles, which are connected to an elongated rectangle. The low-slung prairie style roof is visible here and reflects the valley as the site of the building. The building also rises from the ground on the upper level, concealing its full size on the lower side of the building and fitting thoughtfully into the hillside on which it is built.

Perhaps the most interesting draw from Wright was the use of materials. According to a summary of work developed later by Taliesin, one of the most important aspects of Wright's designs was his use of materials which weather "over time, so that they might reveal their true nature."¹³ Of course, this principle of naturally inspired design was easily evident in works such as Colter's Hermits rest, with its stone faces weathering in harmony with the surrounding cliffs. Indeed, Peters follows their example, using pink fieldstone from the nearby town of Lyons, which had been originally quarried for Denver's courthouses.¹⁴ This material has obvious rustic connotations, but it is cut in a more regular and less varied pattern. However,

the major innovation was in the use of Cor-ten steel for the building's unique steel envelope. The pattern of trusses was carefully and ornamentally designed, and again, the steel was designed to weather with the environment. The triangular motifs are allegedly derived from Native American patterning, and also bear strong resemblance to traditional Wrightian organic design. In a pamphlet distributed by the park, the steelwork is said to "form a collage of jagged triangles reminiscent of the surrounding mountain vistas."¹⁵ As the building aged, the steel would intentionally rust and become a deep, dark brown color.¹⁶ This integration of the modern materials seen in the building with the aforementioned natural ethos shows the impact of Wright on later modern design.

The Beaver Meadow visitor center represents a strength of the late modern style in contextual design. Rather than placing a building in dominance over the landscape, the accepted ideology was to site the building in deference to the surroundings. This stylistic choice continues to this day, echoing the ethos of Colter and Wright rather than the early modernism of Le Corbusier.

More contemporary designs have focused even further on integration with the landscape via sustainable best practices and careful consideration of renewable resources. The LEED standard (Leadership in Energy Efficient Design) was developed in the 1990s, and offers a framework for the grading of a building based on its environmental impact. The visitor centers at Zion, Mesa Verde, and Grand Teton all engage with the environment in a more critical way, whether through passive cooling systems, renewably sourced timber, or engagement with local tribal peoples. These elements function as an extension of the ideas of both the rustic movement and the late modern movement, and reflect the continuously changing values of the American public at large. Despite the previous shift to architecture in competition with landscape, the pendulum of design has swung back to architecture which is respectful, even deferential, to the landscape which it inhabits. While it is never possible to predict the future, it seems likely that this is the future of the architecture of our National Parks.

“The Documentary Filmmaker as *Auteur*”

by Joseph Franklin

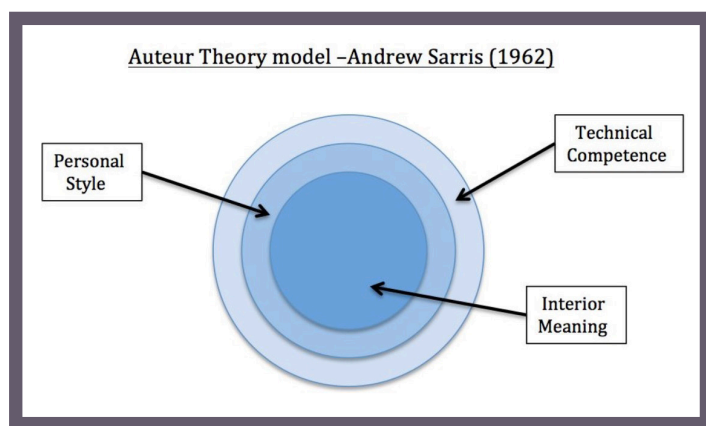
Throughout the formation of modern film theory, many have studied the *auteur* theory mainly through the lens of the studio system, in which some directors had nearly complete creative control over the film’s production and could easily insert their own personal style and themes in order to create a film that is a reflection of the director’s vision alone. However, as the film industry has grown larger and more accessible to the masses, documentary films are more popular than ever. Documentaries are unique in the sense that they must be based in reality. They are nonfiction by nature, causing the filmmaker to fight for creative control. Of course filmmakers can choose which topics to cover in a documentary, but they cannot alter facts or create stories of their own. However, documentaries are far from objective. Similar to the way journalists spin stories to fit a certain narrative, documentary filmmakers can take a specific angle on a given topic. With this tension between facts and subjectivity, can documentary filmmakers be considered *auteurs* through the lens of Andrew Sarris’ *auteur* theory? This essay will answer this question by analyzing the filmographies of two well-known, yet distinctly different documentary filmmakers – Ken Burns and Michael Moore.

In order to analyze these two filmmakers against the backdrop of the *auteur* theory, we first

must establish a foundational understanding of the theory itself. Stemming from the writings of *Cahiers* critics in the 20th century and later adapted by Andrew Sarris, the *auteur* theory posits that a film is a result of the director’s vision and choices alone, rather than a result of collaboration between a multitude of individuals on a film set (Sarris, 1962). This theory has been fiercely debated throughout the years, as many believe that other positions such as the writer, producer, set designer, or casting director can have as much, if not more, of an influence over the final product of the film. Regardless, the *auteur* theory is a central discussion within film theory and criticism and therefore warrants analysis across a variety of filmmakers and genres.

In order to specify what qualifies directors as *auteurs*, Sarris created a model of the theory in the form of three concentric circles that represent the three aspects of *auteur* filmmakers (Sarris, 1962). The outermost circle represents technique, which refers to the director’s technical production ability (Sarris, 1962). While seemingly an obvious characteristic that a director must possess, commonalities of technique across a director’s filmography demonstrate that the technique is the doing of the director, rather than the contributions of cinematographers, editors, and the like. The middle circle represents personal style (Sarris,

1962). Wes Anderson or Martin Scorsese are examples of this, as their style bleeds across the entirety of their works and allows their films to be easily and distinctly identifiable. Finally, the middle circle represents inner meaning (Sarris, 1962). In this way, the *auteur* theory encompasses both the visual components of a film as well as the narrative structure. Among *auteur* filmmakers, common themes and meanings can be identified throughout their filmography, establishing the director as the source of meaning rather than the writer. It is important to note here how this model relies on analyzing a director's entire body of work rather than a single film, as these commonalities can only be observed when considering the other films the director has made. That is why, for this paper, it is necessary to exclude groundbreaking documentaries such as *Icarus* (2017), as its director Bryan Fogel does not have a substantial enough filmography to constitute an analysis of Fogel as an *auteur*.



Possibly the most well known documentary filmmaker, Ken Burns, specializes in historic documentaries that look back on specific periods or events. In fact, depending on one's age, there is a strong possibility that one could have viewed his work in the context of a high school history class. His films cover a variety of periods throughout history and are often titled simply, pointing to his desire to communicate factual information rather than a deeper meaning or theme. For example, titles of Burns' films include *The Civil War* (1990), *Baseball* (1994), *The Dust Bowl* (2012), and *Prohibition* (2011) (IMDb, n.d.). While the themes and information in Ken Burns' films are fairly objective compared to other documentary filmmakers, his visual style is immediately recognizable. In order to create a thorough representation of these historical periods, Burns makes use of archived footage as well as still photographs that are often shown over a narrator or interviewee. Burns' trademark technique is to scale

in or out of a still photograph while panning across it in order to bring the still photograph to life. In fact, this technique became so popular that Apple incorporated an effect called the "Ken Burns Effect" into their video editing software iMovie (Apple, n.d.).

Unlike many other film genres, documentaries rely on an arsenal of distinct elements in order to craft a well rounded story. These components include interviews, b-roll, cutaway shots, and archival footage (Bekele, 2013). Due to Burns' subject matter, which often looks back on a historical period, he is forced to rely heavily on this final component, archival footage, in order to communicate his message. Many modern documentaries fill space with cutaways and b-roll that were filmed while the story was taking place, but Burns is denied this luxury. Instead, Burns heavily uses archived photographs, which necessitates his distinct pan and zoom across still pictures in order to simulate motion, as still photographs have the potential to quickly bore viewers.

In addition to his visual style, Burns utilizes a narrator in addition to interviewees in order to fill gaps in the story. The presence of an objective narrator immediately implies that Burns' films are primarily for educational and informational purposes, pairing seamlessly with the use of archival footage. Take, for example, the introduction to the seventh part of Burns' series *Baseball* (1994). The documentary opens with interviewee and actor Billy Crystal reminiscing about the first game he ever attended, during which cutaway archival footage is shown to establish the time period. Shortly thereafter, we hear the narrator for the first time, stating, "between 1950 and 1960, Joseph Stalin died. Ho Chi Minh drove the French from Vietnam. And in Cuba, Fidel Castro seized power" (Burns, 1994). While this seemingly has nothing to do with baseball, the obvious focal point of the film, it establishes Burns' documentary as a look back on a specific period. In contrast, in *Civil War* (1990), we are immediately met with the voice of the narrator before anyone else, but the effect is much the same. A still shot of a cannon is shown while we hear the narrator recite a quote from Oliver Wendell Holmes, former Supreme Court Justice, detailing the horrors of war. In both of these examples, the narrator is immediately established as an objective voice. Burns has worked with a variety of narrators throughout his career, including John Chancellor, David McCullough, and Peter Coyote (IMDb, n.d.). This is important to note, as it effectively removes Burns himself from the film. While many

documentary filmmakers prefer to narrate the story themselves, Burns opts to employ others. This is paramount to the discussion of Burns through the lens of the *auteur* theory because despite the variety of narrators, Burns' visual style and narrative structure alone allow his films to be easily distinguishable. While this informational approach to documentary filmmaking falls short of committing to common themes or ideologies due to its mostly objective nature, Burns meets the criteria of Sarris' two outer circles – technique and personal style.

On the other end of the spectrum, Michael Moore is known for his use of documentary films as a form of activism. While Burns has a distinct visual style and presents mainly objective, factual information, Moore uses his films to identify issues in our society and bring them to light, mainly focusing on the flaws of capitalism (IMDb, n.d.). Moore has made films concerning America's gun culture in *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), criticism of the American healthcare system in *Sicko* (2007), and the factors that led to Trump's 2016 election victory in *Fahrenheit 11/9* (2018) (IMDb, n.d.). Moore's visual style is fairly chaotic, cutting between still images, news footage, archived footage, interviews and handheld shots of everyday conversation. In this way, it is difficult to determine the presence of a distinct visual style. However, it is clear that Moore's films are saturated with his own perspectives of the world. One could argue that through the lens of the *auteur* theory, this common thread of meaning throughout Moore's films could be more important than visual style, since "interior meaning" lies at the core of Sarris' *auteur* theory model of concentric circles.

As previously stated, Moore's films seem to lack a distinct visual style. In fact, a majority of the shots included in his films are either taken from news reports and talk shows, or show everyday conversations through handheld shots that look no different from what you might find on YouTube. The two film stills below show the contrast between the visual styles of Moore and Burns.



The first is a still from Moore's film *Sicko* (2007). As you can see, there is nothing necessarily distinct about his visual style. What makes this recognizable as a Michael Moore film is the presence of Michael Moore himself within the frame (left), focusing more on the arguments and content of the conversation above aesthetics. The second still shows a still from the seventh part of Ken Burns' *Baseball* (1994). Due to the fact that Burns often relies on archival footage, he must insert his artistic style into his films in the few areas he has control, interviews being one of them. While the "Ken Burns effect" is impossible to demonstrate through a film still as it requires motion, Burns' interviews are visually distinct by themselves, with harsh, dramatic lighting against a black backdrop. This contrast in visual style and narrative content exemplifies the main difference between the two – Moore is distinguishable through the Sarris' inner circle of meaning, while Burns is known for the two outer circles of technique and personal style.

