

The Podium

February 2016



An important note: All opinions and ideas expressed in The Podium are the personal opinions and convictions of featured student writers and are not necessarily the opinions of The Podium staff, the Belmont Hill History Department, or the Belmont Hill School itself.





Letter from the Staff

Dear Readers,

This message serves as an official introduction to the first ever edition of *The Podium*. Originally inspired by Chris Bracken '15 and his idea to host a student-written opinion piece competition in November of 2014, *The Podium* has truly taken off this academic year. Molding the initial idea into reality, *The Podium* staff began by launching an advertising campaign to circulate our logo around campus. We then went on to host two op-ed contests, in addition to conducting two school-wide polling projects and collecting some of the most notable history papers written throughout the semester.



Our three winners from the past semester wrote noteworthy op-eds that were all intelligent, clear, cohesive, and strongly supported by relevant evidence, thus meeting our standards. Louis Gounden composed "A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing" on the European Migrant Crisis, adeptly

crafting an argument in support of accepting refugees. In our second competition, Thomas Wolpov's "CO2 For Sale" and William Galligan's "Political Climate Change" were both deserving of victory and following an intense meeting full of indecision and tiebreaker votes, *The Podium* elected to name both pieces as winners. "CO2 For Sale" highlights the benefits of a "Cap-and-Trade" system to address climate change, while Galligan creatively points to misconceptions about the Republican stance on global warming in "Political Climate Change."

Valuing the importance of current events and relevance of history, throughout our many endeavors this past semester, *The Podium* has remained true to its mission, publishing the best student-written work in history and current events. As we grow from a new publication into a well-established journal, this mission statement will remain the same.

After a semester of hard work, writing, planning, and designing, we are very excited to unveil this finished product. Without further ado, please turn the page and enjoy.

-*The Podium* Staff

William McCormack, Ishaan Prasad, Robbie Warming, Coleman Walsh, Donovan Payne, Jeff Price, Duncan Grant, Jared Stier, Luke Jordan, John Markis, Quin McGaugh, Jake Carter

Content

Edition I



01 History on the Hill

Campus Cryptic 1

Tomás Paris '17

03 Opinion Piece

A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing* 3

Louis Gounden '18

CO₂ For Sale* 4

Thomas Wolpow '16

Political Climate Change* 5

William Galligan '16

Donald's Trump Card 6

Mack Perry '17

European Migrant Crisis 7

Gavin Colbert '18

Kim Davis' Lawlessness 8

Robbie Warming '17

09 Research Papers

The Evolving Amendment 9

Brian Wilkins '20

The Beast from the East 14

Shane Rockett '19

Cheka in Soviet Russia 18

Seth Israel '18

North Korea Crisis 21

William Weiter '16

Making the Euro's Future 26

George Hu '16

33 Data Analysis

Climate Change at BH 33

William McCormack '18

Donald Trump at BH 36

Robert Warming '17

Israel-Palestine Bias 39

William Galligan '16

William Weiter '16

* Indicates Winner



Campus Cryptic

Author-Tomás Paris '17

Section-History on the Hill

The "History on the Hill" section of The Podium will be the first article of each issue. It will consist of a student-written piece that will present our readers with an anecdote of Belmont Hill's rich history.

Scientists call the phenomenon 'acclimatization'. It is when people stop noticing the weight of their backpacks, or the rug they walk across everyday in their own home. Perhaps you have become familiar enough with Belmont Hill to start forgetting about the small things on campus. There is one particular part of the grounds that you may have never noticed at all. Go to Shaler Wing, by MacPherson, and check out the archway. Therein will be found a black plaque set into the brick wall. A message has been engraved onto it in cursive. Here is a transcription:

"This brick was taken from the portico of 'Christ's Hospital' School or Blue 'Coat' School which was built on the site of the Monastery of Greyfriars Newgate Street, London. The Statuette of the founder, King Edward VI stood on this portico. The name Blue 'Coat' School came from the dress of its scholars which is still required. Lamb and Coleridge both attended. The school was moved to Horsham Sussex, England, in 1902. Mr. Samuel B. Dean gave the brick, he having obtained it at the time of the demolition of the building in June 1903."

Above this plaque a weathered looking brick bulges from the wall. The school it came from still stands today; in fact, it has its own website which provides a detailed account of the academy's history.

'Christ's Hospital' School was founded in 1552 for the care of orphan children from London, and burned down in the Great Fire of 1666. By 1705 the campus was reconstructed, which dates the brick on Belmont Hill Campus at 300 some-odd years old. According to a 'Christ's Hospital' School Alumni (otherwise known as 'an Old Blue') named Mr. Jones, the campus had been drafted by Sir Christopher Wren, who also designed the famed 'St. Paul's Cathedral' five years later. Mr. Jones found no mention in his school's records of Samuel B. Dean, who gave the brick to Belmont Hill. Therefore, Samuel was most likely just visiting London in 1705 at the same time that 'Christ's Hospital' school was being demolished and pieces of the rubble were being sold to the public.

The brick brought to Belmont Hill School

by Samuel Dean can currently be found in Shaler Wing, right outside of the dining hall. The building was made in 1928, having been named after Nathaniel Shaler, a professor at Harvard who was well known by the faculty at Belmont Hill. Mr. Shaler taught at Harvard, and may have been one of Dr. Howe's professors when he graduated from Harvard in 1901. However, despite having his brick in Mr. Shaler's building, Samuel B. Dean never went to Harvard.

Samuel and the brick which he gave are mentioned briefly in Belmont Hill's school notes: "Mrs. Samuel B. Dean sent to Dr. Howe at the death of her husband an interesting brick ... It was Mr. Dean's request that it be given to the Belmont Hill School." Fortunately, more detail regarding Dean can be found in a few other sources. The archives at the Museum of Fine Arts, located in Boston, mentions him in association with one of its galleries in 1908: "The pieces shown ... were selected and placed in the cases under the supervision of Samuel Bridge Dean". The Blithewold mansion, which was located in Rhode Island and held great influence over the domestic arts and crafts movement, has an invoice about Samuel, stating: "He categorized himself as a 'connoisseur and collector of old lace'". It is also recorded that he lived in Boston from 1902, around the time he was in London, to 1927, the time of his death. The only other mention of Samuel Bridge Dean is in a registry for the members of "The Massachusetts Society of Sons of the American Revolution".

The actions of Mr. Dean are otherwise unexplainable. The reason for his gift to Belmont Hill, passed on from his own deathbed, to a School he never studied or taught at, may never be known. He carried the brick now on Belmont Hill campus, the brick which every teacher and student has walked by dozens of times, for 25 years and 6,548 miles, only to give it away without any explanation. Perhaps he believed in an ideal, which was held up by 'Christ's Hospital' School, and which he wanted to see continued at Belmont Hill. Without more information, Samuel's true intentions may never be known.

Nominations

For Research Papers

Form II American Govt.

14th Amendment*
8th Amendment

Brian Wilkins '20
Matthew Drucker '20

Form III World Issues

Chinese Military*
Chinese Healthcare
Chinese Investment in Africa

Shane Rockett '19
Thomas McEvoy '19
Ben St. Peters '19

Form IV Mod. Euro

Cheka in Soviet Russia*
King Leopold II

Seth Israel '18
Jared Stier '18

Form VI Int'l Relations

North Korea Crisis*
Violence in Ukraine

William Weiter '16
William Galligan '16

Form VI Economics

Germany's Economics*
Brazilian Economic Crisis

George Hu '16
Brendan Pulsifer '16

Form VI USA Policy

2016 Election Prediction
2016 Election Prediction

Sean Rayment '16
Juan Carlos Fernández-
del Castillo '16

* Indicates Winner



A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing

Author-Louis Gounden '18
Section-Opinion Pieces

The way Europe has handled its influx of refugees is a disgrace to itself, its people, and to supposed European ideals of equality and tolerance. Instead of welcoming people who have risked everything fleeing from violence and oppression, Europe has branded them as violent and lazy, putting far more effort into getting rid of them than helping them. So much for tolerance...

