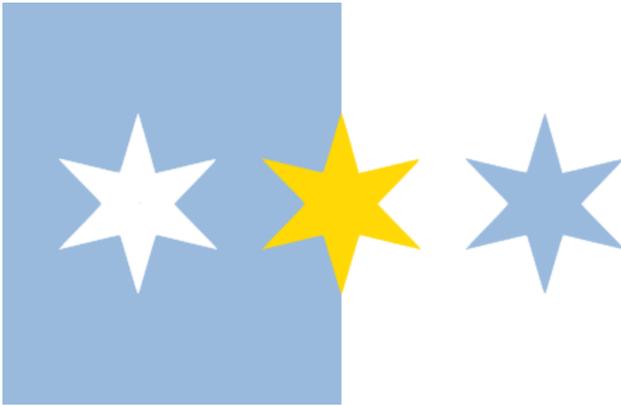


White & Blue



Assembled by Valerie Calvo

April 2022

The Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies

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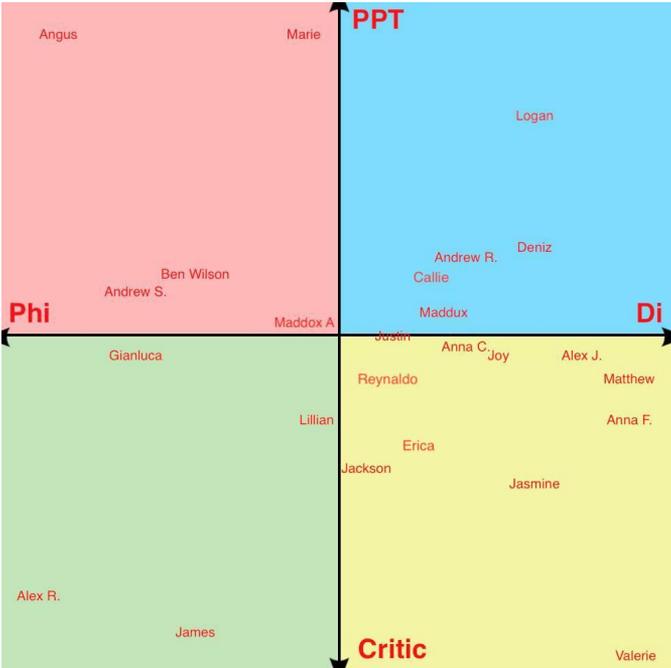
Acknowledgements

First of all, thank you Anna Crist for helping me nag Senators to submit! It was very helpful, as we only had two submissions before dm'ing practically everyone in DiPhi. I would also like to thank everyone who submitted, of course. Finally, thanks everyone who gave me a swipe this semester. It helped more than you know.

Ad Virtutem, Libertatem, Scientiamque

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Logan Grodsky

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Untitled

Little bird, flown so far off.
When will she come home?
The nest is empty and aching
And growing cold with no body
to warm it.
But it's waiting here, for her,
Hidden in hill and hushed pine.
A good spot, a sure spot,
To rest a pair of weary wings.

But little bird, so far off,
Seldom makes her way back
home.
The sky stretches broad before
her
And her wings are freedom
incarnate
And the promise of
“anywhere”
Rings like a liberty bell in her
breast.
A lone bird, a flown bird –
The world has been unfolded.

Reunion

The brush would stir, and I would start,
And from a parting would a creature come
-A familiar stranger. Oh, old friend!
I've missed you! Your ears like velvet napkins
And your smelly flaxen fur. Bury me here!
If not in your sturdy neck, dog,
Then by your side.

The years have passed without you. I tire of them.
Relentlessly boring. Their offers – meager.
What am I to anticipate, pray tell,
About growing old? The limp fruits of age?
Morsels shriveled and sour? Silly dog!
I've tasted the best already, with you,
In spring-times buried and mourned.

What mortal company can compare to you?
What compelling life awaits me when I wake?
No one! And nothing! And so it's decided!
Come, friend! The cold clay shall our blanket be.
Let summer lavish her delights above!
We'll rise in due time to witness it again.
And now, we retire. Eternity awaits.

Come! My golden spectre and dearest friend,
I'll never be deprived of you again.



Anna Crist

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Maddox Addy



Maddox Addy

White & Blue



Maddox Addy



Maddox Addy

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Below is a message I wrote to the chancellor's office. The message was a requested part of a survey that I took part in. The survey was about a proposed 5 million dollar cut in library funding and raising tuition for out-of-state students.

Wow, a message to the Chancellor's office, never thought I'd see such an opportunity but alas. There are a few grievances I would like to cover in this message. To start, the proposed budget cuts to university funding are simply irrational. Cutting library funds is the last of what students need to improve their mental health on campus. These cuts would make it harder for students and faculty to use the facilities that this university is known for, and on an academically rigorous campus such as this one, that is a major problem. The libraries are already overcrowded and difficult to use effectively, causing an unnecessary level of stress among students who choose to study there. Cutting funding to such an important institution would do nothing but increase the severity of the issues that we face at this very moment. Second, the negative financial results of COVID-19 may have been large, but they are surely mitigated by investment returns and research funding. There is no real reason to cut budgets when UNC's oil investments are turning over billions of dollars every year. Third, the tuition for out-of-state students is already very high. Raising this tuition would serve only to limit the amount of financially underserved people from other states who could even consider applying to UNC, limiting the scope of ideas and perspectives to those who are in state or those who can afford to come here. This type of exclusionary practice directly invalidates the idea that UNC is a campus for everyone, and severely limits the perspectives that this campus means to endorse. Lastly, I would like to include a short message about the severe mental health crisis on campus.