Focusing on the film's message, Moore immediately inserts himself into his films by narrating the story himself, which acts in stark contrast to Burns' use of other individuals to narrate his films. Layered over footage of Hillary Clinton's final rally before election night, the first words we hear in Moore's *Fahrenheit 11/9* (2018) are Moore himself asking "was it all just a dream?" (Moore, 2018). Moore's own emotions and reactions to Trump's victory demonstrate his desire to communicate specific messages and sentiments within his films, unlike Burns' primarily informational approach. Moore is unrestrained in expressing his firm opinions, as shown in *Fahrenheit 11/9* (2018) when, while showing news clips from election night, he states, "to make matters worse, Fox News was using my name" (Moore, 2018). Not only does this show that Moore viewed Trump's victory as a devastating blow to America, but he also unabashedly shows his disdain for Fox News which is widely known for expressing conservative views. Rather than using his films to look back on a historical period, Moore's themes center around current and ongoing issues within our society, whether that be political corruption, wealth inequality, or gun control, along with countless others.

In a more direct sense, Moore also frequently appears on-screen, something we virtually never see from Burns. In *Sicko* (2007), for example, Moore visits British hospitals in order to juxtapose a nationalized healthcare system against the private systems offered

in the United States which he views as unequal and financially crippling (Moore, 2007). He asks patients and doctors about hospital bills and how they will pay for them, which are mostly met with laughs. When asked how much he was charged for the delivery of his child, the father of a newborn actually laughs and responds "No no no, this is all on the [UK National Health Service], this isn't America" (Moore, 2007). By having these impromptu conversations with real people in real time, Moore has become known for his informal conversational structure rather than his visual style.

By contrasting both the visual and narrative styles of Ken Burns and Michael Moore, it can be argued that documentary filmmakers have demonstrated the ability to be distinguishable through each of the three concentric circles in Andrew Sarris' model. Thus, while an *auteur* must demonstrate all three circles, something neither of these filmmakers necessarily do, we can see that it is indeed possible for a documentary filmmaker to distinguish himself as a quasi-*auteur*. While incredibly rare when compared to other genres such as melodrama, action, or science fiction, there is nothing that necessarily bars a documentary filmmaker from being considered an *auteur* through Andrew Sarris' definition. That being said, as the popularity of documentaries begins to rise thanks to streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Prime, the emergence of documentary filmmakers who set themselves apart as *auteurs* will likely be commonplace as the industry continues to evolve.

Economics

“Keynesianism and Classical Liberalism”

by Sergio Gonzalez Varela

Although Conservatives tend to portray John Maynard Keynes’ economic theories as being a repudiation of Adam Smith’s free market capitalism, this is a misinterpretation of Keynes’ work. Keynesianism merely elaborates on Smith’s work, while still remaining faithful to the spirit of free market capitalism.

To better understand the relationship between Keynesianism and Adam Smith’s liberal economics, one must first turn to Smith and his work. Smith lived in 18th century America and is widely regarded as the father of classical liberal economics. In Smith’s best-known work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Smith seeks to answer why some nations are poor while others are rich.¹ The book does this by following the growth of nations from the most primitive of communities, to the large nation states of Smith’s era, all the while presenting an argument for the great potential of the private sector. The basic premise of Smith’s argument is that the private sector can be, for the most part, left alone by the government and still function properly. This is because the market is driven by individuals that are competing with each other and pursuing their own desires. As a result of *The Wealth of Nations*, free market capitalism became the standard by which economic policy was measured in America, and this then led to government intervention being seen as counter-productive to the needs of society.

However, it is a misreading of Adam Smith to categorize him as being firmly against the public sector. Smith’s thoughts on the public sector are more nuanced; he believes that there are both good things and bad things that arise from the government intervening in the economy. This is most apparent in book five of *The Wealth of Nations* when Adam Smith presents his thoughts on the public schooling system. To begin, Smith contrasts the impotent nature of modern schools with the greatness of the ancient schools. Smith’s argument is that the education in the Greek and Roman societies was great because “[t]he demand for such instruction produced what it always produces, the talent for giving it; and the emulation which an unrestrained competition never fails to excite, appears to have brought that talent to a very high degree of perfection.”² Smith’s claim here is consistent with what he argues previously in *The Wealth of Nations*; competition in the private sector between individuals creates the best possible product available. In this case, it would be the best education available.

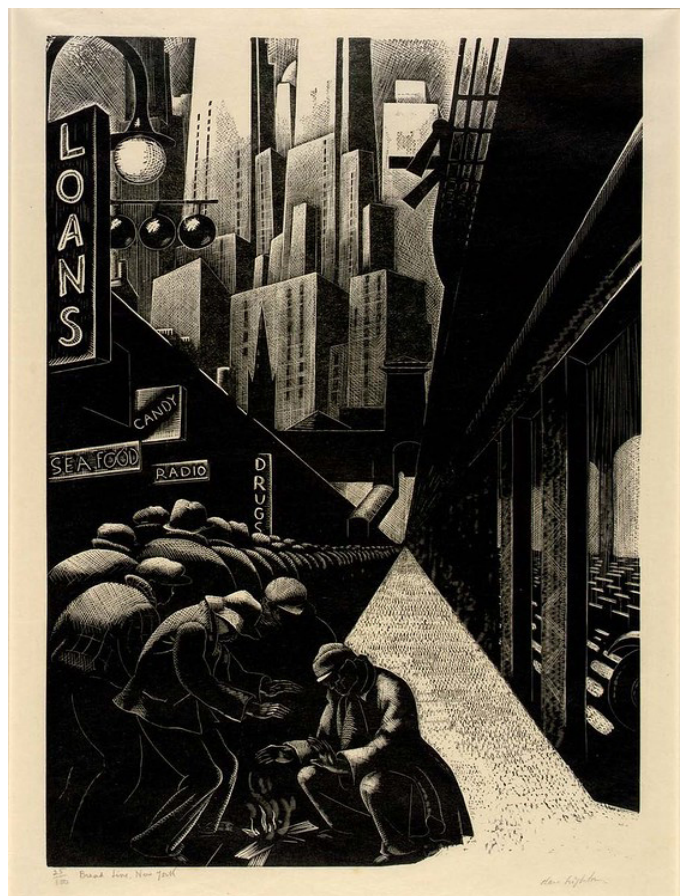
Smith then goes on to compare the quality of teachers from the past to teachers of the present. Smith states that teachers from Greek and Roman societies “appear to have been much superior to any modern

teachers” because “In modern times the diligence of public teachers is more or less corrupted by the circumstances which render them more or less independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions.”³ Thus, it is the lack of competition in public education that Smith has the biggest problem with; a bad teacher will not feel motivated to improve their teachings because there is no other competition around and their job is secure. Smith then reflects on how the lack of competition has affected the schools when he states that “The endowment of schools and colleges have, in this manner, not only corrupted the diligence of public teachers, but have rendered it almost impossible to have any good private ones.”⁴ The public teacher has an unfair advantage over the private teacher because their job is secure regardless of their work while the private teacher’s is not; as a result, the private teachers cannot compete and are slowly pushed out of the marketplace. Smith then theorizes that “[w]ere there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand, or which the circumstances of the times did not render it either necessary, or convenient, or at least fashionable to learn.”⁵ In summation, Smith claims that education would become more efficient if it was privatized because the private teacher would put forward the best education possible.

Despite this, Adam Smith qualifies his critique of public education by highlighting the ways in which public education helps society. Smith claims that in certain situations the government must interfere to “prevent the almost entire corruption and degeneracy of the great body of the people.”⁶ The reason Smith holds education of the common man in such high regards is because if man were to focus on nothing but his work and had no other education, then man “naturally loses, therefore, the habit of exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become.”⁷ What Smith is saying here is that without some means of education, the common man becomes ignorant and therefore useless in society, so education of the common man is of the utmost importance. Nevertheless, Smith argues that “in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the laboring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it.”⁸ The reason that Smith makes such dire claims about the educa-

tion of the commoners is because he understands that many times, government funded education is the only way that these people will be able to learn. Private education might be better than public because of the nature of competition, but that does not mean that everyone will have access to it. As such, Smith recommends that the public sector provide cheap education for the masses.⁹ Although Smith admits that publicly funded education is nowhere near as good as private education, Smith also claims that public education fills a role that private education cannot fill: in this case, widespread education. Therefore, it is not contrary to Smith’s free market theory for the government to intervene whenever the private market cannot solve a problem on its own.

Centuries later, an economist by the name of John Maynard Keynes would expand upon Smith’s economic theories by studying recessions and the business cycle. Keynes crafted his economic theory in response to the failure of contemporary economists in explaining the worst economic downturn that the world had ever seen, The Great Depression.¹⁰ Keynes sought to explain two items with his theory: why the economy goes through recessions, and what can be done to



stop them. Through his research, Keynes eventually concluded that “aggregate demand – measured as the sum of spending by households, businesses, and the government – is the most important driving force in an economy,” and economies go through recessions because of “inadequate overall demand.”¹¹ Keynes had identified “inadequate demand” as the culprit behind the economic downturns that were plaguing the world, so all that was left was to find a way to counteract this lack of demand.

Accordingly, Keynes’ answer to the recession problem lay in the public sector. This goes back to Keynes’ idea of aggregate demand being the force of the economy. Recessions result in low demand from households and businesses because people simply do not have money; this then meant that it was up to the government to raise overall demand.¹² To accomplish this, Keynes argued for “active policies by the government, such as a fiscal stimulus package.”¹³ Such active policies were usually considered risky because they could result in inflation, but Keynes demonstrated how the change in aggregate demand positively affected output and employment more than it negatively affected prices. Yet underlying Keynes’ economic theories, the private market still served as the guiding force behind the market, and the government was there only to kickstart the economy again or fix any mistakes that are made along the way.¹⁴ To summarize, Keynes’ theories expanded the role of government from what was believed acceptable at the time; where it used to be considered only a passive observer, the government could now be an active participant.

Keynes’ theories revolutionized how economists viewed the relationship between the state and the economy. Instead of leaving the private market to its own devices, the government was encouraged to take an active role in making sure that the economy was running smoothly in what Keynes referred to as “countercyclical fiscal policies.”¹⁵ But to many intellectuals, this mixed economy approach seemed to contradict the teachings of Adam Smith centuries prior. These thinkers considered Keynes’ teachings to be directly opposed to Smith’s because Smith had explicitly criticized the public sector as being inefficient and harmful to private competition. But what these thinkers fail to mention is that Smith had also conceded that in certain instances, the public sector is capable of doing things that the private cannot, and in these instances

government intervention is expected. The classical liberal argument for the private market certainly holds true for instances in which resources are best utilized by private individuals competing with one another, but during recessions, resources are not being used to their full potential, so there is no harm in having the government intervene if it means restarting the economy.

What’s more, Keynes never sought to demonstrate the limits of capitalism in his work; instead, Keynes sought to make capitalism more efficient. Keynes’ theories of government intervention serve only to correct any mistakes that might have pushed the free market out of balance. Author Paul Krugman affirms this in *Peddling Prosperity: Economic Sense and Nonsense*, stating “Keynes’ theory of a recession sees it as a situation in which private markets have gotten into a kind of traffic snarl, a snarl that government action can help untangle.”¹⁶ More importantly, Krugman also states that Keynes “himself was no socialist, nor were most of his followers; they saw their ideas as a way to make capitalism run better, not a reason to replace it.”¹⁷ Although Conservatives criticize Keynes for his advocacy of greater government influence in the economy, Krugman notes that Leftists also dislike Keynes’ teachings. Krugman states that “Since Marx, [Leftists] have regarded the business cycle as evidence of the instability and ultimate unsustainability of capitalism; they are dismayed at the suggestion that it is a technical problem that can be fixed without any major changes in institutions.”¹⁸ Hence, Keynes and his followers were only acknowledging that there are situations in which the economy can be better taken care of by the government than by the private sector, much like Adam Smith did in *The Wealth of Nations*.

Although Keynesianism’s focus on government intervention seems to be at odds with free market capitalism’s emphasis on the private sector, Adam Smith himself understood that there are situations in which the private sector fails while the public sector succeeds. Therefore, Keynesianism is an extension of Smith’s free market capitalism.