For a continent that prides itself on upholding human rights, there is some massive hypocrisy going on. Some European countries like Hungary have closed their borders and started building fences, while others horrifyingly refuse to take in refugees solely on the basis of their Islamic religion. This is nothing but undiluted islamophobia, plain and simple. It harkens back to 1930s Europe and the fascist attitudes towards immigrants and minority groups.

Many countries cite security concerns, but these claims lack any evidence, do nothing but promote stereotypes of Muslims as terrorists, and are nothing but fear mongering. The irony here is almost laughable- these are people feeling from terror, and to now being accused of being terrorists themselves? Hardly. To this date, there have been no instances, nor has there been any evidence of a terrorist plot by any of the recent refugees entering Europe.

On the note of fear mongering, based on the media's coverage of the refugee crisis, one might believe that Europe is becoming submerged under a swarm of people. This is a gross misrepresentation. There are more than 500 million Europeans. Most estimates put the number of refugees expected in Europe in 2015 at around 1.5 million. Let's put this in perspective. Lebanon, a country of 4.5 million has taken in over a million refugees. Jordan, with a population of 6 million, has almost a million refugees. Europe, you are truly drowning under a human tidal wave. How ever will you manage?

The sad part about this crisis? Europe desperately needs these refugees. According to the Pew Research Center, Germany's population will shrink by more than 20 million to around 60 million by 2050, with a senior population (65+) of at least 33%, putting the dependency ratio (workforce to nonworking) at a staggering 5:3. If this were to come true, it would be cataclysmic for Germany's economy. Germany is not alone. Every country in Europe, with the exception of Albania and Macedonia, is facing an aging crisis.

The solution? Immigration. For the most part, refugees are young (54% of current refugees in Europe are 18-34), hardworking, and almost universally good for the economy, even in countries without a graying population, such as the United States. For Europe, immigrants are an absolute necessity in order to sustain any sort of economic growth.

Europe needs to change its attitude towards refugees, if not out of kindness or compassion for other human being (given what we have seen, this seems very unlikely), then for its own self interest. Europe's very survival depends on it.

CO₂ For Sale

Author-Thomas Wolpov '16
Section-Opinion Pieces

The 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference is scheduled – albeit tentatively after recent terrorist attacks in that city – for November 30. Delegates from more than 190 countries will convene to wrestle forth a plan to curb greenhouse gas emissions. Hopes for diplomacy are high: newfound cooperation stems both from an overwhelming scientific consensus that backs the anthropogenic causes of climate change, and from a mounting concern within the global community that our lack of environmental stewardship will soon yield disastrous consequences like drought, rising sea levels, and extreme weather. Indeed, a recent poll by the Pew Research Center, which collected opinions from people in forty countries, notes that the majority of respondents are in favor of regulations to curb emissions. The prospect that the Paris Conference will yield dramatic results, however, is far-fetched given the dearth of binding, top-down environmental regulation. Negotiations will instead center around “intended-nationally-determined-contributions” (INDCs). In other words, each country will design its own plan to cut emissions, and no centralized, governing body will be there to hold the countries accountable. Soft diplomacy coupled with low ambition will simply not prove sufficient in keeping global warming under 2°C, the tipping point that, if passed, could prove catastrophic. In order to provide the incentive for countries to ramp up every five years their INDC framework, and ultimately cut carbon emissions by sixteen gigatons, policymakers must wield the power of economics. The world is ready to go green; nobody, however, wants to lose money doing it.

At the micro-level, “green energy” – such as solar panels, wind turbines, and geothermal – has allowed individuals to cut long-term energy costs. Alas, even conservative Republicans who like to scoff at the worries of climate change support the economic benefits associated with removal from the grid. It is time to take environmental economics to the macro-level. Currently, in today’s globalized economy, no industrialized country can feasibly reduce emissions to safe levels without committing economic suicide. Until the burning of fossil fuels and the environmental externalities associated with it are integrated into a market, governments will never ramp up the INDCs set in Paris. The global economy must move towards a full-cost “Cap-and-Trade” market. Specifically, governments would issue a “cap” to all emitters of greenhouse gas, which places an allowance on emissions. The total “cap” for each country could be based on a global emissions goal such as the need to keep warming below 2°C. Any institution that exceeds the cap will be penalized. The “trade” incentivizes innovation, and allows firms to invest productively. Whereas one firm may find it easy to

limit emissions, another firm may need years to develop the proper technology. Furthermore, a “Cap-and-Trade” system, after initial quotas have been set around a global emissions goal, is self-regulating and eliminates the exploitation of the atmosphere as a global commons. China plans to implement nationally a Cap-and-Trade system by 2017; the country’s efforts should be compounded by a similar pledge by the United States and the rest of the world.

The Paris Conference is certainly a step in the right direction. “Everyone is talking to everyone,” remarks Laurence Tubiana, France’s top climate spokesperson. In order to reverse the course towards environmental destruction, however, drastic changes are needed. Ms. Tubiana and others must realize that non-binding efforts will simply not be enough to stop countries from acting in their own self-interest. The power of economics to change behavior must be wielded to stay green.

Political Climate Change

Author-William Galligan '16
Section-Opinion Pieces

Listening to the 2016 Republican Presidential candidates discuss climate change would lead one to think that most Republicans believe humans have no bearing on global warming or that the phenomenon is non-existent. Donald Trump, the Republican frontrunner as of November 2015, even stated, "I don't believe in climate change" in an interview on CNN. Through thorough investigations, however, it becomes clear that there exists a silent majority of Republicans who believe that humans cause climate change and that it is a serious threat. Thus, in order to unify as a nation and confront climate change, this misperception of the Republican party must be debunked, and measures must be taken to make going green economically beneficial. In order to call attention to this silent Republican majority, less credit must be given to polls that are misleading. For example, a poll conducted by CBS News and The New York Times in September 2014 asked whether economic growth or the environment should be a priority in America. Although most Republicans believe climate change is a serious issue, the majority still worries about the effects of economic regulation and the expansion of governmental power. Thus, a majority of Republicans (51%) answered that the economy should be given priority while only 40% answered that the environment should be prioritized (the other 9% were unsure or gave no answer). Poll questions such as this one are problematic for several reasons. For starters, the question turns the issue into a false dilemma—limiting the subjects to prioritize either the economy or the environment when, in fact, both could be prioritized simultaneously. Secondly, because such questions make most Republicans choose their economic well-being over the environment, the results suggest that a majority of Republicans are uninterested in addressing environmental issues, when this is not the case. Because of these flawed polls, most Republican candidates take a hostile view of policies that would slow global warming.