UNC has been having a mental health crisis unlike any university in our area for over a year now. Since the beginning of the year, this school has seen many suicides and suicide attempts, all while promoting the on campus psychological assistance program, CAPS (Counseling and Psychological Services). CAPS is underfunded and underemployed, and now is not the time to be making budget cuts that would further harm students' mental health. On the contrary, there are many ways in which the university could improve student mental health through spending. The first is to simply give more money to CAPS so that more professionals can be hired to help students through these difficult times. A second example would be to improve the basic institutions around campus in order to simply make them better. For instance, the dining halls on campus shouldn't be known for bad food and broken escalators, but rather good food and good energy. I am aware that this is

Philip

somewhat out of university control as food services are contracted through CDS (Carolina Dining Services), but that is simply not an excuse for the consistently out of order appliances and generally poor tasting food. The university has the ability to require more from CDS, and we should.

I'm sure this message will be lost in the sea of hundreds of messages from students taking this survey, but in the event that it isn't I implore you to hear my words. Budget cuts are not how we are going to solve the increasingly poor mental health of students on this campus. This issue seems to be being ignored, and although it likely is not, from the perspective of students the university is doing nothing as their peers die of suicide. This issue is serious and requires the utmost effort and focus to solve, and I hope that this message, or others like it, acts as a call to action for the university to put more effort into helping the students that build our society, and pay for your paychecks.

What it Takes to Teach- A Comparison of teaching requirements in New York and North Carolina

Secondary Education is one of the most important, and yet underserved majors on Campuses across the US (United States). Teachers are and will continue to be necessary to society in the US, and so they provide a promising job opportunity for college students majoring in Education. Teaching is a tough job, and so teacher shortages have been common across the nation since 2013 (Aragon, 2016). The data discussed in the paper pertains to how to become a teacher and the requirements necessary for prospective teachers to find work. The sources compare two states concerning the path to becoming a teacher. The states covered are North Carolina, because that is where I live, and New York, as it is the highest paying state for teachers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). The general goal here is to review the data to compare what it takes to become a teacher in each of these states. I used data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and a host of other sources that pertain to state-specific requirements for teaching like *Teach North Carolina* and the *New York State United Teachers* websites. Methods involved reading and organizing the given data, then writing a synthesis of the various sources to conclude on the merits of what it takes to teach.

The Path to Teaching in North Carolina

North Carolina has one of the most opportunistic teaching environments in the nation. The state employs about 24,000 secondary educators in its public and private schools. NC (North Carolina) pays its teachers much lower than the median for many other states at about \$51,000 per year on average. When it comes to teaching in NC, the

Philip

requirements to do so make it clear that the state is looking for people who are knowledgeable on the subject they want to teach, as well as people who are passionate about teaching. The process first involves getting a bachelor's degree. A bachelor's degree in some topic is required to teach in the state of North Carolina, and so it is an important first step in the process of becoming a teacher. You will then have to get a license to teach. For secondary educators, the state requires that they take tests that prove their knowledge on their selected topic, as well as tests that prove their ability to lead and educate a classroom. One of the major skills these tests imply is beyond academics. It is personability. For teachers to pass their exams and receive licensure from the state, ideally, they would be personable and empathetic to their students when necessary. North Carolina also requires an extensive portfolio of past lesson plans and graded student work that was done during a prospective teacher's time as a student teacher (Teach NC Guide, n.d.). Student teaching is another requirement one must meet to receive licensure. Student teaching takes place in a classroom, under the surveillance of an already licensed senior teacher. It involves the prospective teacher assisting, and later leading class sessions to expand their infield knowledge and prowess of teaching.

The Path to Teaching in New York

New York is one of the most lucrative states for education majors as nationwide it provides the highest average pay for secondary school teachers (BLS, 2021) at almost \$89,000 dollars per year. The path to teaching in New York is quite a bit more rigorous than a similar path in NC. New York requires that their teachers hold a master's degree in Teacher Education, but that comes after a multitude of other difficult steps. The process for potential teachers begins again with a bachelor's degree. The traditional teaching route involves getting an undergraduate degree in teacher Education with a special focus on whatever subject you would like to teach, and it takes just as long as any other undergraduate degree offered by NY universities. The next step is initial teaching certification exams, of which there are three. Prospective educators are required to take the Educating all Students exam, the edTPA exam, and a host of discipline focused exams for the subject they intend to teach. These exams are difficult but are not the last step in the process. Once someone has passed the necessary tests, they must submit to fingerprinting. Fingerprinting is a way for NY to keep their teachers on record and accountable in the event they do something wrong and is the last step before receiving initial certification. Once a prospective educator has received an initial certification, they are given 5 years to receive a master's degree in Teacher education. During this time, they are also expected to complete one year of teaching supervised

by a professionally certified teacher and two years of unsupervised teaching. Once they have gathered 3 years of teaching experience and their master's degree, they are eligible to receive a professional teaching license in NY. This, however, is not the ultimate step. To remain a teacher in New York one must submit 100 hours (about 4 days) of professional learning every 5 years (Take a Look at Teaching Guide, 2021). These requirements are extraordinarily difficult, giving perspective as to the types of people that New York wants to become teachers. Teaching in NY requires commitment not only to the art of teaching but also to the subject that one decides to teach. The extensive examination and elevated level of required education and experience shows that New York schools are only looking for the most committed individuals to teach in their schools. The general skills required lead far beyond academics as well, as the fingerprinting system holds teachers to a high standard of morality under the law and the opinions of their superiors. Fired teachers can become effectively incapable of teaching within the state due to the extensive records of their actions and undeniable ties to their fingerprint.

Conclusion

The data presented in these sources shows the extensive differences between becoming a teacher in New York and North Carolina. The requirements to become a teacher in NY are far more extensive, but as a result, New York has one of the best primary and secondary education systems in the world. On the other hand, North Carolina consistently is ranked towards the bottom of national rankings of education. The data shows why these rankings fall how they do; that New York's stringent process to become a teacher provides for their better education.