English

“Postmodern Philosophy Within the Context of Haruki Murakami’s *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*”

by Aika Washington

In *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*, Haruki Murakami weaves two distinct but interrelated plots together in an intricate presentation of Postmodernist literature. His use of the “End of the World” chapters to simulate the inner workings of a human mind are awash in a post-modern conception of the self-conscious. This, along with his composite of what was at the time a scarily realistic near-future blended with a dash of cyberpunk, squarely places *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* at the intersection between the modernism of mid-century Japanese authors like Yukio Mishima and the Postmodern surrealism of Western authors like Kurt Vonnegut. Murakami relies greatly on Postmodern philosophy to form the backbone of the multiple realities in this novel, as well as the shaping of character worldviews.

Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World is a novel told

from two different perspectives which alternate chapters between those in the “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” and “The End of the World”. “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” is a world somewhat similar to ours, although a notable science fiction base mixed with a classic hard-boiled detective story runs through the undercurrent. “End of the World” is a more subdued but still fantasy setting, taking place in a mysterious walled town with many unexplained rules. Throughout the course of the story, these two dissimilar worlds eventually find themselves intertwined via the main character.

Post-modernity is defined by Encyclopedia Britannica as “in Western philosophy, a late 20th-century movement characterized by broad skepticism, subjectivism, or relativism; a general suspicion of reason; and an acute sensitivity to the role of ideology in asserting and maintaining political and economic power” (Duignan). Although Murakami



himself and the settings of most of his novels are decidedly Japanese, he draws heavily from Western culture and authors of the Western tradition. Namely, this is noticeable in segments of *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* that fall into the category of “Hard-Boiled Wonderland”. In the chapters that comprise the “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” plotline, the main character maintains an affection for various things of Western origin. For example, in the chapter “Skull, Lauren Bacall, Library”, the main character makes references to a can of Coke, Ernest Hemingway, Humphrey Bogart’s *Key Largo*, and the chapter’s eponymous actress Lauren Bacall all within the span of a few pages (Murakami, 67-68). One Japanese item is pointedly mentioned in the chapter; however, its treatment compared to the almost veneration shown to the Western things is notable: “...the Mainichi Shimbun, three weeks old, no news of note. I crumpled up the pages again and tossed them away” (Murakami, 66). This act can almost be seen as an ode to the one of the core concepts of Postmod-

ernist philosophy; that is, deconstruction of the role that ideology has on one’s personal beliefs. The main character initially takes the information told to him by the System about Calcutecs and the nature of shuffling during his training as a Calcutec as truth, as he has no reason to question it. His shuffling password, “End of the World”, is also something that he dismisses as relatively unimportant, since “the word is only a label, for convenience sake. All the same, I was in the dark about its contents” (Murakami, 106). However, his previously clear cut vision of the world as delineated between “bad” Semiotecs and the “good” System becomes muddled after meeting the Scientist. It is only through hearing from an old man known only to the reader as the Scientist that we learn about the truth, this time from what could be considered an alternative source. The main character has to reorient himself and his attachment to his world as he grapples with what he has learned. This new revelation requires a complete reevaluation of the ideology he learned in the System during his lengthy training to become a Calcutec.

In the sections of the book that take place in the “End of the World”, the reader learns about life in a place known only as “The Town” in the novel. None of these characters have given names, and they refer to both themselves and others by only their given occupation. Midway through the novel, we find out via the Scientist in “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” that the world is ending: “Accurately speaking, it isn’t *this* world. It’s the world in your [main character’s] mind that’s going to end” (Murakami, 252). The phrasing of this quote is interesting, as the main character will be stuck inside his own consciousness, but the Scientist refers to their “normal” world as “the world in your mind.” Postmodernists often deny that an objective reality exists, and this fits with the scientist’s worldview. It almost seems as if he insinuates that the “real” world isn’t the static world that we think of it to be, and that it is different for every person. The concept of the existence of a single, objective reality is something that Postmodernists dismiss “...as a kind of naive realism. Such

reality as there is, according to post-modernists, is a conceptual construct, an artifact of scientific practice and language” (Duignan). The Scientist refers to the world unobjectively, and in this instance, he makes a point of noting the distinction between the world that he is experiencing and that of the main character’s experience.

Although the two worlds do not directly interact, many ideas and memories from the world of “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” find their way into the Town of “End of the World.” One of the most notable is the unicorn skull, which exists as a simulacrum within the “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” chapters. About two-thirds of the way through the novel, the Scientist tells the main character about the unicorn skull that he was gifted earlier in the novel, saying, “That was a replica. I made it. Pretty realistic, eh? Modeled it after a visualized image of yours,” (Murakami, 252). A simulacrum, a copy or image without reference to an original, is a concept in Postmodernism that also is closely tied with hyperreality. According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, “In Postmodernism, hyperreality is the result of the technological mediation of experience, where what passes for reality is a network of images and signs without an external referent, such that what is represented is representation itself” (Aylesworth). Although the beasts (the unicorns) exist in “End of the World”, they are mythical creatures in the world of “Hard-Boiled Wonderland”, just like our world. Therefore, it can be argued that the unicorn skull is something that is a representation of something from the visualized consciousness of the main character, a world that doesn’t exist for the Scientist who created the representation of the skull in the world of “Hard-Boiled Wonderland.” One could also argue that within the context of “End of the World”, items and concepts from the real, or prior world,

could be considered part of hyperreality, as many of the ideas and concepts that take place there do not and have not ever existed in that reality as far as the Town’s inhabitants know. “The End of the World” is the only reality that the narrator of that knows of for certain until the discussion with his shadow later on in the novel. As an example, he begins to play the accordion in this world, without any experience of it in his other life: “.I can’t play any musical instruments” (Murakami, 199). The experience of playing the accordion is one of hyperreality, as the main character creates this experience within “The End of the World” without an external reference.

Murakami’s *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* draws heavily on philosophical elements, specifically Postmodernist philosophy, to create its complex plot involving multiple layers of reality and consciousness. The novel vehemently rejects the idea of a shared objective reality and encourages and expands upon the idea of the existence of our own rich inner worlds. The deconstruction of one’s existing ideological boundaries also plays an important role in the novel as the main character comes to see his own world (both the “Hard-Boiled Wonderland” and “The End of the World” worlds) in a new light.

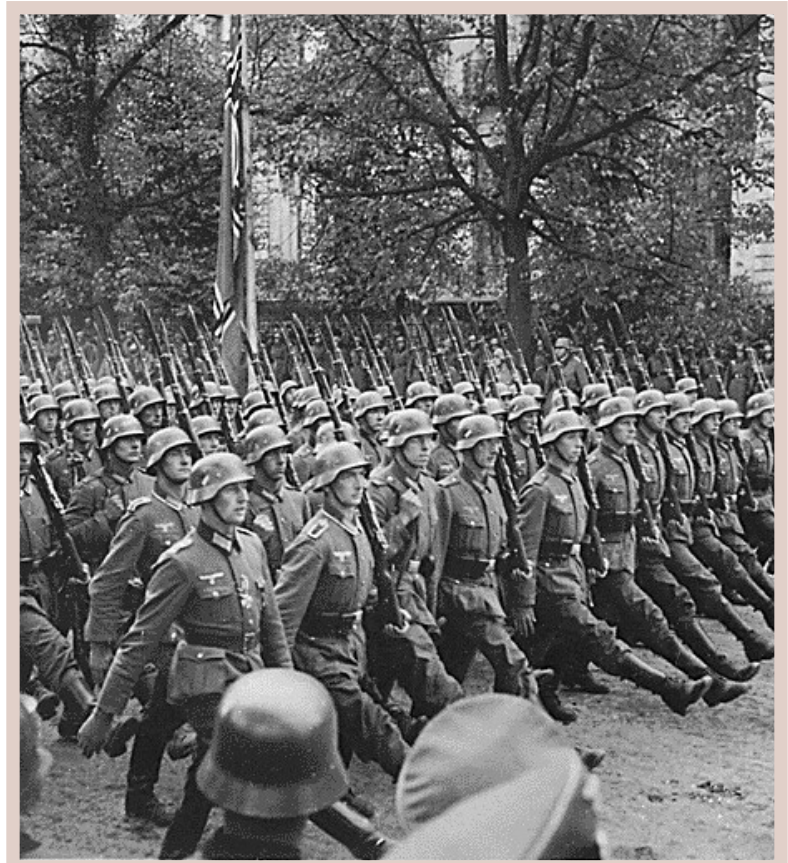
Geography & History

“German Roads Lead to Rome”

by *Ryan Anderson*

Nazism at its core is a rejection of modern morality in favor of a return to the noble, militaristic morality of the Romans. Three works, respectively by Simone Weil, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Leo Strauss, each illuminate a different aspect of this connection while overlapping in many regards. Weil highlights the similarities between the actions taken by the Romans and Nazis, Nietzsche connects the moral systems of the two, and Strauss highlights the militaristic nature of Nazism and its rejection of modern morality, not morality on the whole.

Weil demonstrates convincingly that Nazi Germany is the *ne plus ultra* of “the centralized state” whose chief component is a belief in “the State as sole fount of authority and object of devotion” (Weil, pp. 92, 91). This belief leads to “the subordination of private rights to the supreme authority (of the state),” aligning perfectly with Hitler’s belief expressed in *Mein Kampf* that the best communities are those in which personal interests are subordinated to the sacrifice of oneself for the greater community (Weil, p. 130). While



these characteristics describe Nazism well, Weil draws them not from the current events of her time (1940), but from the history of Rome throughout its period of dominance. Rome's gods "served no purpose except to maintain and enhance the national greatness," and her law boiled down to the will of the emperor (p. 129). Coupled with this is the Nazi revival of those Roman principles which lead to her ascendancy. Weil writes that the Romans conquered because they were serious, disciplined and organized, believed themselves to be a superior race, successfully employed ruthless cruelty, were impervious to pity, and were skillful in the policy of the big lie (Weil, p. 102). As she writes elsewhere, these descriptors are equally applicable to ministers of the Third Reich (Weil, p. 119).

Nietzsche, a major influence upon Hitler, crafts another link in the chain connecting Nazism and Rome by describing the truly good as the noble and aristocratic (Nietzsche, p. 12). Specifically, the noble race values war, strength, adventure, the hunt, athletic contests, and physicality in general, and it is no coincidence that the Nazi Third Reich promoted each of these pursuits (Nietzsche, p. 16). Nazism also embraces Nietzsche's view of morality as a struggle of each class to impose its will on the other, a view expressed succinctly in the translated title of Hitler's book, "My Struggle." This noble race which attempts to impose its will upon others in Nietzsche's argument is distinctly Roman, as he writes that "the symbol of this battle, written in a script that has so far remained legible across all of human history, is 'Rome against Judea, Judea against Rome' ... The Romans were after all the strong and noble ones, such that none stronger and nobler have ever existed" (Nietzsche, p. 31). Nazi Germany challenges this last contention of Nietzsche's, striving to be the ultimate victor over Judea by blotting it off the face of the earth. No clearer connection could be made between Rome and Nazism than Nietzsche's pronouncement that the Roman and Germanic are "the splendid *blond beast[s]* who

roam about lusting after booty and victory" (Nietzsche, p. 22).

While Nazism returns to the morality of the Romans, it does not attempt to be pre- (or post-) moral. Strauss argues persuasively that German nihilism, of which he defines Nazism as the "most dishonorable" example, desires not the destruction of everything including itself, but the destruction of modern civilization, and specifically of modern morality (Strauss, p. 357). Nazism despises the modern, liberal order based upon peaceful international cooperation and individual freedom, a critique seen clearly in Hitler's disdain for Woodrow Wilson, the founder of the League of Nations and a proponent of both individual and national self-determination. The Nazis, as German nihilists following the thought of Nietzsche, dislike any civilization which seeks to establish a peaceful order of plenty, be it capitalistic or communist, as such orders would eliminate the need for individual sacrifice for the public good which they see as the key concept of humanity (Strauss, p. 360). Coupled with their love of sacrifice, and indeed growing out of it, is their fondness for the military virtues; for courage, the chief martial virtue, is an "unambiguously unutilitarian virtue" (Strauss, p. 371).