Polls that allow for nuanced answers, however, reveal that a majority of Republicans—including 54% of self-described conservative Republicans—believe mankind has a role in climate change. Thorough studies have also shown that only 35% of Republicans agree with the Republican Party's position on global warming, but yet only 10% of conservatives support addressing the issue by increasing government regulation through the E.P.A. Therefore, despite what most Republican candidates claim, most conservatives would be supportive of measures that slow global warming, as long as they do not include overwhelming government intervention or hinder the economy. Therefore, the Republican party should pay more attention to nuanced

polls and focus on confronting the issue of climate change by working with Democrats to enact measures that would make being environmentally friendly more economically beneficial, yet still prevent overwhelming government intervention. Possible measures include a carbon tax on electric utilities that would be rebated to consumers and a policy that would promote installation of solar panels—allowing homeowners to sell electricity back to power companies. Other tax incentives could be used to promote investment into the research and development of clean energy technology—furthering their advancement and reducing dependence on foreign oil. If America were to institute a series of bipartisan measures to address climate change in an economically beneficial way, it would set an international precedent other countries could follow. America's lead would also make it easier for countries to negotiate legally binding emissions reductions instead of non-binding INDCs (intended nationally determined contributions) at future international environmental conferences. This more effective top-down approach would give the world a better chance of reaching its carbon emissions goals and of keeping temperatures from rising above two degrees Celsius, the boundary above which global warming becomes incredibly dangerous.

Donald's Trump Card: How His Controversial Campaign Defies Modern Politics

Author-Mack Perry'17

Section-Opinion Pieces

Donald Trump's presidential campaign seems like a real-life SNL sketch; a sour Mike Myers wearing a blonde straw toupee against Will Ferrell's George Bush trying to run for a third term. Trump's sophomoric behavior, racist and sexist jokes, and unsupported political statements have garnered much criticism and press coverage. How is this man a legitimate presidential candidate?

And how the *hell* is he the frontrunner for the Republican Party?

Contrary to political logic and common sense, Donald Trump is a standout in polls. Real Clear Politics consistently ranks him in their top 3 popular candidates overall, while USA News placed him #1 on their GOP list on October 7.

Although he identifies himself as a "conservative Republican," Trump debated about running as an independent candidate; this terrified the Republican party, proving they identified him as a real threat and genuine option for office.

It is hard to see how some people take this guy seriously. When he's not saying "China" three hundred times, he's calling out his opponent for not being hot enough to be president. His approach to debates seems to be brazenly stating an outlandish idea (such as deporting every single Hispanic in the country and forcing Mexico to build a border wall), being asked on how he will achieve this goal, then confidently responding with "I don't know. I'm just gonna do it." Bold strategy, Cotton. Even his slogan "Make America Great Again" reflects the generality and thoughtlessness of his campaign. How are we going to make this country great again, Donald? He doesn't know.

Have you ever seen a Trump 2016 campaign ad? Neither have I. Instead of spending millions on TV ads, his ridiculous behavior generates enough popularity and coverage for his campaign. An October 6th Business Insider article revealed Trump has only spent \$2M this so far, compared to Clinton's \$18M. He gains free advertising through his media domination, an innovative solution in the world of ludicrous campaign spending.

Somehow his idiotic yet hilarious statements have substance to them. America does need to fix their immigration problem. Considering the recent shootings at Umpqua and Sandy Hook, we are in desperate need of gun reform. Perhaps banning all assault weapons completely, as Trump suggests, is needed. Do we need to create more jobs in America and stop shipping our work overseas? Yes.

This campaign is showing that the American people are looking for something different from the political rhetoric found in every other candidate. Will Trump be our next president? Hopefully not. He lacks

the proper knowledge, expertise, and brain to lead our country; however, his bold and blunt statements do have hidden lessons that should wake us up to the issues we need to solve. Beneath the absurdity of Trump lies a little common sense and a good basis of ideas that should be heard. We need to make America great again, just not with Donald Trump in the White House.

European Migrant Crisis

Author-Gavin Colbert '18

Section-Opinion Pieces

Europe is currently seeing the largest mass exodus of refugees since World War II. With at least 350,000 migrants crossing EU borders from January-August in 2015 alone, this is not only a European crisis, but a crisis in which a solution can only be catalyzed by a motivated international community. Political leaders from around the world must unite to solve this crisis and its many aspects to save these desperate people hallowed by war, poverty, and persecution.

The European Union must enact legislative change to address this crisis immediately. The lack of unified legislation for the EU on the protocols of dealing with migrants has led to divisions among the Union with xenophobic countries like Hungary, contrasted to some empathic counties like Germany (of all nations, considering their history), who are welcoming these people fleeing from despotic reigns and constant terror to safer lives. The EU needs a fair, safe, and equal refugee distribution program for every country, specified areas where refugees are to be entered into a migrant data base system and distributed, specified points of legal entry in every country, strong border patrol, and lastly the EU must be obligated to aid in solving the source of the problem by helping fight the injustices of ISIS and the Assad regime in Syria.

While the European Union as a whole must effect change in the results and poor management of this migration, each country in the EU must also consider how to manage this crisis individually through broad, sweeping legislative, cultural, and social changes. Each country in the EU needs an open mind free of xenophobia and racism, an egalitarian policy for setting up the migrants with stipulation and mixed school systems with ESL and other language programs to increase language proficiency allowing kids and parents in fit in at school and in the workplace, and a policy for how to safely return migrants if they desire to return home.

Finally, the International Community must support the EU in this migrant crisis through pecuniary aid and social assistance to raise awareness. Like many other Americans, I myself have a pedigree of migration as my ancestors sought better lives in America, leaving behind their homes in Ireland and Italy. Therefore, as a country of immigrants, the United States must also help harbor migrants and financially support the floundering management of the EU in this crisis.

While current events of the crisis are difficult to understand as they unfold, this migrant crisis is history in the making. We must act now to welcome these desperate people so future generations will remember the courage and heroism of these migrants through their flight to countries that actually welcomed them with open arms, harboring them from the horrors and

atrocities in their homelands.

Kim Davis's Lawlessness

Author-Robbie Warming '17

Section-Opinion Pieces

Kim Davis annoys me. And it's not because of her bigoted actions of denying gay couples marriage, for I am not exactly the passionate social-activist type. What really flusters me is her blatant lawlessness in the face of her duty as a public servant. In a nation of laws, people cannot claim nonexistent reasons for infringing upon others' God given rights. By denying gay couples marriage licenses, Mrs. Davis has neglected her constitutional duty as a public servant.

As a private citizen, one is reserved the right of religious freedom, as long as it does not obviously encroach upon the rights of others. For instance, if a priest refused to marry a homosexual couple, he would absolutely have that right since he is a private citizen performing a non-governmental ceremony. However, Kim Davis is not a private citizen. She is a public servant. Being such, she relinquishes her claim to a religious exemption because her job, paid for by taxpayer money, is to be a vessel in which the laws of the state and federal government are carried out. And since the Supreme Court, after a good amount of debate, ruled that gay men and women's right to marry is guaranteed by the Constitution, the law of the land, she is compelled to oblige by it.

Kim Davis is, essentially, a part of the government. This government is kept separate from the Church in the First Amendment. Therefore, as long as Mrs. Davis holds a job in the government, she cannot blur the lines between church and state. Of course, she can practice her faith openly and freely, but not while clocked in.

Contrary to what some believe, one cannot shirk one's duty as a public servant by being, as Kim Davis' husband put it, "an old redneck hillbilly."

The fear that religious freedoms are being dwindled away is understandable and should be addressed. However, this does not give people the right to infringe upon rights of others, especially while in government.



The Evolving Amendment

Author-Brian Wilkins '20
Section-Research Papers



INTRODUCTION

While not included in the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment serves an important role in present-day America. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids states from denying a person "life, liberty, or property, without due process of the laws."¹ This last clause is an important, if not the most important, part of the Amendment, because it changes many of the aspects surrounding the definition of citizenship. As a result of the Supreme Court's interpretation, the Fourteenth Amendment has greatly expanded civil rights to encompass a wider range of people.