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Average AirPower
Critic



Average F-14
Tomcat enjoyer



Reynaldo Reyes-Arroyo



Eve Mountainsmith



Valerie Calvo

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Argentino

When my father dies, how
Will I explain who he was?
The Bravado, the grace.
When I was a child, he'd dance with me standing on his feet
To give me his rhythm.
In Bolivia, at family dances, I learned
I had no rhythm,
But he flew
Gliding and weaving across the floor,
Every movement, every finger articulated to the beat.
I didn't understand why my abuela called him Miguel,
Why our family was called Choque, when
In America, my Dad is Argentino Calvo,
A solid and squat man, like a low wall.
All his white friends call him 'Tino
His white wife calls him Arge'
The American urge to shorten everything,
Like one syllable can capture all that we are.
I later learned that my grandfather, an Italian man
Brought the name Calvo to Bolivia, chose
Argentino for my father, then left,
Just as Italians came and named land that wasn't theirs "Argentina"
After their own tongue.
On paper my name is just Valerie Argentina Calvo,
But my father told me we
Carry the names of our ancestors, then
Sang so many syllables I couldn't
Even begin to wrap my clumsy white tongue around.

What will I tell my children, when I can't
Even remember their names?
How many people will die on my tongue?

My father, like many fathers, had hands rough from work.
When he was a child, those hands
Slid between the strings of his mother's weavings
The only fingers small enough fit, to keep the wool together,
But if he wasn't careful
They could be crushed, or sliced, or beaten in the loom.
He had to learn the rhythm of her work.
My father's first job in America
Was building mattresses

Valerie Calvo

Cheap fabric, stapled together quickly.
They pushed his tempo
Faster and faster
So fast even his deft hands failed him.
There are still scars, where the staple punched through his palm.
I've watched him
Tape his hands back together
Then go back to work,
Yet he holds the cherango in his ugly hands
like a child.
He glides over the strings, to make them
Sing. They yearn, they cry, they
Serenade the moon.
It is yet another language I have not learned to speak.

One day I suppose I will *describe* with
All my useless words *how* my Dad played.

I must've understood, as a child.
Now, at our home, he speaks Spanish only to the perros,
Holding the dog's face in his hands, he tells him
Diga Hola
Diga Hoooooola
He smiles, turns to me,
One day he will say it.

Did he also believe
One day I would?

**Deadhead Sticker on a Cadillac: Point Break,
Neoliberalism, and Counterculture**

1991's *Point Break*, a film about a crew of bank-robbing surfers pursued by an all-American FBI agent (as played by a young Keanu Reeves), is a true classic of dumb guy cinema. It has everything that this genre needs- a slightly goofy plot played completely straight, a strong cast, thrilling chase scenes, and the sort of vague anti-system posturing that every dumb guy loves. However, I am here to suggest that below the surface, this is a strangely prescient film about neoliberalism and Silicon Valley hippie capitalism. In this, I will attempt to elevate the dumb guy discourse, if only slightly.

To talk about neoliberalism in this film, we have to discuss the Ex-Presidents. This is the bank robbing crew that Keanu Reeves' Johnny Utah spends the film pursuing. Their name comes from their gimmick- the crew wear rubber president masks and rob banks in character as Ronald Reagan (the ringleader), Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, and Lyndon B Johnson. Early in the film, we get a rundown of their methods- they come in, they control the room, and they command complete attention. They never get greedy and go for the vault, preferring to stick to the cash in the drawers. They are in and out in 90 seconds. Nobody gets hurt. These are professionals. But of course, they don't spend every waking hour in character. Most of their time, they live as a crew of carefree surfers led by a white faux-Buddhist New Age type named Bodhi (Patrick Swayze). Their ethos is a mix of thrill-seeking and a conspicuous refusal to work a dull 9 to 5. Bodhi promises a vague liberation, and claims to lead by example.

Some who watch this film take Bodhi and the Ex-Presidents at their word, viewing them as carefree revolutionaries fighting a system they don't even bother to name. They think of the Ex-President masks as an ironic touch, a sort of anarchic joke. I take a different view. I would argue that the closest analogue to Bodhi in the real world is somebody like Steve Jobs, a rapacious capitalist who also styled himself as a hippie revolutionary. At the time of the film's release, Jobs had

Thomas Johnson

recently married in a Buddhist ceremony with a vegan wedding cake. Famously, Apple's advertisements in the 80s used imagery from Orwell's 1984 to depict buying the company's products as a liberatory act against the stuffy totalitarianism of existing computer culture, with its extensive government grants and near-exclusive focus on serving businesses. Of course, this was all a façade- buying a personal computer was never particularly revolutionary, even if the technology was. Similarly, the Ex-Presidents portray their lifestyle as an attractive, countercultural alternative to participation in Fordist capitalism, with its steady, consistent drudgery, but in reality they offer only a chaotic extension of the world as it is.