The life of the noble warrior, and in particular his willingness to sacrifice his individual life for the good of the collective, epitomizes the ideal of both Rome and Nazism. It is quite striking when Strauss references Spengler's conclusion that the Roman defeat at Cannae was "the greatest moment in the life of that glory which was ancient Rome" (Strauss, p. 363). This defeat entailed the massacre of according to Livy roughly 45,000 Romans, whose commanders were thoroughly outmaneuvered by Hannibal. One is left to wonder what was great and glorious in such a battle, and is left only with the thought that its glory came from the Roman soldiers' willingness to sacrifice themselves and continue to fight instead of surrendering once they were surrounded. The similarities between



Cannae and Hitler's desire for the Sixth Army to continue fighting once it was hopelessly surrounded in Stalingrad are eerily clear; in response to the surrender by the commander of the Sixth Army, Hitler proclaimed, "How can one be so cowardly? I don't understand it ... What is life? Life is the Nation ... He could have freed himself from all sorrow and ascended into eternity and national immortality, but he prefers to go to Moscow!" (Catastrophe at Stalingrad). Here lies an excellent example of the Nazi desire to return to the spirit of Rome.

In conclusion, it has been argued using the works of Weil, Nietzsche, and Strauss that Nazism is ultimately a return to the morality practiced by the Romans during the growth of their empire. Both the Nazi practices and their justifications can be seen through these works to be distinctly Roman in their attempt to return to a morality in which one believes to be good that which he desires, with this desire expressed most clearly in the conquest and domination of others.

Philosophy & Religious Studies

“Christianity and the Pluralist Capitalistic Society”

by Mason Harmon

“The care of souls cannot belong to the civil magistrate, because his power consists only in outward force: but true and saving religion consists in the inward persuasion of the mind, without which nothing can be acceptable to God.”¹ This has been the prevailing reasoning for separating Church and State from a religious perspective since the founding of the United States. John Locke’s *A Letter Concerning Toleration* can be summarized by the following statement: forcing religion upon the individual at best breeds a false belief and at worst, heresy. The resulting society is, then, necessarily pluralistic, granting equality under the law to every religion and essentially saying that all have equal claims to truth. The problem with this is, while the State may view each as having equal claims to truth,

many of these religions make exclusive claims to truth. In John 14:6 Jesus says, “I am the way the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me.” Islam and Judaism also affirm the divine sanction of their own holy books which stand in contrast to the teachings of other religions. Even with these exclusive claims, there may still be harmony between the Church, other religions, and the State. However, problems begin to arise when the State condones and even encourages immoral acts as defined by a religion, pushing the members to resist it. The State cannot show partiality to a religion and stop a certain practice to appease them, and the situation only grows more complicated when there are competing understandings of the morality of an action within the Church. The question is, though,

how a religious person is supposed to follow their own convictions in a pluralistic society when they are at direct conflict with the State.

The line between what is and what is not a violation of religious rights has become increasingly blurred. Obviously, compelling someone of a particular religion to do something which they see as a violation of their beliefs violates religious freedom, but the issue is more complex. Existing as a part of a society that permits and encourages behaviors that violate religious belief can be seen as an infringement upon religious freedom, though those involved are not being asked to engage themselves. Extreme immorality condoned by the State must be resisted as all injustice is resisted by Christians, “Learn to do good; seek justice; correct oppression; bring justice to the fatherless and please the wid-



ow's cause" (Isaiah 1:17). Clearly, the obligations of a Christian reach far outside the bounds of their own personal area; they are to fight for justice in all places, in order that the eventual justice and righteousness of God may be shadowed by where they exist. As Calvin says concerning Christians and courts, their purpose is "to defend sound doctrine and the condition, to adapt our conduct to human society, to form our manners for civil justice, to conciliate us to each other, to cherish common peace and tranquility."²

A potential counter to this idea may be found in the words of Romans 13:2, "Therefore whoever resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment." This idea is only further intensified by the fact that Emperor Nero was on the throne exacting unjust punishment on thousands of Christians at the time Paul was writing this. Many opponents of religious action posit that Christians are to remain submissive at all times to authority and trust in the Lord instead. All they are required to do is keep their heads down and hope that God will exact justice. The issue with this argument is that the acts and commands of rulers or ruling bodies can be in tension with the law of God. The Lord does not contradict Himself, so the Christian must

be obligated to serve the law of God over the law of man in these situations. As Johnathan Mayhew says, it would be foolish to cater to the commands of an insane parent trying to cut his children's throats.³ There are countless examples of biblical heroes resisting authority in Moses, Peter and John, as well as Daniel. Each of these men and many others do not have the authority on their own to defy government, but they derive authority of God when an institution puts itself at odds with God's law. This means certain whims and arbitrary missteps are to be tolerated and swallowed by Christians as good citizens, perhaps even supported. However, Romans 13 still makes a strong case for being incredibly careful when judging whether or not the government has violated God's law; for if it is not broken and the Christian resists, he is resisting God Himself.

Once again, allowing each religion to have equal claims to truth disregards their belief that they have exclusive claims to truth under the law; no religion can be given preference over another. Therefore, religious morality cannot guide a capitalistic society, it must find its own definitions that will change over time to accurately reflect what the citizens in the aggregate think is good and right. This may reflect moralities

similar to one religion or another depending on the population, but it is never wholly of one or another. It is an impossible situation for the State to rectify; they cannot stop a societal practice to appease a certain religion because that would violate religious freedom. So, if the State is held captive according to the principles of Toleration from Locke, the burden of action falls on the religious individual.

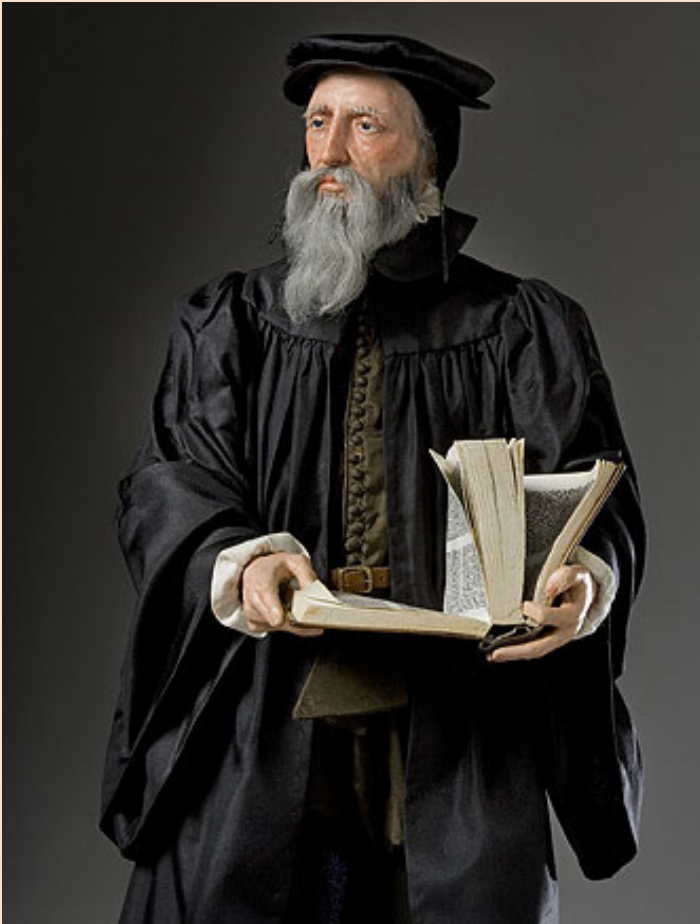
For the Christian, it is not a question of if there should be resistance but rather how they should resist. In the book of Daniel, Jews are faced with an oppressive regime in a pluralistic society. Daniel and his friends abstain from pagan practices and are rewarded for their faithfulness by God. King Nebuchadnezzar commands them to fall down and worship a golden image of himself and they refuse. The King then casts them into a furnace where they are saved by God. It seems from this story that civil disobedience is the method by which followers of Christ must engage with the State when their beliefs are threatened. But what does civil disobedience look like when the government's interaction is not directly forcing the Christian to submit to a certain regulation? As already defined, permissiveness to sin in society for the Christian is a sin in itself, and moreover brings indignation to the hearts of true believers. It would be difficult for a Christian to engage in civil disobedience of the kind Daniel does because the Christians are not the ones being directly affected by the legislation. Civil disobedience as a means of combating sinfulness in society is only effective for Christians when they are themselves facing direct orders that they can act against.

In the book of Judges, there is a constant cycle of the Israelites being enslaved for their sin, their eventual repentance, and their liberation by God through a hero. There is plenty upheaval supported by God in this book and elsewhere in Scripture. Stories like these could lead some Christians to believe that overthrow of a regime is a legitimate and regular means by which to counteract a sinful society. Something that is commonly overlooked, however, is the fact that all of this upheaval was directly commanded and supplied by God. For every story of righteous rebellion in the Bible, there are more stories of unrighteous rebellion: Absalom's revolution against David and the dissolution of Israel as a united kingdom, just to name a few. Often in these stories, the people use God as a means to an end that they may delude themselves as being righteous in their fight. It is incredibly dangerous to claim the name

of God when doing something that may spit in the face of the person He has put in power. As Romans 13 implies, the office of the ruler is a holy and important office; to revolt against that office is no small thing. In a capitalistic society, one must be incredibly careful before turning to violence. This is especially true in such a society, because it is by nature non-oppressive to the individual. Much like the problem in civil disobedience, legitimate capitalistic societies do not directly target a religion. The evils in question are not those of direct oppression, but of societal state-sponsored evils. This type of problem can seldom be judged as one requiring extreme force to correct. The Lord only ever moved biblical characters to act violently towards rulers in situations of extreme persecution, which is rarely perpetrated by a truly capitalistic society. In one like this, then, violent overthrow is not a legitimate means of correcting evil.

The book of Esther chronicles the story of a young Jewish girl taken as wife by the king. She uncovers a plot by one of the lead military officials to commit mass genocide of the Jewish people and makes the decision to supplicate the king for mercy. Her petition is heard, and the general involved is executed, keeping the bloodline of God's chosen people flowing. The principal found in this account has the most relevance to how a Christian should address the evils encouraged by the State in a capitalist society. 1 Corinthians 14:33 states (albeit when addressing church order) that, "God is not a God of disorder but of peace." There are certain measures in place that allow for the Christian to act inside of the law to cause change. Capitalistic society encourages involvement in government and legislation. Supporting legislation that creates a more holy society is a peaceful means for the Christian to pursue when attempting to correct evil outside of themselves. Much like Esther working through the framework of her government in order to save the Jewish people, Christians can elect officials who accurately represent their interests. Legislating as a means of change both honors the office of the magistrate while supporting holiness in society. This method may be more difficult and tedious than other means, but it works within the capitalistic idea that all religions are equal under the law without subverting it.

In Acts 17:16-34, Paul finds himself in Athens conversing with people in the town square. He dialogues with members of different philosophies and tells them the story of Christ, converting many. While



our lawgiver; the Lord is our king; he will save us.” He has ordained the powers that be and is in full control of what will happen. Even if the ruler in question is oppressive, violent, or corrupt, the Christian is to trust in God, that He has ordained the individual in office, and will bring justice to the world eventually. In the meantime, the Christian is called to obey the law of God, fight for justice, and trust in the Lord. Capitalistic society has provided a blueprint for Christians to evade major systematic persecution, so their main method of fighting for justice must be found in being active in legislation and supporting societal reform in every way they can. They must live holy lives set apart from the rest, so that the rest of society may look upon them and see the glory of God.

it may seem like an unimportant story, this account of Paul’s interaction with the members of a society shows a final means by which a Christian can support God’s law in society. In this story, Paul is engaging a society and expressing both care and understanding of their plight. He reasons with them in love, and as a result many are saved. This is not the only story of this type of engagement either. If one were to look at the methods by which people were engaged in transformative ways with Jesus, a few things rise above the rest: His teaching and His love. Indeed, throughout history, mass conversions have come through the reading of scripture, sermon, and love for a society. Christ says that “They will know you by your love” right before He leaves the earth. He does not say “they will know you by your zeal for legislation” or “by how you keep to yourself.” Christians can change a capitalistic society to more reflect a holy place in the way that they interact with it. Being holy literally means “set apart,” and if the Christian works to do that in his own life, the story of Paul and the life of Jesus make clear that it will inspire others to do the same.