FOUNDER'S INTENT

Known in history as the man who abolished slavery in the United States, Abraham Lincoln was an important and pivotal advocate for the expansion of civil rights. He left the country on a "liberal" path that granted the previously owned slaves many basic human rights that they did not possess before. Unfortunately however,

shortly after the war's end Abraham Lincoln was shot and killed. This act of treason set Lincoln's Reconstruction plans back because Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, was discovered to be opposed to many of the values that Abraham Lincoln supported during his Presidency. Expressing much displeasure towards the creation of the Fourteenth Amendment, Andrew Johnson tried to use his Presidential powers to veto the creation of the law. Much to the President's displeasure, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments passed. With the mandatory ratification in place for reintegrating Confederate states, the amendments now known as the Reconstruction Amendments, were put into place in the American legal system.² In spite of these progressive amendments, the Jim Crow laws, poll taxes, and grandfather clauses were created to restrict the amendments. These loopholes in the amendments were adopted by many of the southern states and allowed for the subordination of African Americans under the jurisdiction of the law.



PREVIOUS PRECEDENTS

The court case, *Brown v. Board of Education* of Topeka was and still is one of the most important civil rights cases ever to take place in American Courts. Throughout the twentieth century, the problem of segregation plagued many American schools, workplaces and public areas. In the South, the Jim Crow laws, enacted after the Reconstruction period, were in effect until the mid 1960s.³ Segregation of blacks and whites was enforced legally using the precedent set by the court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s "Separate But Equal" clause as justification.⁴ Throughout the time between the court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the ultimate decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, there were a number of cases that were taken by the Supreme Court regarding this matter; this list includes cases such as *Murray v. Maryland*, *Sweatt v. Painter*, and *Mclaurin v. Oklahoma Board of Regents of Higher Education*.⁵ This case was one of the first cases taken on by the newly elected Chief Justice Earl Warren, and it seemed like it might be one of the many unsuccessful attempts at expanding civil rights. However, because of the appointment of Earl Warren, the Supreme court changed from being conservative, to a more liberal.

In this case, the Brown family requested and acquired the help of the NAACP, and the expertise of the Civil Rights lawyer, Thurgood Marshall.⁶ Marshall argued that Linda Brown, who was eight years old at the time, was not allowed to go to the school closest to where she live, and instead had to walk across a busy trainyard to get to the school that she was permitted to go to. Thurgood Marshall argued that this situation violated the Fourteenth Amendment. Agreeing with Marshall's argument, Chief Justice Earl Warren elected himself to write the majority opinion in which he stat-

ed,

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and other similarly situated . . . are . . . deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.⁷

This ruling paved the way for many other civil rights cases to take place in the years to come.

The court case of *Loving v. Virginia* expanded the Fourteenth Amendment to include the civil rights of marriage between two people of different races. This case involved Mildred Jeter, a woman of color, and Richard Loving, a man of white descent,⁸ both of whom were residents in Virginia and were married in the District of Columbia. The two newlyweds soon moved back to Virginia where they were both arrested and charged with the violation of the state's antiscegenation statute. This law banned interracial marriage and the couple were both sentenced to a year in jail.⁹ When introduced to the Supreme Court, the question that was posed "Did Virginia's antiscegenation law violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment?"¹⁰ provoked a unanimous decision among the judges.

In the majority opinion, Chief Justice Earl Warren stated that marriage is one of the "basic civil rights of man."¹¹ He later states "The Fourteenth Amendment requires that the freedom of choice to marry not be restricted by invidious racial discrimination. Under our Constitution, the freedom to marry, or not marry, a person of another race resides with the individual and cannot be infringed by the State,"¹² wording that is very similar to that of John Locke during the American revolution regarding the basic rights of life, liberty and property.¹³

The court case *Obergefell v. Hodges* further



expanded the Fourteenth Amendment to include the protection of gay marriage. This case involved several different cases brought by plaintiffs from Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee who sued their corresponding states' agencies surrounding the problem of gay marriage in America.¹⁴ The plaintiffs in most of the cases argued that the state laws that banned same sex marriage, or those that refused to recognize legal same sex marriages that took place in different states, as going against the equal protection, and due process clauses in the fourteenth amendment.¹⁵ One of the groups put forth claims under the Civil Rights Act of 1866.¹⁶ While in all of the cases, the trial court was in favor of the plaintiffs, the U.S. court of appeals for the Sixth Circuit stated that "bans on same-sex marriage and refusal to recognize marriages performed in other states did not violate the couples' Fourteenth Amendment rights to equal protection and due process."¹⁷ The two questions that were faced by the Supreme Court included, "Does the Fourteenth Amendment require a state to license a marriage between two people of the same sex?"¹⁸ and the follow-up question of "Does the Fourteenth Amendment require a state to recognize a marriage between two people of the same sex that was legally licensed and performed in another state?"¹⁹ The case was under judicial review for around two months, and the court voted 5-4 in favor of Obergefell thus allowing gay marriage in the United States, and overthrowing the precedent that was set in the court case *Baker v. Nelson* in 1972, which stated that denial of same sex marriages could be denied constitutionally.

In the majority opinion of this court case, Justice Anthony M. Kennedy stated "The right of same-sex couples to marry that is part of the liberty promised by the Fourteenth Amendment is derived, too, from

that Amendment's guarantee of the equal protection of the laws."²⁰ He later went on to say, "Rights implicit in liberty and rights secured by equal protection may rest on different precepts and are not always coextensive, yet in some instances each may be instructive as to the meaning and reach of the other."²¹ While the end decision of the vote was not unanimous, the majority opinion that was expressed in this case did show a lot of the ideas that this country will need to move forward.

CURRENT CONTROVERSIES

On December 7th, 2015, Republican candidate Donald Trump proposed, "A total and complete shut-down, of Muslims entering the United States, until our countries representatives can figure out what the hell is going on."²² This one quotation has split the American public opinion over the constitutionality of such a controversial proposal. Eric Posner, a law professor at the University of Chicago Law School, argues that "the immigration law delegates to the President extensive powers to exclude people who he thinks might threaten security, or any way might be detrimental to the interests of the United States."²³ Along with Eric Posner, multiple other law professors have argued that Donald Trump's ambitious plan may work. Peter Spiro, a Temple University law professor reasoned that "Congress has already given the President broad powers to suspend the entry of "any class of aliens as immigrants" if their entry would "be detrimental" to the nation's interests."²⁴

On the other hand, some constitutional lawyers argue that this proposal violates the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the 14th Amendment. William Banks, a professor at Syracuse College of Law stated, "Aside from being outrageous, it would be unconsti-



tutional,”²⁵ going on later to point out guarantees of due process under law.²⁶ Another scholar skeptical about Donald Trump's ban, Harvard Law professor Laurence Tribe, stated, “I believe Trump’s unprecedented proposal would violate our Constitution,”²⁷ while in an interview with NBC News.²⁸ While the Anti-Trump charge is being led by many lawyers and professors from America and the rest of the world, much of the general public are scared that history may repeat itself and create another situation comparable to that of the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II and the Chinese Exclusion act of 1882.

CONCLUSION

Unlike some of the other amendments in the United States Constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment has evolved in a way that suits the needs and desires of modern day America. While it took ninety-two years for blacks to get some of the same civil rights as whites in America, and one hundred and forty-seven years for gays to get many of the same “basic human rights” of others, America is slowly warming up to the idea of a free nation, where all share the same rights, as the founding fathers intended.²⁹

Accessed January 11, 2016.

http://www.streetlaw.org/en/Page/519/Key_Excerpts_from_the_Majority_Opinion_Brown_I_1954.