Circling back to the film, I would argue that Bodhi's choice to wear the Reagan mask is significant, in that it allows him to represent the two faces of neoliberalism- the hippie optimism of Silicon Valley and the unrestricted capitalist accumulation of the Reaganites. By this point, the Ex-Presidents have kidnapped Utah and forced him to participate in one last job by threatening the life of his romantic interest, another surfer named Tyler (Lori Petty). The heist, in my reading, is the act of capital accumulation through exploitation, an act that Utah, like most of us, is compelled to assist. Counterintuitively, Bodhi dons the Reagan mask to show his true self- he spends his days acting as a gentle surfer, but during the robberies, his real nature comes out. He is a monster. He does not care whether he, his crew, or any innocent bystanders are hurt. In an attempt to raise the stakes, as is his nature, he commands the Ex-Presidents to clean out the vault for the first time, while forcing an FBI agent to hold civilians at gunpoint. He gets greedy- not for money, but for the thrill of the act. This does not end well- by the end of the robbery, Nixon, Carter, and Johnson are left to bleed out, with only Reagan and Utah left standing. I would argue that this represents the Thatcherite idea that There Is No Alternative to neoliberal capitalism. By the final act, Utah also comes to accept this- even as he finally ends Bodhi's journey, he throws away his badge, giving up his straight-laced lifestyle. The film ends with Utah allowing Bodhi to pursue his destructive thrill seeking to its inevitable conclusion- even in death, he wins.

Thomas Johnson

White & Blue



Girl Boss Enthusiast



Girl Boss Enthusiast

Roscoe Conkling

White & Blue

First, let's set the political scene. Roscoe Conkling, a senator from NY in the late 1800s, was a major political boss of his day. He was incredibly powerful and got pretty much everything he wanted. To provide some context, Conkling was a Republican. Though, this is back when the Republican and Democratic parties were sorta switched in terms of which was arguing for more radical social progression. Specifically, Conkling was this thing called a Stalwart Republican.

At the time, the Republican Party was split into two major factions over the issue of civil service reform: the Stalwarts and the Half Breeds. What's civil service reform, you ask? Well basically, you know how people can work for the government as a career? Historically, it wasn't really always like this. Instead, with each new administration, pretty much every position in the government was emptied and someone new was appointed based purely on political favors that had been done during campaigning. Essentially, if X won the presidency, then the government was gonna be filled with people who helped X win, regardless of their individual merit. So, with that, the Stalwarts believed the system as it existed back then was fine. No need for change. The Half Breeds, on the other hand, believed that the system was terribly flawed and needed vast improvement. They wanted appointments to be based purely on merit, not just political favors.

So, what was Conkling's role in all of this? He was the leader of the Stalwart faction, the most powerful dude against civil service reform. The leader of the Half Breeds, just to paint a full picture, was a dude named James G Blaine, but he won't be featured as prominently in this tale.

So now that we know who Conkling was and what he believed in, I want to zoom out a bit and discuss the story of his historical legacy. What did Conkling do that made him such a unique figure? Well, I bring to your attention exhibit A: the presidential election of 1876! In my eyes, it's the craziest that a US Presidential election has ever gotten or likely will ever get. The candidates in this election were Rutherford B Hayes, the Republican, and Samuel Tilden, the Democrat. The first thing you need to know about this election is that Hayes lost the popular vote.

This wasn't that long after the Civil War and tensions were still super high in the south. So, in a lot of southern states, both the Republican and Democratic parties ended up claiming that they were the ones who won their state elections. And, digging their heels into the dirt, each party established their own competing state governments in each of these states! Now, if you know anything about how the electoral college works, this presents a major dilemma. Essentially, lots of southern states, because they were being run by two competing governments at once, ended up sending two sets of electoral college delegates to Washington DC to vote. The Republicans sent delegates to vote for the Republican (Hayes) and the Democrats sent delegates to vote for the Democrat (Tilden). Washington DC was unsurprisingly very unsure of how to handle this situation. It presented a constitutional crisis the likes of which was never envisioned by the founders or anyone after them.

So, amongst all the havoc, Roscoe Conkling steps forward with an idea. He says, "well, what if we created an electoral commission which takes bipartisanly from the House, Senate, and Supreme Court?" His idea was that this electoral commission could vote on each of the contested delegates and

Justin Hall

determine which candidate won which delegates. So, here's where it gets tricky. Hayes, to win, needed to be awarded all of the contested delegates. Not even one

could go to Tilden or Tilden would win. But, as the commission had one more Republican on it than Democrats, that's exactly what happened. Hayes won every single delegate and achieved the slimmest electoral college victory in US history.

But it doesn't end there. The Democrats were furious at this outcome. Some even threatened to march on Washington. They refused to accept the outcome and, given how high tensions were, it was seen as a real possibility by people at the time that more North/South physical conflict might take place. So, enter Conkling stage left. He decides to meet with the Democratic leaders at the time and throws out an offer. "How about this: you give us the presidency, but you get the south?" Conkling had offered to end reconstruction and remove the final Northern troops from the South, whose job it was to ensure peaceful racial relations. After some deliberation, the Democrats took the deal. Conkling had single-handedly solved one of our greatest constitutional crises, avoided any possibility of a second civil war, and set racial relations in the country back for many decades (to be clear, very much not a good thing). The point is essentially just the significance of his impact.

So, let's discuss Conkling during the Hayes presidency a bit and wrap things back around to the issue of civil service reform. Hayes, despite being in office purely because of Conkling and his efforts, decides to take a stand against the cronyism defended by Conkling. Hayes fires the second in command of Conkling's political machine in NY, a dude who was collector at the port of NY (a very high paying position) and replace him with someone of merit. Conkling was unsurprisingly furious at this. How could someone who owes him everything turn his back? It was unthinkable. But Hayes had promised to only run for a single term and then leave office, so Conkling didn't have to worry much longer.

Once the Hayes administration had ended, a new Republican took the executive mansion: James A Garfield. Fun fact about Garfield that isn't super important to the story: he just so happened to be one of the Senators who served on the electoral commission that we discussed earlier. In any case, Garfield's presidency continued the pro-civil service reform stance of the Hayes administration. Garfield began to fire Conkling's cronies left and right, replacing them not only with people of merit, but specifically with Conkling's political rivals. Conkling was royally pissed. So, Conkling decided to do the unthinkable and resign from the Senate in protest of Garfield. He even got another Senator to resign alongside him.