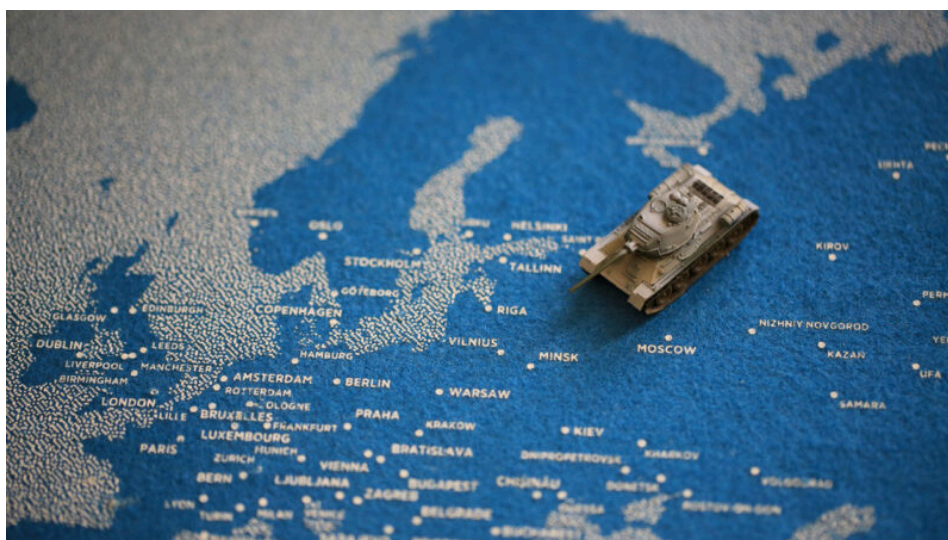
In the end, God is the true ruler of all. As Isaiah 33:22 says, “For the Lord is our judge; the Lord is

Political Science

“Russia and International Law: An Interest Based Relationship”

by Helen Schmidt

Russia has a complex relationship with international law. It would like to participate in international law treaties and be part of the international law decision-making body. However, Russia is also very concerned with its sovereignty and sees any criticism from other countries, especially in the realm of human rights, as meddling in the affairs of the Russian state and as violating the Treaty of Westphalia. Therefore, this paper will explore the Russian relationship with international law. Has Russia tested the limits of international law? Moreover, is there a conflict between Russia taking an active role in international law and Russia protecting its sovereignty? The 2014 annexation of Crimea and 2016 interference in the United States Elections show that Russia has tested the limits of international law. Due to the vagueness of international law and the



necessities of including Russia, Russia will remain part of the international order. Therefore, there is no conflict between sovereignty and international law for Russia, and it will continue to interpret international law according to its interests.

Beginning with the Russian understanding of international law, according to Basak Çali, “a state’s general disposition

to take into account international law is not necessarily rooted in its consent to international law but in a more fundamental attitude that it is necessary for international law to be a meaningful instrument” (Aksenova and Marchuk, 2018, pp. 1329). Çali’s quote reflects the Russian understanding as Russia frequently invokes the norms of international law while also being willing to bend these norms

according to its interests. This bending of standards can be seen especially in Philip Remler's evaluation of Russia's relationship with the United Nations. According to Remler, "When Moscow speaks about the 'democratization of international relations,' it understands this in very narrow terms—as the devolution of power from the former hegemon, the United States, to a group or 'Concert' of great powers, including Russia" (Remler, 2020, pp. 7). Remler reflects the Russian desire to be part of the emerging multipolar world and be seen and treated like a world power worthy of respect.

However, this does not address whether Russia is testing the limits of international law. Several events show how Russia has and is continuing to push international law. Beginning with the annexation of Crimea, several international documents make Russian actions illegal under international law. Foundationally, the principles of territorial integrity and prohibition of force are in Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 370). According to these documents, Russia violated the territorial integrity of Ukraine and the prohibition of the use of force agreement. However, there are several defenses that Russia used to justify the annexation and prove that it had not, in fact, broken international law and pushed the norms of international decorum. Russia especially invoked two different arguments— "the protection of nationals abroad and intervention upon invitation"—which can be rejected upon a close examination of the situation in Ukraine at the time (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 372).

Russia has claimed that the annexation of Crimea was for the sake of "the protection of nationals abroad" (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 372). Still, this argument can be rejected because there was no clear or imminent danger to the ethnic Russians within Ukraine. Even if there were clear or impending dangers to the nationals abroad, it would also need to be shown that the nationals' state is unwilling or able to help the nationals

(Marxsen, 2014, pp. 374). There must also be no additional means for rectifying the situation (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 374). All these conditions also require a broad reading of the right to self-defense provided in Article 51 of the UN Charter, which justifies all kinds of actions that would violate international law under a proper reading of the UN Charter (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 372-373). So, this argument can be rejected as an appropriate justification for the Crimean annexation.

The international community can also reject the "intervention upon invitation" justification. Russia claims that Ukrainian President Yanukovich invited Russian intervention via a letter after fleeing the country "as a countermeasure against what Russia perceives as the takeover by nationalist and anti-Semite Maidan protesters" (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 374). While Yanukovich asserts that he invited Russia, the letter has never been produced and verified. However, even if confirmed, it is still unclear whether Russia would have acted properly. According to the Ukrainian constitution, Yanukovich was not appropriately removed, and when he fled the country, he was no longer in a position of authority. Because of this, Yanukovich would not be able to legitimately invite Russia (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 375).

Moreover, an invitation to intervene is not internationally recognized "if it relates to acts whose commission would violate an obligation of states under a peremptory norm of international law, such as the consent for another state to newly establish a protectorate over its territory" (Marxsen, 2014, pp. 376). Due to these norms of international law, the annexation of Crimea cannot be justified. While there were consequences—including sanctions—the rest of the international community continues to work with Russia as it sees it as a critical player in the global sphere. According to Marxsen, "it seems after all that the minimum resistance of non-recognition might determine the relations between Russia and almost the rest of the world for a not so minimal period of time" (Marxsen, 2014,



between Russia taking an active role in international law and protecting its sovereignty? From an outward perspective, Russia is an advocate for upholding international law. In his New York Times Op-Ed, Vladimir Putin stressed the importance of defending international law, specifically in the case of the Syrian civil war. Putin stated, “we are not protecting the Syrian government, but international law. Under current international law, force is permitted only in self-defense or by the decision of the Security Council. Anything else is unacceptable under the United Nations Charter and would constitute an act of aggression” (Putin, 2013). Putin’s defense of international law may seem strange given the numerous examples of Russia ignoring international law. Yet, it is in the Russian interest to remain an integrated part of international law.

This desire can also be seen in the Russian constitution, which contains specific provisions about the observance of international law as “provisions of international treaties prevail over rules of the Russian domestic legislation” (Kalinichenko et al., 2019, pp. 110). However, the Russian constitution also contains a condition which stipulates that “Russia as a sovereign State may become a member of any international organization if only the conditions for joining do not infringe its national legislation and Russia can adhere to the conditions of the concrete international organization” (Kalinichenko et al., 2019, pp. 112). Therefore, the Russian constitution ensures that Russia will be able to adhere to the conditions of any organization it joins before it allows those agreements to become a binding part of its legal system. This can be seen in several instances involving Russia and different international organizations. Firstly, according to Bowring, in a dispute between Russia and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in 2007, the ECHR “heard 192 complaints against Russia. Russia won just 6, and in 11 there was a friendly settlement. Russia paid in full the orders for compensation in every case it lost millions of Euros” (Bowring, 2008, pp. 10). This shows a willingness to be involved in the international sphere and respect for international law when it suits Russian interests.

So, this raises whether Russia can remain sovereign while being a part of the international system. And it seems that the answer is yes. According to Aksenova and Marchuk, “Russia has been trying to re-establish itself as a dominant player within the interna-

pp. 391). Therefore, Russia has tested the waters in this instance and encountered minimal resistance.

Moving to another example of Russia experimentation, Russia violated the norms of international law in its interference in the 2016 United States Presidential Election. In this case, it isn’t clear whether international law was violated; however, norms were disregarded. According to Jens David Ohlin, a professor at Cornell Law School, “these actions can be understood as either an ‘interference’ against another State’s sovereignty or as an illegal ‘usurpation’ of a State’s inherently governmental power” (Ohlin, 2017, pp. 1587). While sovereignty is an enduring notion in the international law sense, it has little specificity and has extremely unclear limits (Ohlin, 2017, pp. 1587-1588). While Russia did not expressly violate international law, it violated international norms, demonstrating its willingness to push the limits. Again, in this case, Russia faced minimal ramifications for these actions—with sanctions being put on Russia by the United States and the expulsion of several diplomats—so it seems clear that Russia can and will continue to test the limits of international law (Diaz et al., 2021).

It has been established that Russia tests international law frequently; however, is there a conflict

tional law sphere” (Aksenova and Marchuk, 2018, pp. 1323). The regaining of Russian sovereignty is of primary importance for Vladimir Putin:

The central task for Russian foreign policy in the era of President Vladimir Putin has been to regain the undisputed recognition that Russia is a world power... status as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council boosts its claim to be part of a global oligarchy and grants it the power to veto or undermine initiatives that it deems contrary to its interests (Remler, 2020, pp. 3).

Furthermore, Russia claims to view international law the same as the European Union does, as shown in a speech by Dmitri Medvedev, then President of Russia. Medvedev states, “Russia and the E.U. share a common approach in questions of security. We base our approach on respect for international law, the solution of conflicts by political means, without resorting to force” (Bowring, 2008, p. 6). To this aim, the Russian Constitutional Court (CC) has established itself as a powerful force for Russian sovereignty while also allowing Russia to remain a part of the international community.

Due to Russia’s status as an essential player—both due to the fear it inspires due to its nuclear weapons and its strategic natural resource distribution—it can bend the rules of international law to suit its own needs. Moreover, Russia “reflect[s] a changing relationship between international and domestic law and signal[s] a shift in Russia toward a more autonomous understanding of international law rooted in the principle of sovereignty that differs from the Western narrative of the discipline” (Aksenova and Marchuk, 2018, pp. 1322). The Russia Constitutional Court has also been a critical force in this new interpretation through a lens of “creatively engag[ing] with its doctrines interpreting them in a way that al-

lowed it to redefine its powers with respect to the enforcement of the ECHR [European Court of Human Rights] judgments which it considers to be contrary to the Constitution” (Aksenova and Marchuk, 2018, p. 1324-1325). Russia has claimed that it is enforcing international law while also clearly preserving its sovereignty through these means.

Since the election of Vladimir Putin in 2000, Russia has explored the boundaries and limits of international law and its norms, freely putting pressure upon them whenever it is in its interest. This was the case during the annexation in Crimea and the interference in the 2016 U.S. elections. However, Russia also demonstrates great defense of international law, especially when it is in Russia’s trade or diplomatic interests. It especially pushes back against other countries’ condemnation of actions within Russia and emphasizes its sovereignty. This may seem counterintuitive, but due to the importance of Russia as a part of the international sphere, Russia can continue to prioritize both its sovereignty and its participation in international law. Russia’s nuclear abilities especially make the West unwilling to engage in any sort of direct conflict. Therefore, they can continue to mold international law and norms to fit with Russia’s interests.

This conflict has continued, as seen in the January 2022 invasion of Ukraine. The international community was unable to respond to previous Russian testing of international laws and norms, which has resulted in Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. Putin expected minimal resistance from both Ukraine and the West, which has not been the case. However, due to the West’s unwillingness to directly confront Russia, it does not seem unlikely that Putin will continue to test international law, maybe even moving beyond Ukraine into Moldova and beyond.