8 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Loving v. Virginia.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1966/395> (accessed January 3, 2016).

9 NCC Editors. “10 huge Supreme Court cases about the 14th Amendment.” Constitution daily. Last modified July 9, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. [http://blog.constitutioncenter.org/2015/07/](http://blog.constitutioncenter.org/2015/07/10-huge-supreme-court-cases-about-the-14th-amendment/)

10-huge-supreme-court-cases-about-the-14th-amendment/.

10 Cornell University Law School. “Loving v. Virginia.” Legal Information Institute. Accessed January

10, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1>.

11 Hogan, Bill. “Mildred Loving: She Blazed a Trail for Marriage Equality.” AARP. Last modified

February 10, 2014. Accessed January 10, 2016. <http://blog.aarp.org/2014/02/10/mildred-loving-she-blazed-a-trail-for-marriage-equality/>.

12 “Loving v. Virginia.” LII / Legal Information Institute. Accessed January 3, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1#writing-ZS>.

13 Powell, Jim. “John Locke: Natural Rights to Life, Liberty, and Property.” FEE. Last modified August

1, 1996. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://fee.org/freeman/john-locke-natural-rights-to-life-liberty-and-property/>.

14 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Obergefell v. Hodges.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/14-556> (accessed January 10, 2016).

15 Ibid

16 “Black Legislators: Primary Sources.” Reconstruction. Accessed January 7, 2016. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reconstruction/activism/ps_1866.html.

17 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Obergefell v. Hodges.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/14-556> (accessed January 3, 2016).

18 Ibid

19 Ibid

20 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Obergefell v. Hodges.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/14-556> (accessed January 7, 2016).

21 Ibid

22 Martin, Johnathan. “At Donald Trump Rally, Some See Bias Where Others See Strength.” NY Times. Last

modified December 8, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/09/us/](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/09/us/politics/at-donald-trump-rally-some-see-bias-where-others-see-strength.html?_r=0)

politics/at-donald-trump-rally-some-see-bias-where-others-see-strength.html?_r=0.

23 Melber, Ari. “Legal Scholar: Trump’s Muslim Ban May Be Constitutional.” NBC News. Last modified

December 23, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. [http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/](http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/legal-scholar-trump-s-muslim-ban-may-be-constitutional-n484981)

legal-scholar-trump-s-muslim-ban-may-be-constitutional-n484981.

24 Gershan, Jacob. “Is Trump’s Proposed Ban on Muslim Entry Unconstitutional?” Law Blog. Last modified

December 8, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. [http://blogs.wsj.com/](http://blogs.wsj.com/law/2015/12/08/is-trumps-proposed-ban-on-muslim-entry-constitutional/)

law/2015/12/08/is-trumps-proposed-ban-on-muslim-entry-constitutional/.

25 Ibid

26 Ibid

27 Ibid

28 Ibid

29 “14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.” Web Guides. Accessed January 7, 2016. [https://www.loc.gov/](https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html)

rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html.

Endnotes

1 14th Amendment.” LII / Legal Information Institute. Accessed January 06, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiv>.

2 The Reconstruction Amendments: The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.” Study.com. Accessed January 7,

2016. [http://study.com/academy/lesson/](http://study.com/academy/lesson/the-reconstruction-amendments-the-13th-14th-and-15th-amendments.html)

the-reconstruction-amendments-the-13th-14th-and-15th-amendments.html.

3 Pilgram, David, Dr. “Jim Crow Museum.” Ferris State University. Last modified September 2000.

Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/what.htm>.

4 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Plessy v. Ferguson.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/163us537> (accessed January 11, 2016).

5 “History - Brown v. Board of Education Re-enactment.” United States Courts. Accessed January 7,

2016. [http://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/](http://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment)

history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment.

6 Biography.com Editors. “Thurgood Marshall Biography.” The Biography.com website. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.biography.com/people/thurgood-marshall-9400241>.

7 “Key Excerpts from the Majority Opinion, Brown I (1954).” Landmark Cases.

References

14th Amendment.” LII / Legal Information Institute. Accessed January 06, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiv>.

14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Web Guides. Accessed January 7, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html>.

Biography.com Editors. “Thurgood Marshall Biography.” The Biography.com website. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.biography.com/people/thurgood-marshall-9400241>.

Black Legislators: Primary Sources. Reconstruction. Accessed January 7, 2016. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reconstruction/activism/ps_1866.html.

Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Obergefell v. Hodges.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/14-556> (accessed January 10, 2016).

Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. “Plessy v. Ferguson.” Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/163us537> (accessed January 11, 2016).



Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. "Loving v. Virginia." Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1966/395> (accessed January 3, 2016).

Cornell University Law School. "Loving v. Virginia." Legal Information Institute. Accessed January 10, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1>.

Gershman, Jacob. "Is Trump's Proposed Ban on Muslim Entry Unconstitutional?" Law Blog. Last modified December 8, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://blogs.wsj.com/law/2015/12/08/is-trumps-proposed-ban-on-muslim-entry-constitutional/>.

History - Brown v. Board of Education Re-enactment. United States Courts. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment>.

Hogan, Bill. "Mildred Loving: She Blazed a Trail for Marriage Equality." AARP. Last modified February 10, 2014. Accessed January 10, 2016. <http://blog.aarp.org/2014/02/10/mildred-loving-she-blazed-a-trail-for-marriage-equality/>.

Key Excerpts from the Majority Opinion, Brown I (1954). Landmark Cases. Accessed January 11, 2016. http://www.streetlaw.org/en/Page/519/Key_Excerpts_from_the_Majority_Opinion_Brown_I_1954.

Loving v. Virginia. LII / Legal Information Institute. Accessed January 3, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1#writing-ZS>.

Martin, Johnathan. "At Donald Trump Rally, Some See Bias Where Others See Strength." NY Times. Last modified December 8, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/09/us/politics/at-donald-trump-rally-some-see-bias-where-others-see-strength.html?_r=0.

Melber, Ari. "Legal Scholar: Trump's Muslim Ban May Be Constitutional." NBC News. Last modified December 23, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/legal-scholar-trump-s-muslim-ban-may-be-constitutional-n484981>.

NCC Editors. "10 huge Supreme Court cases about the 14th Amendment." Constitution daily. Last modified July 9, 2015. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://blog.constitutioncenter.org/2015/07/>

Pilgram, David, Dr. "Jim Crow Museum." Ferris State University. Last modified September 2000. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/what.htm>.

Powell, Jim. "John Locke: Natural Rights to Life, Liberty, and Property." FEE. Last modified August 1, 1996. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://fee.org/freeman/john-locke-natural-rights-to-life-liberty-and-property/>.