Conkling was a shell of his former political self, lacking in power and connections needed to do what he wanted. But then, as in every great story, there's the classic plot twist. President Garfield, while in a train station, is shot by a disgruntled office seeker. Essentially, there was a dude who had a very minor role to play in getting Garfield elected and decided that he deserved appointment in the Garfield administration. When Garfield (shocker) turned down his offer, this guy was pissed. Garfield eventually dies from this wound, leaving the office of president vacant.

So, as you know, when the presidency is left open, this is when the Vice President steps into the scene. But here's the interesting thing about the Vice President at the time. He was a dude named Chester A Arthur and he just so happened to be that very second in command, collector of the port of NY,

Justin Hall

who Rutherford B Hayes had fired not so long before. In other words, Conkling's former head honcho was now in the highest position in the country. We can only imagine what must've been running through Conkling's mind, but it couldn't be far off from "my boy's in town - I'm back baby!"

White & Blue

Every Half Breed in the country was quaking in their boots. Their greatest political fear had come to fruition and there wasn't really anything to be done about it now. But Arthur, in the political 180 of the Century, surprises all of them - most of all Conkling - by signing this bill called the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act. In brief, it mandated that appointments couldn't just be based off of political affiliation and that there were a series of merit-based criteria that had to be met in order for an appointment to take place. Arthur changed the political landscape of Washington forever, stabbing his close friend and former boss in the back for the sake of what he saw as the greater good.

Conkling, having once been on top of the political world, slowly fades away from the spotlight and leaves his fate up to the merciless hand of history.

So, why does this story matter? I mean, it's certainly interesting and there are exciting moments. But there are plenty of stories like that. What is it about Conkling that makes him so unique? Well, to me, Conkling, and in general, the story of Conkling, represents better than almost anyone or anything else the idea of a greatly important, era-altering tale that is, for the most part, wholly lost to history. No one remembers the name of Roscoe Conkling anymore, neither for his great achievements nor for his moral depravities. Yet, this was a man who moved mountains. He was our own kingmaker -- personally deciding the outcomes of some of our most trying moments as a nation, waging war against presidents, essentially living out his own little Shakespearean turmoil, but ending up completely disregarded.

Not only him, but when was the last time you heard about the presidential election of 1876? Or Chester A Arthur? We have a collective tendency to forget, just as much as we have a collective tendency to remember. And the things we forget can tell us just as much important info about our history as the things we remember. We just must be willing to seek them out.

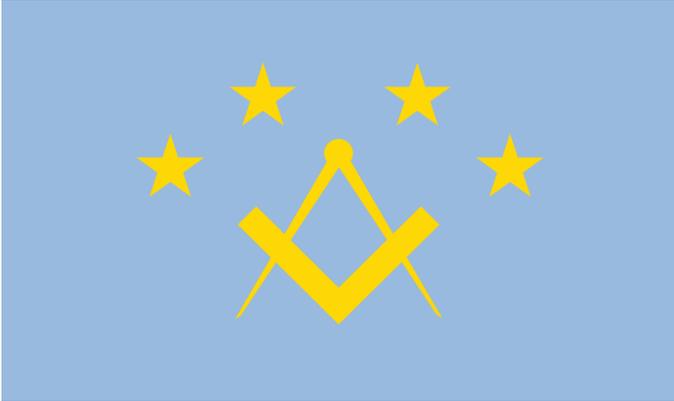
That's what makes Roscoe Conkling so interesting. He, in his own right, was a massively important figure. But, more broadly, he is a representation of all forgotten history, and in a way, all of us who won't have our names memorized by children in history classes. Just because memories fade doesn't mean that the impacts of the subjects of those faded memories are any less important or valuable. In short, Roscoe Conkling, a wholly imperfect, wholly important man, is a reminder that, regardless of who remembers us, we can still matter.

Justin Hall

The Philanthropic Society is the Superior Secret Society.

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The Official Flag of the Dialectic Society!



Joy Aikens

Turkey: A Story of Undemocratic Liberalism and Illiberal Democracy

Introduction:

When Recep Tayyip Erdoğan came to power as prime minister of Turkey in 2002 he was hailed by many western leaders as their poster child moderate Islamic leader. Turkey's ascension negotiations to the EU were accelerated and foreign investment poured in. Erdoğan was seen as a leader who would democratize Turkey and increase religious freedom. These very same leaders were shocked and quickly soured when Erdoğan began to take an authoritarian bend in 2013. However, upon studying Turkish history one discovers that Erdoğan's consolidation of power is a continuation of long-standing trends that have been present since the foundation of the republic. Indeed since its foundation, modern Turkey has been caught in a dichotomy between undemocratic liberalism and illiberal democracy, the former referring to a free and open society without democratic elections and the latter referring to a repressed society with elections. Erdoğan's cracking down on freedoms while maintaining the guise of elections is a mere continuation of trends that have transpired historically within the Republic of Turkey.

Undemocratic Liberalism:

It is impossible to begin to understand modern Turkey without first taking a look at its founding father Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Kemal was born in 1881 in Salonika, then a part of the Ottoman Empire, as the son of a civil servant. As a young boy, Kemal excelled in school and was sent to the military academy in Istanbul, where, as a part of the young Turk Revolution he was introduced to enlightenment ideas that had enabled revolutions across Europe a century prior. As an officer during the battle of Gallipoli in 1915, Kemal became a national war hero and showed great military talent; however one victory was not able to turn the tide of the War and the Ottoman Empire capitulated at the end of WWI. With the treaty of Sevres of 1920, the former vast empire that once stretched from the gates of Vienna to the Persian Gulf was reduced to a tiny "rump state" in the Turkish heartland of central Anatolia.