“Examining US Foreign Policy Through the Lens of Critical Theory”

by Maddie Maylath

Critical theory began as an offshoot of Marx. The foundation of this theory was that society contains power structures of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The aim of critical theory, when put into action, is to free people in the oppressed group from the ideologies or beliefs that work to benefit the more powerful group by maintaining the status quo (“Critical Theory”). Critical theory has been applied to many aspects of society and has many different branches. Critical development theory (CDT) is one of these branches, and it came into the academic discourse in the 1960s when development studies began. CDT refers to a country’s development of a modern society with a robust economy and exam-

ines the hegemonic structure that organizes the countries of the world (Munck). Most initiatives recommended by proponents of CDT focus on trying to eliminate poverty in a country, as having a low poverty rate is considered the best indicator of a developed country. As the world has become increasingly globalized and interconnected, foreign aid programs have taken off in many developed nations including the United States.

United States aid programs generally focus on providing assistance to poor countries to alleviate poverty and promote human rights and American values like liberty. Since so much money is devoted to these foreign aid programs, it is important to examine whether

these programs are creating positive, sustainable change in developing countries and ultimately improving the lives of the people in those countries. One way to do this is by evaluating US foreign policy through the lens of CDT. Upon evaluation of US foreign policy towards developing countries over the past century, it becomes evident that US policy is not always conducive to promoting freedom and equality in accordance with the tenets of CDT.

The power dynamic described in critical development theory can be seen through the current global world order. The dominant group includes the United States, China, and western European countries, among others. The oppressed group includes underdeveloped



countries with weak economies where quality of life is often poor. These countries have little influence on the world stage and are exploited for economic gain by the hegemonic powers. One of the clearest examples of the power dynamic is how companies based in developed countries outsource labor for their products to poorer countries. Through the lens of CDT, exploitation occurs when the resources of a less developed country – natural resources, labor, or capital – are completely exhausted to benefit a more powerful and developed country. As a result of this exploitation, the people in less developed countries tend to have very poor quality of life and poverty persists.

There is concern among scholars that development studies have drifted away from the approach outlined in CDT as the world has globalized and neoliberal ideology has become ubiquitous in developed nations. Neoliberalism is a “ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition”

(“Neoliberalism”). By definition, it holds that a western, capitalist style economy is superior. As Frans Schuurman of the Centre for International Development Issues in Nijmegen states, near the beginning of CDT, “a common view shared by students and staff in development studies was that development projects were an extension of Northern-based imperialism... or at most a way to evade more fundamental changes in North-South trade relations and political regimes in underdeveloped countries themselves.”

Development studies began by examining current development efforts and why they were not working, recognizing how countries in the “North” (Northern Hemisphere) made nominal efforts to aid poor countries while really just maintaining the status quo. Over time, development studies and academics who recommend measures to aid development in poorer countries have drifted from this critical approach and changed to comply with the neoliberal ideology and the desire to create efficient aid programs that in time will benefit the wealthy country providing the aid. Schuurman describes the emergence of a “new imperialism perspective”, stating that, “The dynamics in the globalized power hierarchy ... are still leading to imperialist, exploitative relations between North and South and increasing worldwide inequality between and within countries.”

From the view of critical theorists, development studies have taken an approach that is not beneficial to poor nations and instead allows them to be further exploited. The United States, being a hegemonic power, enjoys a robust economy compared to other nations and offers billions of dollars in aid to developing countries each year. The existence of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United States’ general reputation for making large contributions to organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank indicate a commitment to promoting economic development in poor countries. However, given the concerns cited by Schuurman, it is important to closely evaluate US foreign policy toward developing nations to determine if the goals of this extensive aid are truly altruistic in nature.

One aid program founded by the US federal government in 1961 under the Kennedy administration was the Alliance for Progress. It was formed in conjunction with 22 Latin American states – the intended recipients of the aid. This program’s stated goals included maintenance of a democratic government, achievement of economic and social development, sustained growth in per capita income, equitable distribution of income, and other economic and social goals (“Alliance

for Progress”). \$20 billion was budgeted to be used over 10 years, and the money went towards building schools, hospitals, and industrial plants in Latin American countries. However, \$20 billion was not nearly enough to induce significant development. Gains in welfare were canceled out by growing populations in Latin American countries, and there was no large-scale land reform achieved, which was vital to economic growth. The Alliance was widely seen as a failure, and it was disbanded in 1973, leaving behind a legacy of tension between the US and Latin American countries.

One of the most visible examples of US foreign aid in the last twenty years has been Afghanistan. US development initiatives began there after the US invasion in 2001 and have continued since. Afghanistan has a struggling economy and many Afghans suffer from poverty. Over the last decade, despite billions of dollars in foreign aid from the US and other nations, the number of Afghans living below the poverty line has sharply increased to 16 million (Maqsood Sabit). This alone indicates a failure on behalf of foreign aid programs, and there is more evidence that US programs have not delivered. The US, along with other foreign powers, have devoted the most money towards provinces experiencing the most conflict, a strategy termed “buying security” (Farzam and Rustam). This strategy has caused the most peaceful provinces in Afghanistan to experience the most poverty and develop the least. Additionally, the “buying security” strategy has created incentive for ongoing conflict in Afghanistan. Foreign aid has consistently focused on conflict management rather than long term economic development. Because aid programs of the US and other countries have created limited economic opportunities for Afghans, many turn to insurgency and fighting as a way to make money since there are no other jobs available. While the US has made some notable progress in areas like education for girls in Afghanistan, its policies and those of other developed nations have fallen short in alleviating poverty, promoting equality, and spurring sustainable economic development.

The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was a flagship foreign policy initiative of the Bush Administration. Founded in 2002, it created a

foreign aid agency tasked with distributing the money set aside for development assistance in the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). The MCA aimed to increase US development assistance by \$5 billion per year; its goal was “reducing poverty through growth” (Mawdsley). However, Cambridge University professor Emma Mawdsley argued that the MCA initiative did not pursue this stated goal. Mawdsley claims that the MCA “should be placed within a longer history of empire through its attempts to actively reshape the legal, institutional, infrastructural and financial contexts of poorer countries to better suit US economic interests.” She criticizes the MCA’s efforts to alleviate poverty, pointing out how the eligibility requirements excluded poor countries like Afghanistan and Zimbabwe. Additionally, the MCA compacts that set out plans for development did not acknowledge that economic growth could exacerbate inequality and only benefit certain social and political groups who already held power in the participating countries.

There also appears to be little commitment to securing the necessary financial resources to create meaningful change in participating countries. As Mawdsley describes, the MCA expanded the number of eligible countries by raising the maximum GDP a country could have and still qualify for aid. This meant that the \$5 billion per year was spread across more countries, and the poorest nations who needed more aid would receive a smaller portion. Ultimately, Mawdsley concludes that the MCA has suffered from a narrow view of how development should occur, saying “A huge array of evidence, not just from radical critics but also from within the mainstream development establishment, demonstrates that crude neoliberal development approaches can result in greater poverty, inequality, instability and even conflict.” The MCC’s agenda of privatization, deregulation, opening markets, and encouraging export-led growth instead lead to more poverty and inequality in the countries receiving aid.

These three examples of failed US development initiatives – the Alliance for Progress, aid to Afghanistan, and the MCA – reflect a general trend in US development policy. The US creates development programs and devotes exorbitant amounts of money to them. However, there is little care taken

to ensure that these programs do in fact alleviate poverty in the targeted countries. The permeation of neoliberal ideology into development studies and policies appears to benefit the United States at the expense of the countries that are allegedly being helped.

This raises the possibility that US development efforts could be designed to fail. As Emma Mawdsley wrote, “the US recognized that its own increasing wealth and power depended on the prosperity of others - to provide markets for US goods, to supply resources to US consumers and manufacturers and, increasingly, to provide outlets for profitable capitalist investment.” It is beneficial for the US to have trade partners in developing countries and to uplift these countries so that they are viable trade partners. However, this is only true to an extent. Many major US companies outsource labor to poor countries with low standards of living, which allows them to keep labor costs low (Amadeo). This results in lower prices on the goods these companies ship back to the US that then make these American companies more competitive in the global marketplace. If US foreign aid were to move along development in a country to the point where there were many employment opportunities and a lower poverty rate, low wage jobs from American manufacturers wouldn't be an attractive option to workers in that country. This would dry up the labor market for US companies and could lead to them seeing declining profits, which would hurt the United States' dominant position in the world economy.

There is value to the US appearing to promote development in poor, less developed nations. First, US aid programs to these countries often enjoy wide bipartisan support and are recognized on the world stage as a sign that the US is committed to uplifting other countries and promoting freedom and prosperity for their people. This creates positive international relations for the US while also disseminating American ideals, making the US a sympathetic actor in the eyes of foreigners. Together, these results help to ensure the United States' position as a veritable empire. As sociologist Ronaldo Munck stated, “... the success of empires in general - and it could be argued that

this is true of the American empire in particular - has ultimately rested on the ability of the imperial power to deliver a bundle of economic goods in the form of improved living standards, economic opportunity and growth world-wide.” Foreign development initiatives are vital to make for beneficial political interactions with other countries.

There is ample evidence to suggest that the US development initiatives have drifted away from the recommendations put forward by CDT and towards neoliberal policies that do little to promote prosperity and equality in the countries the US assists. Knowing this, if the US genuinely seeks to provide meaningful assistance to poor countries moving forward, it should rethink the development programs being implemented. Frans Schuurman gives a recommendation for this and suggests that critical development studies take the perspective of new imperialism. This perspective recognizes the US and other nations as hegemonic powers, and that the development theories these nations currently employ are slanted towards neoliberalism and preserving the status quo. To take an approach truly compatible with critical theory, development scholars will need to evaluate what types of markets, governments, and ideologies are truly ideal for promoting equality and growth in poorer nations, and determine what can plausibly be done to help these countries prosper.

Critical development theory gives a basis for how development studies should move forward in order to best serve poor countries and ensure profitable and sustainable development. However, multiple factors have contributed to hegemonic powers in the world, namely the US, enacting development policy that is clearly not beneficial. The examples of the Alliance for Progress, Afghanistan, and the MCC all show that US aid programs are never truly effective in promoting meaningful development, and often work instead to boost the US economy. On the world stage, it is beneficial for the US to keep up appearances of providing quality aid while not taking measures to generate true benefits in developing countries.

Political Theory

“On the Need for a Long-Term Mindset in Government”

by Matthew M. Ployhart

Those who call for action on issues such as climate change, the long-term improvement of infrastructure, and space exploration are justified in their claims: all three of these endeavors have tremendous potential to benefit humanity in more ways than we could possibly imagine in the long term (and, in the case of climate action, in avoiding further catastrophe). However, these calls to action are largely drowned out by other calls for immigration control, military spending, and social reform: short-term goals. While these are indeed important, they are important in a more immediate sense than the formerly-mentioned endeavors, and thus, are salient objects of focus.

And what is the result? While we continue to bicker endlessly about how many immi-

grants we should allow through our borders, or how to provide for our armed forces, we find ourselves sinking deeper into climate catastrophes, the overburdening and overwhelming degradation of infrastructure, and a lack of endeavors in outer space. John Stuart Mill’s teachings of utilitarianism dictate that whatever does the most good – saves the most people and harms the least in terms of pleasure and happiness – is ultimately best. In this essence, the utilitarian principle would dictate that humanity’s great long-term projects, which ultimately possess the potential to benefit far more individuals than would focusing on short-term goals, are the optimal course of action.

If humanity is to advance – as we always have, as explorers – it is imperative that we focus

on the long-term. Our desire for exploration and expansion, while destructive at times, has led to our advancement and increased comfort both socially and technologically. The hintings of Frederick Jackson Turner, the famed American historian who spoke of the development of the nation as settlers expanded West across the continent, make it clear that, so long as we advance physically, we also advance technologically. If we are to endure in a comfortable world, we must consider the long term. We must stop climate change (or, as it appears now, limit the effects of it; as it is, unfortunately, too late to stop it entirely) for the security of ourselves, and the other creatures which inhabit our world; we must repair our infrastructure so that our cities and societies continue to function, and that trade is not

disrupted by outdated and worn highways and ports; we must explore space to continue to expand humanity beyond our planet, and at the same time discover more about the universe. These are but a few of the long-term goals – all fairly urgent, albeit at different levels – that we must strive to achieve if we wish to save ourselves.