The Reconstruction Amendments: The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments." Study. com. Accessed January 7, 2016. <http://study.com/academy/lesson/>

The Beast from the East

China's Increasing Military Strength and How Their Economy Made it Happen

Author-Shane Rockett '19

Section-Research Papers

In the middle to late 1800s, China suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the British in the Opium Wars and the Japanese in the Sino-Japanese War. These losses ultimately led to a loss of sovereignty by the Chinese government and the end of the Chinese empire. Once the Chinese Communist Party gained control of the country in 1949 by expelling the Japanese and forcing the nationalists to retreat to Taiwan, they fully understood the importance of having a strong military to back up their government. The People's Liberation Army has held the title of world's largest army in terms of military personnel for many years, but as the world continues to move towards more advanced military technology, China finds itself falling behind. Thus, Deng Xiaoping introduced military modernization as one of his Four Modernizations, with the goal of turning the PLA into a force capable of competing with the technologically advanced militaries of the modern world, and harnessed the growing economy in order to fund developments in military technology. The growth of the Chinese economy has affected the military by increasing their ability to develop military technologies, giving them a larger influence on geopolitics, and augmenting their military capabilities to a strength comparable to the United States. In 1978, the economic reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping as a part of the Four Modernizations, were the first step toward a more advanced Chinese economy. One of Deng's Four Modernizations was the modernization of national defense, which included the reform of Chinese military policy.¹

The history of China's military dates back centu-

ries, but the modern expansion of the Chinese military is particularly visible from around 1980 to present day, following the same pace as their economic growth. The People's Liberation Army is the official army of China's Communist Party, and has been the official army of China since the Communist Party's rise to power. In accordance with the Four Modernizations, non-combat sections of the People's Liberation Army were disbanded in order to foster economic growth for a new form of Chinese economy.² Soon after, in 1983, the internal security and border patrol units of the PLA were transferred to become a part of the People's Armed Police Force.³ The civilianization of these groups of the armed forces created more jobs to make up for the jobs taken away by the modernization of agriculture, which included farming technology advancements, reducing the amount of human labor needed in China's agricultural sector.⁴ Another military change brought about by Deng Xiaoping was his resignation from his position as Vice Chairman of the People's Republican Army, giving the leadership role of the Army to Yang Dezhi, a military commander.⁵ Deng's resignation from his military post furthered the separation between Chinese government politics, and Chinese military policy. In 1982, the State Council and the Central Military Commission released a new change for China's Military. This new policy allowed for the recruitment of nonmilitary students and graduates of institutions into the People's Liberation Army for leadership and commanding positions after undergoing a small amount of military training. This act was passed with the goal of creating a new generation of officers and commanders who were well educated,



young, and specialized in military technologies.⁶

Following Deng's priority of reducing military force in order to harbor economic growth, in 1985, China initiated a two year program with the goal of reducing their armed forces by 1 million troops. Older and less educated troops and officers of the PLA retired, while small sections of local PLA divisions were transferred to law enforcement and other civil authorities.⁷ Again, the PLA was modernized when their management reorganized the previous model of field armies into joint force armies enabling the PLA for combined arms warfare, as opposed to having a uniform style of unit for an entire army. Moving towards the late 1980s, the PLA added anti-chemical technologies, air support, and naval units, to their new style of military organization.⁸

In the 1990s, as China watched the effects of western nations' military technology in the middle east, the Chinese military leadership realized that the massive amounts of ground troops the PLA possessed had become obsolete with new forms of weaponry. To learn about the changes of military technology, and how to defend against them, scholars from the Academy of Military Science of Beijing sat in on American meetings regarding the advancements of military policy, most of which were made possible by the invention of computers with higher processing power.⁹ The Chinese General Chen Zhou said, "Our great hero was Andy Marshall in the Pentagon. We translated every word he wrote."¹⁰ During the 1990s, another military development on the global scale occurred. The 'revolution in military affairs' also known as the RMA, was the title given to the array of new technologies changing how leaders thought about military policy. The General-Secretary of the CCP, Jiang Zemin, was intent on growing the abilities

of the Chinese military, to be better suited for the new military frontier being created by the RMA.¹¹ Unlike the Chinese military policies of the past, where large amounts of funding would go towards the development of ground troops which could be supported by the large population of China, military funding would now be directed at the air force, navy, and technologies in missiles and bombs. With the continuous success of China's economy, the Chinese military leadership is moving towards beginning a transition to organize their naval forces into an aircraft carrier based system.¹² The transition is extremely expensive, and the only other country whose navy resembles the model is the United States. Certainly, the ability for the Chinese to carry out this model will be a testament to the growth of the Chinese economy.

China's foreign trade has increased their confidence in one of the political battles of which China has been a part for decades: Taiwanese Independence. In 2000, China threatened to use military force against Taiwan, if Taiwan did not continue reunification talks with China. The United States has previously offered to aid Taiwan in any such invasion were to take place, and with this knowledge, the Chinese government has threatened Taiwan, an unthinkable act before the economic growth of China augmented their military forces. In 1996, China demonstrated their military power by testing missiles near Taiwan during the presidential campaign, which only led to rallies from the separatist candidate and his supporters.¹³ Such boldness from the Chinese military comes as a direct result of their newfound status both in military technology and foreign trade.¹⁴ In 2010, China surpassed Japan as the world's second largest economy, and as China's trade influence continues to grow around the world, more specifically



Southeast Asia¹⁵, Taiwan finds itself running out of options. ASEAN is the association of Southeast Asian Nations, and China is their largest trading partner. Many Taiwanese businesses have invested in China, and over 500,000 Taiwanese people live in China permanently. To this day, China continues to push for reunification with Taiwan, whereas the Taiwanese policy stands that no Taiwanese politician can begin talks with China without first gaining a consensus from the Taiwanese voters.¹⁶

Naval Power in the Taiwan strait has been a focus of China for the purpose of overcoming American intervention¹⁷, should China attempt to attack Taiwan. After the Chinese missile tests off the coast of Taiwan, the United States sent two aircraft carriers into the Taiwan Strait. CBSA and RAND, two independent American information companies report that by 2020, China will be able to prevent American aircraft and aircraft carriers from operating within the string of islands off the east coast of China, including Taiwan, known as the First Island Chain.¹⁸ In 2005, China's government passed the Taiwan Anti-Secession Law, which demands that, should Taiwan declare independence, and if the Chinese government thinks that a peaceful unification between the two countries is thus impossible, China would react with military force.¹⁹

Even with the impressive growth of China's economy being reflected in their military, the growing influence of modern China should not be overestimated, as there are still many factors working against the growth of a new Chinese military. For one thing, China remains a middle income country, and its leaders consent that the growth of the Chinese military must take a back seat to the development of the Chinese economy, where 82 million people live on less than one dollar a

day.²⁰ Additionally, the dramatic increase of military spending is reflective of the increased GDP, and not of the national income, reflecting the growth of state-owned companies and not the wealth of the Chinese population. Also to be noted, China has not increased the percentage of their GDP on their military, spending 2% each year, meaning the growth of their military comes naturally, following the growth of their economy.²¹ As a result of the One-Child Policy, China will need to support a huge aging population with a much smaller population of working class citizens. More than 20% of China is over 50 years old, and soon the taxes to support them will fall on the miniscule generation created by the One-Child Policy.²² As this effort begins, it will be clear how determined China is to grow their military. Also, the Chinese development of military technology still suffers from the effects of the arms embargo imposed by the West after the Tiananmen square protests of 1989.²³ For example, the Chinese struggled to develop radar capabilities for their submarines, and to this day rely on other sources of information in lieu of a submarine-carried radar.²⁴ Lack of experience also works against the strength of the PLA, whose last notable conflict was the Sino-Vietnamese War, of which both sides claim victory after Chinese withdrawal.²⁵

These limiting factors, however, cannot hide the fact that the growth of the Chinese economy has been tremendous, and in turn so has the growth of their military. As the world moves toward globalization, the United Nations increasingly calls upon China to uphold its newfound military status with efforts to the best interest of the globe. According to U.S. Army Chief of Staff, General Mark Milley, "[The United States] wrote the rules for the world," as the frontrunner in military prowess.²⁶ General Yao Yunzhu does not disagree, and



has said, “[The military gap between the nations] is at least 30, maybe 50 years.”²⁷ General Yao has an optimistic outlook on the future of Chinese relations with the United States. She says, “Perhaps by the time we do become a peer competitor the leadership of both countries will have the wisdom to deal with the problem.”²⁸ Leadership around the world hopes that Yao’s vision becomes reality; however, despite any political predictions, only time will tell.