Kemal fled to the town of Ankara where he proclaimed a new national government that refused to recognize the surrender of the imperial government and continued a war of independence against the invading British, French, and Greek armies. The fighting ceased on the 9th of September 1922 with the Turkish army regaining Izmir. The ensuing Treaty of Lausanne established the borders of the new Turkey, which was declared a republic by Kemal's new government in Ankara on October 29th, 1923. Kemal, influenced by his foundational beliefs of liberalism and westernization, set out to modernize his young republic. In a personal letter to a close friend Kemal wrote "I do not want to die without bringing the regime of personal rule in Turkey to a close. I want to create a liberal republic." Kemal's radical program started by abolishing the caliphate on March 3rd, 1924, and following a path of state secularism. Sharia law was replaced by a modified version of the Swiss civil code; women were freed from the veil, encouraged to adopt western-style clothes, and granted full equality under the law. Secularizing the state however created issues given that religion under the Ottoman empire had formed the glue that held all Sunni muslims together. In order to rebind society Kemal used civic nationalism, which is nationalism not based on race or ethnicity, but based on belonging to a common state, as a replacement. For his efforts in establishing the republic and his modernization, Kemal was given the last name Atatürk, meaning the father of

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the Turks. Atatürk's modernization had bulleted Turkey's progress and passed many leading western countries such as France, which did not grant women the

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same equality until after WWII. In attempting to create a democratic society Atatürk faced a major hurdle in that more than 90% of Turks were illiterate. To try and combat this illiteracy Atatürk wanted to replace the Arabic script, which was largely incompatible with the Turkish language, with the Latin alphabet. However, Atatürk also hoped that the language reforms would also pull the new generations, growing up only with the Latin alphabet away from the rest of the Muslim world and more in line with western society. Atatürk's reforms and ideology came to be summed up as the six tenants of Kemalism: republicanism, populism, civic nationalism, secularism, statism, and revolutionism.

Atatürk was able to enact the vast majority of his early reforms thanks in part to the cult of personality that had grown to envelop him. To the average Turk he was “Washington, Lincoln, and FDR all in one man,” and “the men around him [sought] the smallest of privileges such as lighting his cigarette.” All of this, however, created problems whenever Atatürk sought to expand his liberalization to the political sphere. Turkey's first attempt at multi-party democracy occurred on the 17th of November 1924 with the foundation of the Progressive Republican Party (PRP), which was allowed to run against Atatürk's Republican People's Party. Problems arose when the opposition party began gaining support from pious peasants who believed that Atatürk had gone too far in his reforms. In enacting his reforms Atatürk had alienated large segments of the Turkish people who wanted to continue to live in an Islamic society and wished for closer ties with the rest of the Muslim world. After a rebellion in February 1924 by religious extremists in the southeast of Turkey, known as the Sheik Said rebellion, the PRP was banned in June 1925, less than a year after Turkey's first flirt with multiparty democracy had started.

A second attempt at multiparty democracy occurred in 1930 with the foundation of the Free Republican Party, which was again shut down within a year due to fear that an actual opposition would undermine the Kemalist revolution. While Atatürk desperately wanted a democracy he understood that the democratic constitution, and rights that had been gained through it, could only be preserved through undemocratic means. Writing in a personal letter he stated, “I will lead my people along the road until their feet are sure and they know the way, then my work will be done”. As Walter Cronkite puts it, “Atatürk was a dictator so that Turkey may never again have a dictator.”

Hopes for a Liberal Democracy

Turkey remained under the rule of the CHP for 12 more years after Atatürk's death, when it finally sank to the role of the opposition party in 1950 with the election of the Demokrat Parti (DP). The DP came to power on a large coalition comprised of religious conservatives, big business interests, and people who simply wished for greater democracy. While the CHP campaigned on abstract Kemalist ideology, the DP focused on populist pragmatic issues. Many people both in the west and in Turkey had high hopes that the DP would engage in both a liberalization of the countries politics and economy. However, as they soon came to realize, the DP was hardly democratic. Throughout the 1950s, as more and more Turks began migrating from the countryside into the cities, the DP and CHP found themselves in a culture war. Many supporters of the DP found themselves cut off from an Islamic society that they wanted to be a part of and supporters of the CHP feared that the DP would take away the modern

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lifestyle they had grown accustomed to. The leaders of the DP believed that “[they] represented the national will, implying that whoever achieved the majority

would be entitled to rule as they pleased.” This became apparent as the DP took an increasingly authoritarian turn, cracking down heavily on newspapers, student demonstrations, and even the CHP. The military eventually came to see the DP as a threat to democracy and stepped into restoring democracy in 1960. The constitution of 1961, written by law professors under the guise of the military, proved to be, according to many scholars “the most liberal constitution Turkey has ever had ... individual liberties and checks and balances on the powers of government occupied a central place in the new constitution”. The era of the 1961 constitution, however, also proved to be the most violent era of modern Turkish history.

By the 1960s Turkish society had become increasingly pluralistic, featuring a wide array of political beliefs. The newfound freedoms also enabled these differing political ideals to compete violently. Fascist paramilitaries such as the Grey Wolves assassinated left-wing intellectuals. In the meantime, left-wing anarchists assassinated right-wing politicians. Governments were increasingly unstable with premierships rarely lasting over a year. After 1960 the military stepped in two more times in 1971 and 1980, but after each time the “political order was continuously restored with power returning to the citizens in the form of popular elections”.