Our society and politics, at present, however, are primarily focused on the short-term, and this is degrading to our species as a whole. Should the nobles of a kingdom, for example, attempt to construct a wall and raise a mighty army to defend their territory and citizens (valiant goals, though they are) while neglecting to develop farmland and construct adequate cities and roads, it will not matter what they do in the short term, because the walls will be useless in the fight against inefficiency and hunger within the kingdom itself. Additionally, there is something else that is important to take away from such dilemmas: history manifests that people typically only address things when it begins to directly impact them.

The main reason why the short term is extensively dealt with and debated upon (endlessly, it would seem) is because it is in the now: people are affected by it *now*, and so they call for action; politicians will be elected based on their responses to it *now*, and so they debate it; and governments as a whole are judged and criticized or praised by their dealings with it *now*, so they pay attention to it *now*.

Nothing is ever a problem until it is a problem. Gun reform in the United States, for instance, has indeed long been a controversial matter, but only in recent decades has it been recognized as an actionable issue. Only relatively recently, and particularly after tragic incidents involving firearms, do people acknowledge that firearms are posing a greater problem, although that problem has always existed. Americans of the progressive mindset often wonder what would have happened if, in the early days of the American republic, those in power could have looked ahead, seen what was coming, and devised a way to remove the Second Amendment (or at least dull it) before it could become so entrenched and debated – before it could even have become a true problem.

Alas, they had no such foresight. And today, we debate about our short-term problems just as they did, and ignore the long-term. It may seem irrelevant today, indeed, but infrastructural repair and innovation and even space travel are priceless to the human

species. It is foolish to believe that our ever-advancing technology will be able to cooperate effectively with the infrastructure we have now, or that space exploration or discovery will not play a significant role in the lives of generations to come. How can electric vehicles take to the streets, for example, without the increased development of charging stations and better roads? It is not just repair, but innovation that must be applied within infrastructure to better provide for the needs of the rapidly-changing future. And as for outer space, we are already seeing space tourism! It is hypocritical to blame those of the past for not thinking ahead, when we are not thinking ahead ourselves, an accusation both conservatives and liberals could be charged with. We must contend ourselves with this: the ideal government will *not* be constant, but *must* change. Presently, this change must be done to meet the changing needs of the future by implementing modifications in the long term.

And we can see, further, how things are treated more reverently in the immediate than in the long-term through the example of the climate crisis. For over a century, we have had the knowledge that the climate has changed in the past, and the knowledge that human actions are changing the temperature on our planet has been widely held in the scientific community for upward of almost eighty years (all the way back to Guy S. Callendar, who, in the 1930s, was one of the first to propose that warming temperatures on Earth could be linked to rising levels of carbon dioxide). And while Callendar, granted, did believe that this change would be good, we have learned since then how disastrous it actually is. There have been efforts to combat global warming – or to attempt to reach an agreement to combat it between nations – going all the way back to the climate summits in Rio, and then through Paris, and, most recently, Glasgow. But still, almost nothing happened. In fact, presently, carbon dioxide levels are on the *rise*. But now – only now – are manufacturers turning “green,” with electric vehicles to replace combustion ones, and governments actually making (pathetic and too-late) attempts to establish more environmentally-friendly power sources. And why? Because *now*, and only now, does it actually affect us – soaring heat waves in the summers, flooding and hurricanes, and catastrophes that impact human health (as many sources will describe) in nearly every way possible. Thus, because the changing climate is now affecting us immediately, it is focused upon with actual

sincerity.

It is reasonable to hope that, at some point within the next two or so centuries, governments will have made the necessary alterations to their industry and transportation, and the planet can begin the long process of reversing warming. Perhaps, most helplessly optimistically, some sort of magnificent invention or project will be created that could halt the progress of this catastrophe altogether. For now, however, things are very bad, and they are becoming much worse. Climate change is “linked to five million deaths a year,” according to a recent study on *The Lancet Planetary Health* research journal, and millions more “climate refugees” are crossing through borders (more than two hundred million predicted for the next three decades, according to the World Bank) and fueling chaos, all because of our failure to possess true foresight.

And these two examples – climate change and gun reform – are not nearly the only instances in which foresight on the part of governments would have saved countless lives and significant money and resources – I could have elaborated upon deforestation, for instance, or regional overpopulation, or the class divide... There seems to be no limit to all the hardships and burdens that we today must put up with and correct because past generations did not possess foresight. Contemporary psychologists tend to define “self control” as the ability to stave off the desire for a brief, short-term gain in favor of a harder-earned but longer-lasting reward. This must be the mindset of any government today.

Thus – and especially in a world which is so globalized, and where things change so quickly – it is necessary, absolutely imperative, that the federal governments dedicate themselves to the long-term betterment of humanity, whether that be investing in its infrastructure or space travel. Whatever they deem necessary at a rationally practical level. It’s frankly simple utilitarianism.

And the government should not deviate from this path – they should strive to pursue the implementation of change in the present for the betterment of the future. Of



course, to change the future, one must make changes *now*, but the difference between these efforts, and those that produce immediate results, are that ones such as these will only be influential in the long-term.

I do not advocate for ignoring the problems facing humanity today that impact us now and merit resolution through immediate action. Changes made in the short term are indeed important for our overall survival. However, short-term implementations solve short-term problems and have short-term results. And the longer that we continue to focus endlessly on the immediate, the more we will continue to ignore the urgent problems facing our society now that shall only truly manifest themselves decades into the future. It is by acknowledging and implementing solutions to such long-term difficulties that the true preservation of humanity as a species can be widely achieved. As aforementioned, we are globalized and interconnected. It all comes back to this: in today’s age, a long-term mindset of government is more important than ever.

“Locke and Tacit Consent: The Best Form of Consent Available to Us?”

by Andrew Jacobs

On January 6th, 2021, a group of American citizens stormed the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. with the goal of protesting and ostensibly overturning the results of the 2020 presidential election. For the first time in recent memory, the American populace was forced to question the nature of consent and ponder whether or not all of its country’s citizens were united in accepting the current form of government as suitable. Consent as the basis of government is an oft-discussed topic in political theory, and John Locke’s 17th and 18th century writings were seminal in providing a thorough framework for discussing the topic. In his *Second Treatise of Government*, Locke introduced the ideas of express and tacit consent. Express consent is clear, apparent, and unquestioned; tacit consent is more abstract, asserting that any individual who exists within or even passes through a given country and does not expressly revoke her consent is, by default, giving their consent to that country’s government in an implied or tacit manner. As we grapple with the definition of consent in light of recent events, Locke’s idea of tacit consent remains

superior in terms of identifying consent within today’s political societies.

To provide further context for my thesis, I will first analyze the fundamentals of John Locke’s description of consent. Locke’s belief regarding the foundation of government and political society is clear: a legitimate government requires “the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority to unite and incorporate into such a society.”¹ In other words, when there is no overarching governmental power, each individual must agree to the formation of a government. According to Locke’s logic, governments whose power is rooted in force – or anything other than the consent of the governed – are not legitimate. From an individual’s standpoint, consenting to join a political society and fall under the powers of a government entails that he has put “himself under an obligation, to every one of that society, to submit to the determination of the majority, and be concluded by it.”² From a government’s standpoint, it means respecting the decisions of the majority and agreeing to abide by them, as well as not violating the rights of the consenting

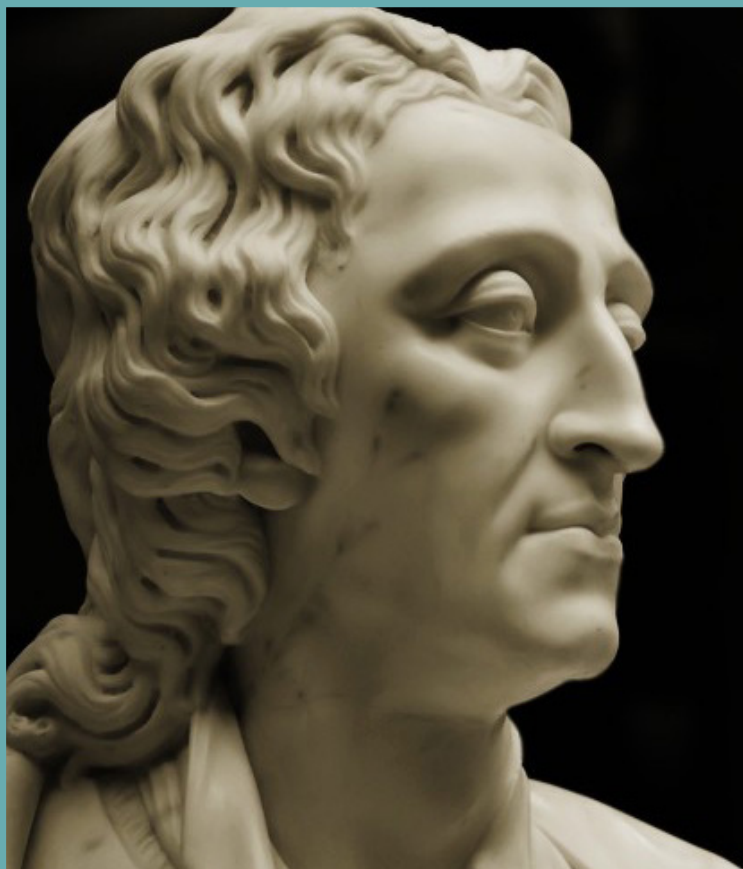
citizens as well as the laws of nature, which primarily means that the government “may not, unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away, or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of” the people.³ In short, a legitimate government is rooted entirely in the consent of the people it governs.

At a surface level, this concept of consent in this context appears simple. Locke, however, adds a secondary dimension to consent by juxtaposing express consent and tacit consent. As mentioned above, express consent is easily definable, but tacit consent appears murkier. In Locke’s words, “every man, that hath any possessions, or enjoyment, of any part of the dominions of any government, doth thereby give his tacit consent.”⁴ By this definition, if you are living in a country and enjoying its basic luxuries – say, public transportation, infrastructure, receiving health care, etc. – then you are giving your tacit consent to the government that facilitates all of those luxuries. Owning land in a country, too, means you are giving your tacit consent to that country’s government.

Locke developed the concept of tacit consent in response to the assertion that most people are born

under the rule of a government and thus bound to it immediately, thereby eliminating the possibility that someone could be entirely free and choose to give their express consent to a government or political society. Tacit consent solves this issue by allowing someone to consent to a government without having to give clear and unquestioned dedication to said government and also creates a condition in which consent can be given even when someone is born under the power of a government and does not necessarily have the ability to make a totally free decision. It is an adaptation of Locke’s doctrine of express consent that allows the doctrine to be applied to today’s political societies in which governments are not being created with much frequency, if at all. In this paper, I will argue that in terms of identifying consent and thus the legitimacy of government on a broader scale than just the state of nature, tacit consent is flawed, but remains the best doctrine we’ve got.

Of all of the aforementioned conditions of tacit consent, “Locke regards possession of land as a paradigm case.”⁵ According to Paul Russell, land ownership is the clearest form of consent that one may give while still remaining tacit. Land ownership forces the own-





er to recognize that the government has ultimate jurisdiction over the property and, resultantly, that as long as the land remains the landowner's possession, the government has ultimate jurisdiction over the landowner himself. Though it is a promising display of consent, land ownership and express consent can be mutually exclusive. As previously stated, one can own land and not give express consent; however, it is also true that "not all those who have given express consent...need be landowners."⁶ Land ownership as a method of tacit consent is important because it stretches the boundaries and abilities of tacit consent. According to the other, weaker conditions of tacit consent, one could argue that simply passing through a country implies tacit consent. If this is the case, one could purchase, cultivate and develop a plot of land, yet still be able to sell the land and move on to another country without shirking the obligations of express consent, which require that you remain permanently loyal to the government to which you gave express consent.⁷ In short, the land ownership condition of tacit consent allows someone to be an active, dedicated, and con-

tributing member of a commonwealth and its economy without agreeing to permanent subordination. It thus both broadens the definition of tacit consent and adds more weight to the concept, especially in comparison to lesser, more trivial conditions.