- 22 Hodin, Michael. “How China Can Deal with Its Rapidly Aging Population.” *The Fiscal Times*. Last modified November 3, 2015. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/Columns/2015/11/03/How-China-Can-Deal-Its-Rapidly-Aging-Population>.
- 23 “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.
- 24 Axe, David. “Could a Chinese Submarine Really Sink a U.S. Aircraft Carrier?” *The National Interest*. Last modified September 25, 2015. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/could-chinese-submarine-really-sink-us-aircraft-carrier-13937>.
- 25 Lu, Rachel. “Memories of 1979 Sino-Vietnamese War Linger.” *China Digital Times*. Last modified February 20, 2014. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2014/02/1979-sino-vietnamese-war-still-netizens-minds/>.
- 26 Taken from a private session at Belmont Hill School, November 11th, 2015
- 27 “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.
- 28 Ibid.

Endnotes

- 1 “PLA History - 1990s.” *Globalsecurity.org*. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/pla-history9.htm>.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Moss, Trefor. “China’s Naval Abilities Test Asia’s Insecurities.” *The Wall Street Journal*. Last modified May 27, 2015. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-naval-abilities-test-asias-insecurities-1432724142>.
- 13 Gittings, Danny. “China Threatens to Attack Taiwan.” *The Guardian*. Last modified February 22, 2000. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/feb/22/china>.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 “Philippines Tells China at UN Assembly: Stop Coercion and Intimidation.” *GMA News Online*. Last modified October 6, 2015. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/539651/news/nation/philippines-tells-china-at-un-assembly-stop-coercion-and-intimidation>.
- 16 Wang, Yuan-kang. “China’s Growing Strength, Taiwan’s Diminishing Options.” *Brookings*. Last modified November 2010. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2010/11/china-taiwan-wang>.
- 17 Office of the Secretary of Defense, Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2009, Rep., at 6 (2009). Accessed January 5, 2016. http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf.
- 18 “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Iaccino, Ludovica. “China: More than 82 Million People Live below Poverty Line.” *International Business Times*. Last modified October 16, 2014. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/china-more-82-million-people-live-below-poverty-line-1470313>.
- 21 “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.

References

- Axe, David. “Could a Chinese Submarine Really Sink a U.S. Aircraft Carrier?” *The National Interest*. Last modified September 25, 2015. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/could-chinese-submarine-really-sink-us-aircraft-carrier-13937>.
- “The Dragon’s New Teeth.” *The Economist*. Last modified April 7, 2012. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>.
- Gittings, Danny. “China Threatens to Attack Taiwan.” *The Guardian*. Last modified February 22, 2000. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/feb/22/china>.
- Hodin, Michael. “How China Can Deal with Its Rapidly Aging Population.” *The Fiscal Times*. Last modified November 3, 2015. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/Columns/2015/11/03/How-China-Can-Deal-Its-Rapidly-Aging-Population>.
- Iaccino, Ludovica. “China: More than 82 Million People Live below Poverty Line.” *International Business Times*. Last modified October 16, 2014. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/china-more-82-million-people-live-below-poverty-line-1470313>.
- Lu, Rachel. “Memories of 1979 Sino-Vietnamese War Linger.” *China Digital Times*. Last modified February 20, 2014. Accessed December 31, 2015. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2014/02/1979-sino-vietnamese-war-still-netizens-minds/>.
- Moss, Trefor. “China’s Naval Abilities Test Asia’s Insecurities.” *The Wall Street Journal*. Last modified May 27, 2015. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-naval-abilities-test-asias-insecurities-1432724142>.
- Office of the Secretary of Defense, Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2009, Rep., at 6 (2009). Accessed January 5, 2016. http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf.
- “Philippines Tells China at UN Assembly: Stop Coercion and Intimidation.” *GMA News Online*. Last modified October 6, 2015. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/539651/news/nation/philippines-tells-china-at-un-assembly-stop-coercion-and-intimidation>.
- “PLA History - 1990s.” *Globalsecurity.org*. Accessed December 29, 2015. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/pla-history9.htm>.
- Wang, Yuan-kang. “China’s Growing Strength, Taiwan’s Diminishing Options.” *Brookings*. Last modified November 2010. Accessed January 5, 2016. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2010/11/china-taiwan-wang>.

The Cheka in Early Soviet Russia

Author-Seth Israel '18

Section-Research Papers

Following World War I, the Russian government and economy, among other spheres of the enormous power of Russia, were in ruin, devastated by the country's participation in the war. Seeing the opening for power, several political groups vied for control of the Russian government in an effort to rejuvenate the fragile political scene. Seeking to fill the power void were the Bolsheviks, a communist political group led by Vladimir Lenin.¹ After seizing power of the government through the overthrow of the Provisional Government in the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks had control of the government, but were not well liked.² Vladimir Lenin, understanding the contempt for the Bolsheviks and looking to protect their position of power, created the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage, or more simply, the Cheka.³ The Cheka was the Bolshevik secret police, established to investigate and deal with threats to new Bolshevik regime.⁴ Using terrorism to scare the Russian people into submission, the Cheka carried out arrests, interrogations, executions, and campaigns in order to protect the Bolshevik party.⁵ Without the Cheka, it is possible that the Bolshevik party would not have retained power without the possibility of revolution from their opposition. The Bolsheviks used the Cheka as a vital tool to protect their regime and prevent corruption of the party, allowing for the destruction of all other forces which could possibly oppose their reign of power.

The creation of the Cheka was possible through a number of events and outcomes, specifically World War I and the October, or Bolshevik, Revolution. The

initial opportunity for the Bolsheviks to come to power arose from the abdication of the Tsar after the first Russian Revolution in 1917. With the Tsar away at war, the Russian people looked to overthrow the government to create political change. With the successful revolution, and the abdication of the Tsar, the Provisional Government was formed. However, the Provisional Government's dragging of feet regarding agrarian reform, as well as their perseverance to keep Russia in the war, prevented them from staying in power long.⁶ The Provisional Government was overthrown, and going down with it was the Okhrana, the secret police of the Provisional Government.⁷ As the Bolsheviks came to power, they lacked an instrument of control similar to Okhrana, a tool that would allow them to maintain their authority and assert their power, which prompted them to form the Cheka.

Established on December 20th, 1917, the Cheka was intended to be a temporary unit which would investigate anti-Bolshevik crimes.⁸ The Cheka's mandate was to "persecute and break up all acts of counter-revolution and sabotage all over Russia, no matter what their origin" and to "bring before the Revolutionary Tribunal all counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs and to work out a plan for fighting them."^{9,10} Originally, the Cheka did not have judicial power, lacking the authority to arrest or punish a given individual. Lenin was quoted in saying, "[the role of the Cheka is to] make preliminary investigation only, enough to break up [counter-revolutionary acts]."¹¹ However, as time went on, the Cheka grew exponentially, operating outside the rule of the law. As the need for the Cheka increased due to growing



opposition, the power and authority of the Cheka increased as well. The Cheka evolved from a group without judicial authority to a vital tool of the Bolsheviks in maintaining their power and asserting control over the population.