Professor Ilter Turan, a well-known Turkish academic and President of the prestigious International Political Science Association, describes Turkish politics during the multi-party period between 1950 and 1980 as falling into a recurring cycle. First, “an election of transition”(EOT) occurs. In 1950 the EOT was between one party CHP and the DP, in 1961 and 1973 the EOT was between indirect military control and civilian politicians. The EOT is marked by a fractured electorate and is followed by an election of consolidation (EOC) where the majority party gains a large victory. The EOC then leads to heightened political tensions which then results in an election of polarization (EOP). The EOP is marked by the opposition massively gaining in strength and increasing political violence and marks the straw that breaks the camel's back and the military steps in. In essence, the only way to maintain the institutions of democracy is through undemocratic means. These cycles in multi-party democracy represent a constant struggle between popularly elected politicians seeking to subvert the values of Kemalism and unelected bureaucrats, members of the intelligentsia, and the military seeking to maintain the socially liberal and progressive nature of the republic. Turan describes this situation as follows:

A distinction between men of politics and men of state, comprising the bureaucracy, the judiciary, the military, university faculty, and the leadership of the quasi-official organizations such as the bar, the chambers of engineers, architects, doctors, etc., were seen by the CHP as cadres that were responsible for protecting the values and the achievements of the Kemalist republic against encroachments from elected politicians who were seen as populists who would not hesitate to compromise these values and achievements in the interest of getting votes. The CHP associated itself with the men of state and the latter usually identified with the CHP. The men of state, suspicious of elected politicians, generally felt that the best way to protect the “original” republic was to limit the scope within which the latter could operate, drawing borders that aimed to restrict what the politicians could or could not do.

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This conflict between the men of state and the men of government was settled in the 1980 coup, which settled the matter definitely in favor of the men of state. The new constitution written by the military established strict

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restrictions on political parties, establishing a 10% threshold to enter the parliament and creating laws enabling the closure of political parties for parties that threatened Kemalist liberalism. However, this period also marked a pax Romana of growth and stability; Turkey's economy boomed, foreign investment increased, and by the 1990s, Turkey had begun ascension talks with the European Union. The multi-party period, simply put, was a struggle between the undemocratic liberalism of state institutions and the electoral authoritarianism of elected politicians.

Illiberal Democracy

On the eve of a razor-thin victory on a referendum that consolidated power in the presidency, Erdoğan stood on the balcony of the Justice and Development Party's headquarters and announced "I would like to thank all our citizens, regardless of how they voted, who went to the polling stations to protect the national will. The entire country has triumphed." The election was conducted under a state of emergency with opposition journalists jailed and the media tightly controlled by the government. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe declared that the referendum "took place on an unlevel playing field and the two sides of the campaign did not have equal opportunities. Voters were not provided with impartial information about key aspects of the reform, and civil society organizations were not able to participate". Furthermore, as the votes were being counted and indicated a tight race, the Supreme Board of Elections (YSK) announced that ballots without certification were to be counted unless found to be invalid. According to Steven A. Cook, a senior fellow for the Middle East and Africa studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, "the [YSK's] decision made it possible for party supporters to stuff ballot boxes with what would otherwise be invalid 'Yes' votes." Despite all of this the "No" vote still garnered 48.59% of the vote, with the "Yes" vote standing at 51.41%. According to Cook, none of these concerns mattered to Erdoğan as his philosophy on democracy was much the same as the DP a half-century prior; "In their view, if a majority of citizens vote for a measure ... the resulting institution change must be democratic regardless of the actual political impacts of the change." In essence, concerns regarding human rights, freedom of the press, and the fairness of elections were all dismissed on the basis that the decision to remove the rights had been taken by a majority vote.

Turkey's post-1980 coup order, led by parties that succumbed to the wishes of the military, came crumbling down after a 2001 economic crisis sent the Turkish Lira into hyperinflation. By the election of 2002, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, formerly a part of the since banned Islamist Virtue Party, had rebranded himself a moderate. In 2001 Erdoğan stated that "I do not subscribe to the view that Islamic culture and democracy cannot be reconciled." Leaders in the west were convinced that a moderate like Erdoğan could democratize Turkey without losing progressive tenants of Kemalism and early into his rule a facade of reform emerged, specifically in regards to reducing state secularism, thereby increasing freedom of religion and increasing the rights of minorities. However, behind the scenes Erdoğan was working with Islamist cleric Fethullah Gülen. Gülen, living in self-imposed exile in Pennsylvania, worked together with Erdoğan, to gradually remove Kemalists and other secularists from state

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institutions. In 2010 Erdoğan put forth a referendum that aimed to make the judiciary seemingly more liberal:

For years, the European Union emphasized the importance of legal reform in Turkey, in part because Turkish judges were not independent. Rather than being loyal to a particular political party, the justices were overwhelmingly supporters of [Kemalism]. Although in the abstract this should not be supposed to be a disqualifying factor in their appointment to the bench, in the same way, a jurist's liberalism conservatism isn't supposed to be in the United States. Turkish justices often prioritized their worldview at the expense of the equal and fair application of the law. Thus, when the AKP leadership planned for a referendum that would alter the way in which justices were appointed, among other things, it was well received in Turkey and abroad within the councils of the European Commission and the Obama administration ... In reality the referendum underscored what critics of Erdoğan and the AKP had long argued: that the party's commitment to democratic norms was considerably less potent than its desire for political advantage.

After the judiciary had been subdued and brought under the control of Erdoğan and Gülen they sought to take down the threat from the military next; namely through the Ergenekon and Sledgehammer kangaroo court cases. This process would continue across ministries, civil organizations, and public universities. The officials being removed had long served as the aforementioned vanguard of Kemalist progress in society, and once they had been removed there were no guard rails left in place to defend those ideals . It would only be a matter of time before rights slowly began to hit the chopping block.