Some object to the idea of tacit consent and the thesis I have presented by objecting to the idea of consent as a whole, claiming that consent is no longer existent in modern political societies whatsoever. Though it is plausible that in pre-political societies, such as the state of nature, individuals united to consent to the formation of a government, no such thing happens today. Rather, the motivation for citizens' subjecting themselves to their government now lies in the belief that they will be punished with force should they break governmental laws and regulations, rather than a belief that government is the most rational way to structure a society. Proponents of this belief argue that "consent implies voluntariness and the association of almost every individual with the government which has control over him is clearly involuntary."⁸

Locke responded to objections regarding the true voluntariness of consent to government – particularly that which asserts since we are born into governments we do not voluntarily consent to them – by stating that an individual can technically leave the commonwealth at any time should they no longer wish to give consent. This is not always true, however. For example, when someone has broken the law and is sentenced to prison, they are rendered incapable of leaving the commonwealth and joining another. Even if they choose to revoke all consent – which would, purely in theory, allow them to leave prison – they remain optionless. Since "an association is truly voluntary only when one can take himself beyond its control at any time whatsoever," it follows from this point that consent in modern political societies is clearly not voluntary.⁹

In response to this objection to my thesis, I'll offer a rebuttal concerning the definitions of denizens and aliens within Lockean political societies as provided by A. John Simmons. Simmons defines denizens as any native providing tacit consent to the government and aliens as any non-native providing tacit consent to the government. In his *Second Treatise*, Locke wrote in a manner that assumed there would be a lot more true members of society, or natives who give express consent to a

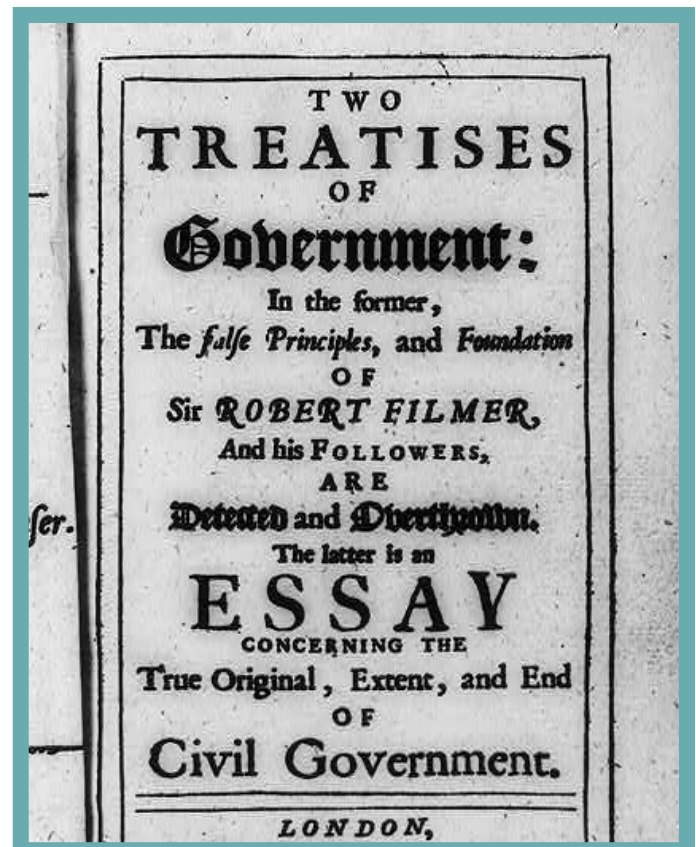
government and are thereby permanently obliged to the commonwealth. The reality of modern political societies is that the number of denizens and aliens vastly outnumbers true members of society, thereby creating commonwealths which “consist of only tiny groups of express consenting members living in... vast territories... largely peopled with an overwhelming majority of non-members denizens (and a sprinkling of aliens).”¹⁰ This reality indicates that the nature of consent in modern political societies appears much more fluid than Locke’s original conception. Such societies have progressed far beyond the original form described by Locke, so the concept of consent was forced to adapt accordingly. Nevertheless, the legitimacy of will always lies in the consent of the people. As such, the progression of political societies has served to justify the use of force only as a method of maintaining a base level of order and security amongst the fluidity of modernity. Following this idea, it is reasonable to infer that the relationship between citizens and their government is now involuntary; however, the need for security must not be confused for a lack of voluntariness.

Another objection to the thesis I have proposed is that someone could verbally or clearly remove their consent, but may still qualify for the conditions of tacit consent. To illustrate this objection, one might look at the storming of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. that occurred in January of 2021. Investigations of this incident revealed that the Oath Keepers, a “traditional militia group... focused on military-style training and with a largely anti-government stance,” played a key role in organizing and instigating the attempted insurrection.¹¹ The vast majority of the people involved with the Oath Keepers are seemingly typical American citizens: they have property, possessions, and generally enjoy many of the basic luxuries that the country has to offer, which qualifies as tacit consent to government power per Locke’s definition. So, how can a group that is outspoken about their refusal to consent to government action – going so far as to storm the Capitol in an attempt to overturn the results of a majority-driven election - still be technically giving their tacit consent to government power? Such cases would seem to both contradict and null Locke’s definition of tacit consent.

Locke’s definition of tacit consent is per-

haps more complex than this, though, and there are several rebuttals to this objection that can be provided. First, from a purely logical standpoint, just because the conditions for something are met does not necessarily mean that the thing for which those conditions are created will be realized. For example, say a restaurant is running a special sale in which all white males aged 22 and born in the state of Virginia get a free meal. As a 22-year-old white male from Virginia, I would fully satisfy all of these conditions, but if I never actually enter the restaurant and order a meal, then I would never realize the thing for which the conditions were created. The same logic applies to tacit consent and the Oath Keepers. It is true that many of the members of the Oath Keepers are satisfying the conditions necessary for tacit consent by Locke’s own definition: they own possessions, property and are enjoying the liberties provided by the government. However, if the Oath Keepers directly and verbally revoke their consent, then it is impossible to consider them as giving any consent whatsoever, even tacitly. Even though they have met all of the conditions necessary to qualify for the free meal, they have not entered the restaurant and ordered it.

In review of the arguments I have presented, one witnesses the many challenges of defining



tacit consent, a rather abstract concept that has adapted alongside the progress of political societies. As I have shown, many consider this progression a nullification of tacit consent, particularly in the case of anti-government groups like the Oath Keepers or in the belief that governments keep their citizens in line with force. While these assertions both appear reasonable, I have presented equally reasonable rebuttals throughout this paper. For one, just because the conditions of tacit consent have been met does not necessarily mean that you realize tacit consent. Such is the case of the Oath Keepers, who have expressly revoked their consent. Furthermore, governments adapt to the changing nature of consent by establishing some base level of security, a reasonable precaution given the fluidity of modern political societies which does not violate the maxim that legitimate governments are based in the consent of its citizens. The concept of tacit consent as introduced by Locke has fundamental flaws, and its ambiguity raises a multitude of questions. Still, the thesis I have presented stands: its breadth in identifying consent and its longevity in the face of continued societal progress makes Locke's conception of consent the best we've got.

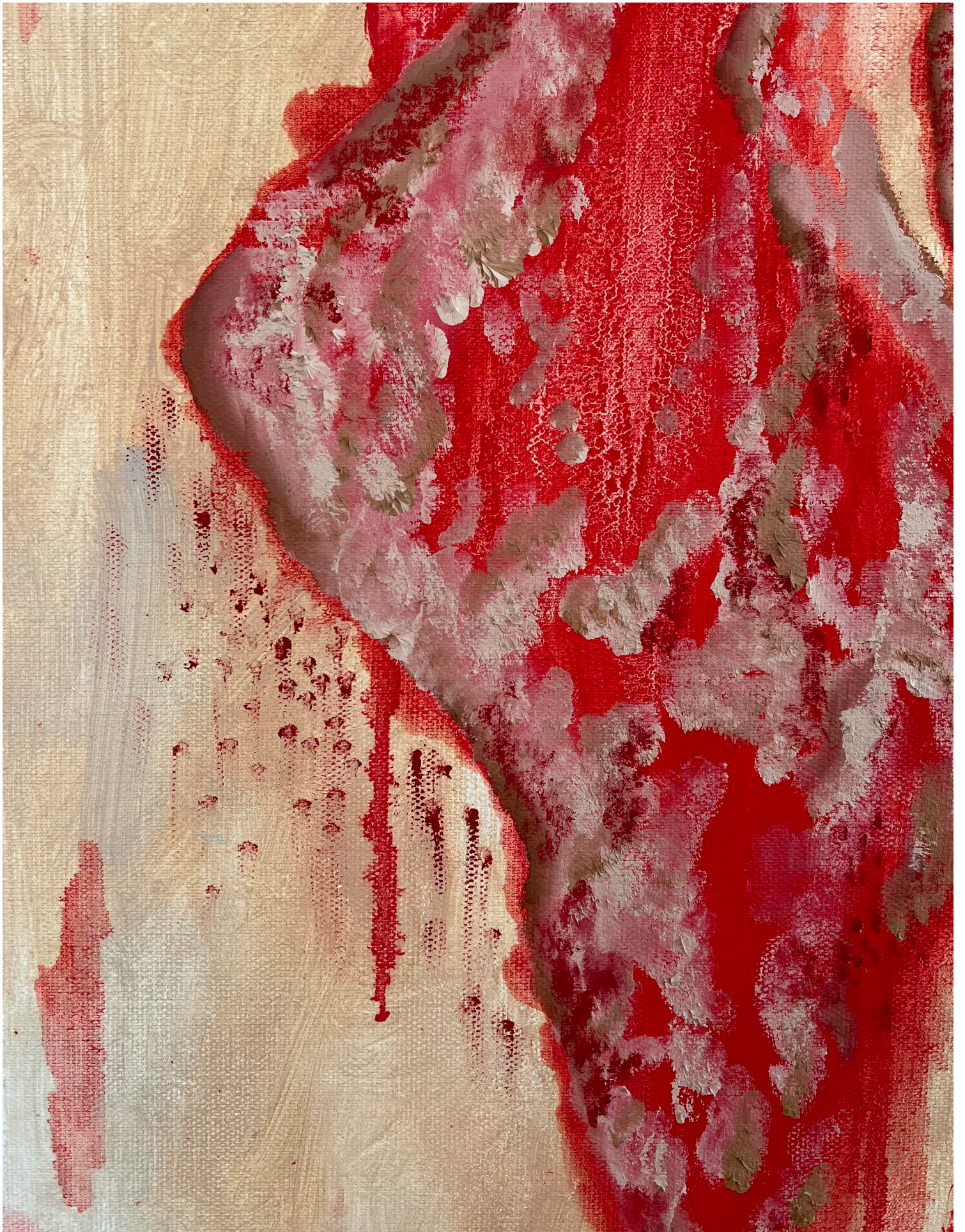
Visual Arts

“in-festation”

by Caroline Harrison

“in-festation” is a physical manifestation of stress on my body, as it tells the story of my body shutting down. My organs were failing and my body was physically rejecting everything, including water. I wanted to recreate this period of my life, but instead with an answer in mind of what was causing these rashes and irritations. I was stressing myself out enough to make my body slowly shut down and stop normal function. I tell this story from many mediums and perspectives, but rely on beautiful and grotesque bodily ornamentation to make the incident more visceral. I aim to find the sublime between both the beautiful and grotesque to keep curiosity and question of ornamentation of the human body.

From these experiences, I have a new and more connected relationship with my own body as well as with others. As I have grown up, I have grieved the loss of many relationships. Sometimes it has felt like a clean break, while other times it seems as if the relationship is slowly dissolving. Whether it be a loss of communication or simply miscommunication, communication is lost in translation from one person to the other. At some point, the communication fully breaks and separates the two. Loss has always been an extremely tough subject for me. Creating art which physically represents communication being lost in translation has allowed me to process the grief that comes with losing communication with someone.



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