By the early 2010s, Turkey's economy had begun to slow down to a mere 2% in 2013, after a decade of astronomical growth and as a result Gülen supporters and Erdoğan supporters increasingly found each other fighting over the slices of an increasingly smaller cake. This all was combined with what has been described by scholars as "the biggest spontaneous revolt in Turkish history." The Gezi Park protests had begun as a result of a plan to redevelop a central Istanbul park into a shopping mall but soon spread across Turkey as citizens protested increased government control over their civilian lives and a general lack of freedom. As the conflict between Erdoğan and Gülen continued, the judiciary, now controlled by Gülen, launched a massive investigation into Erdoğan. Despite both the increasing escalating political conflict with Gülen and protestors on the streets, Erdoğan was nonetheless able to get himself elected, by the people, as President in 2014, a position which up until then had been elected indirectly by the parliament.

Erdoğan's election to the office of President marked the start of the path towards single-man rule. While the office of Prime Minister was supposed to be, nominally, the head of government, Erdoğan had taken steps to ensure that his prime minister served as little more than a mouth piece. Erdoğan wished to establish what he referred to as an "executive presidency," an office that on paper seems much like the American system, but in practice is little more than the unchecked one-man rule. Under Erdoğan's new system he would have the power to issue decrees with the effect of law, appoint ministers and judges without confirmation, and arbitrarily dismiss the parliament. Experts at the Council of Europe's Venice Commission stated that the proposed office contained "insufficient checks and balances, given excessive concentration of power in one office, limited parliamentary oversight, and a weakening of judicial

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independence." Erdoğan's proposal to establish this new dictatorial office would not have been possible without the "democratization" of the early 2000s which enabled the Kemalist guardrails to be removed.

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The catalyst that enabled Erdoğan to finally enact his dream of executive presidency occurred after a coup attempt on July 15th, 2016. Experts disagree as to whether this coup attempt was a final death throes of the Gullenist movement or whether it was simply a show put on by Erdoğan to further consolidate power; what is clear, however, is that Erdoğan described the failed coup attempt as a “gift from God”. Despite the increasing amount of rights being taken away, almost all of Turkish civil society rejected the coup attempt as “an assault on Turkey’s democracy”. A state of emergency was declared as Erdoğan moved to de facto establish himself as the sole ruler of Turkey. Thousands of civil servants were arrested, including officers, judges, teachers, and members of civil society. Newspapers and television studios, basic rights such as freedom of assembly, and the separation of mosque and state essentially evaporated. The de jure enactment of Erdoğan’s dictatorship came by a vote of the people. The aforementioned 2017 referendum codified the constitutional changes that enabled Erdoğan’s “executive presidency”, according to Gabriela Baghdady, a distinguished scholar at the Johns Hopkins School of International Relations “[Erdoğan] effectively granted himself unchecked power in Turkey.” For the first time in the history of the report, Freedom House classified Turkey as “not free” in its “Freedom in the World 2018” report.

Conclusion

Modern Turkey’s history shows a constant conflict between progressive Kemalists and pious populists. There are instances of a liberal society maintained by undemocratic means such as the CHP’s one-party rule, where women were emancipated and theocracy abolished. There are instances of a repressed society established through the ballot box; the DP of the 1950s. This history shows that whenever the guardrails that hold democracy back are removed populist demagogues emerge and get rid of all aspects of democracy except for the ballot box. It is clear that Erdoğan removing these guardrails, under the guise of democratization, only to appoint himself as a dictatorial ruler, is a mere continuation of the trends and cycles that have been seen in Turkey over the past century.

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Church Burner

I stare down the steeple

Which one kept me down
I look with eyes ablaze

Match and smoke in hand
I see the fire burn bright
All through the night
Staring back at me
Smiling bright
In that glass mosaic
That once only gave fright
I see the brightest flame
In my sights.
The only fire I need
Is me, burning bright

Ryan Spencer Kalo



Jackson Meade

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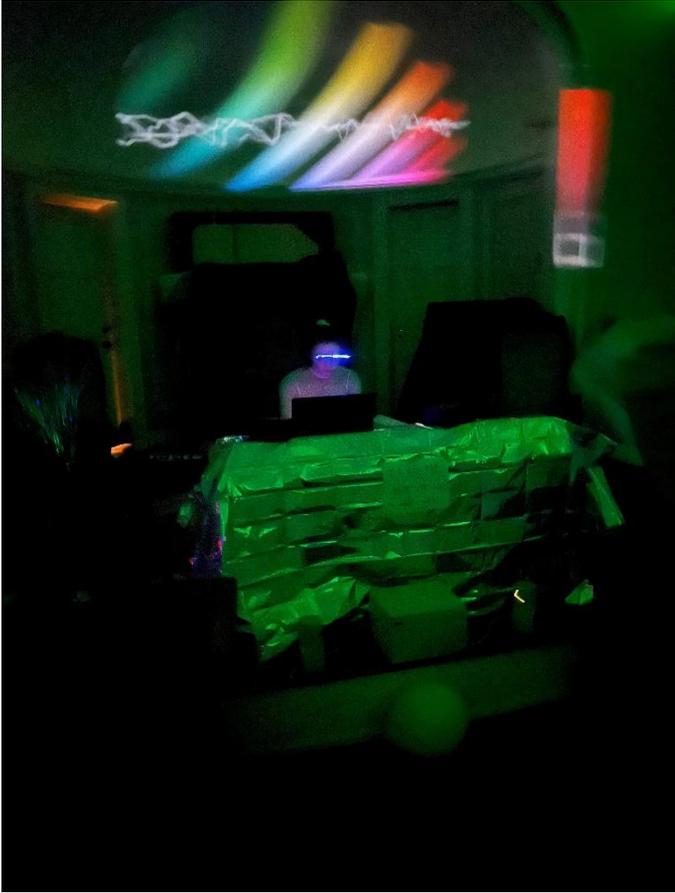


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