The Cheka asserted its dominance and force through a number of tactics and strategies instituted by the leaders of the Bolshevik regime, using a *carte blanche* model in exercising its power.¹² The first tactic used by the Cheka was the destruction of their opposition. Led by the cruel and ruthless Felix Dzerzhinsky, who was also known as Iron Felix or the Iron Count, the Cheka was not restricted in completing its duties; it had free reign, and was allowed to persecute, detain, torture, and execute suspected spies, tsarists, counter-revolutionaries, kulaks, black marketeers, or any perceived enemy of the state.^{13, 14} Therefore, any opposition the Cheka received was crushed on sight; Lenin would not allow the idea and possibility of an overthrow of the government or any sort of revolution.¹⁵

From the beginning of the Bolsheviks regime, the Bolsheviks were opposed by a number of groups, whether it be the globally-backed Whites or the socialists that the Bolsheviks had originally come from. The opposition the Bolsheviks received was not to be taken lightly, as the resistance from these groups posed a threat to the Bolshevik regime. Therefore, Lenin's rationale in calling for the formation of the Cheka was specifically based on the opposition that his party received.¹⁶ The Bolsheviks were received criticism from its own members, its former supporters, other socialist parties, Tsarist supporters, and the Whites, who were a military force.¹⁷ The Cheka was necessary in asserting control over the people of Russia, particularly in the climate of a civil war. Destruction of the opposition was

used for both asserting domestic control and preventing resistance and revolution.

Another tactic used by the Cheka was terrorism, and over time the brutal and relentless *modus operandi* of the Cheka was given the name "Red Terror."¹⁸ The Cheka instituted acts of terror and brutality as a means to vitally establish control and assert their power over the population.¹⁹ Terrorism stemmed from the destruction of the opposition, but Red Terror went much farther, asserting their newfound extra-judicial authority over the people of Russia.²⁰ The Russian Civil War had left the Bolsheviks without the resources to provide fair legal trials, so instead of bringing suspected revolutionaries to court, the Cheka would have them detained or executed without trial, or sent to a *troika*. A *troika* was a small trial set up which ultimately extended the Cheka's power, as it allowed them to interrogate the criminal and decide the verdict, which often was the death penalty.²¹ This allowed the Cheka to essentially legally murder suspected criminals.

The extension of the power of the Cheka and their use of terror led to reprisals and executions against those believed to be plotting against the Bolshevik party. The reprisals were done quickly, without much negotiation; anyone suspected of corruption would be acted on immediately.²² Furthermore, the Cheka instituted bloody terrorism; the deaths accumulated directly from the Cheka totaled to about 250,000, and indirect deaths were nearly two million. As Felix Dzerzhinsky said, "organised terror – this must be said openly – a terror which is absolutely essential in the revolutionary period we are passing through."²³

The original mandate of the Cheka was incredibly ambiguous; however, the effectiveness of the Cheka was vital in the protection and preservation of



the Bolshevik regime. Despite the morally and ethically wrong methods the Cheka used in their reign, they were still highly successful, as they completed their job of protecting the Bolshevik party incredibly well. The Cheka prevented uprisings, ended riots, and completely obliterated any form of opposition, whether it be in-party critics or anti-communists.²⁴ Going beyond the original mandate, the Cheka operated outside of the law, and became a power which may never have been intended, but was ultimately key in the continuation of the Bolshevik regime. The effectiveness of the Cheka came with harsh consequences, in the form of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Russian people, although exact numbers and specific information was never included as a means to protect the legitimacy of the Cheka as well as the Bolshevik regime. The Cheka were unethical in their methods, yet highly successful. Without the Cheka, the Bolsheviks most likely would not have been able to sustain their power as long as they did, and would have fallen quickly like the Provisional Government did. Without the threat of uprising and revolt, the Bolshevik government was able to focus on expanding their power, implementing communism into Russian government.

Although the reign of the Cheka was ended in 1922, the Cheka continued to have lasting effects on Russia as a whole, whether it be politically or enforcement.²⁵ The Cheka set the precedent for other secret service groups in Russia, such as the KGB and the GPU.²⁶ Not only did the Cheka set the precedent for other groups, it changed the course of Russian government entirely. Without the Cheka in place, the Bolsheviks may never have been successful, and communism may never have been implemented in Russia. Subsequently, the Soviet Union would have a lower chance of rising if

communism was never established by the Bolsheviks. If this was to happen, Russia government would be significantly different than it is now. Not only would Russian government be dramatically different, the political dynamic of the entire world may have been shifted, as Russia's actions influenced many other nations throughout the globe. Without communism and the Soviet Union, Russia's global affairs would possibly have taken a different course, changing the world as a whole. Ultimately, the Cheka had an immense impact on the Bolshevik regime, and the Russian governmental system as a whole.

Endnotes

- 1 E. H. Carr, *The Origin and Status of the Cheka* (n.p.: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1958)
- 2 History.com Staff, "Bolsheviks revolt in Russia," History.com, last modified 2010, accessed October 12, 2015, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/bolsheviks-revolt-in-russia>.
- 3 J. Llewellyn, "The Cheka," Alpha History, last modified 2014, accessed October 8, 2015, <http://alphahistory.com/russianrevolution/cheka/>.
- 4 Llewellyn, "The Cheka," Alpha History.
- 5 E. H. Carr, *The Origin and Status of the Cheka* (n.p.: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1958)
- 6 Thomas F.X. Noble et al., *Western Civilization: Beyond Boundaries*, sixth ed. (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2011)
- 7 Rupert Butler, *Stalin's Secret Police* (London, United Kingdom: Amber Books Ltd, 2015)
- 8 J. Llewellyn, "The Cheka," Alpha History, last modified 2014, accessed October 8, 2015, <http://alphahistory.com/russianrevolution/cheka/>.
- 9 Orlando Figes, *The People's Tragedy* (n.p.: Penguin Books, 1998)
- 10 Figes, *The People's Tragedy*
- 11 Ibid
- 12 J. Llewellyn, "The Cheka," Alpha History, last modified 2014, accessed October 8, 2015 <http://alphahistory.com/russianrevolution/cheka/>.
- 13 Ibid
- 14 E. H. Carr, *The Origin and Status of the Cheka* (n.p.: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1958)
- 15 History.com Staff, "Vladimir Lenin," History.com, last modified 2009, accessed November 1, 2015, <http://www.history.com/topics/vladimir-lenin>.
- 16 Michelle Jane Patterson, "Moscow Chekists During the Civil War, 1918-1921" (master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1991)
- 17 Ibid
- 18 "The Red Terror," The History Learning Site, accessed October 12, 2015 <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/modern-world-history-1918-to-1980/russia-1900-to-1939/the-red-terror/>.
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Ibid
- 21 Oscar Lewis, "How much did the Bolsheviks need the Cheka and how well did they make use of it?," E-International Relations Students, last modified December 2, 2007, accessed November 29, 2015, <http://www.e-ir.info/2007/12/02/76/>.
- 22 Lewis, "How much did the Bolsheviks," E-International Relations Students.
- 23 R. Abramovitch, *The Soviet Revolution: 1917-1939* (New York, NY: International Universities Press, 1962)
- 24 Oscar Lewis, "How much did the Bolsheviks need the Cheka and how well did they make use of it?," E-International Relations Students, last modified December 2, 2007, accessed November 29, 2015, <http://www.e-ir.info/2007/12/02/76/>.
- 25 E. H. Carr, *The Origin and Status of the Cheka* (n.p.: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1958)
- 26 J. Michael Waller, *Russia: Death and Resurrection of the KGB* (Washington, D.C.: n.p., n.d.)

North Korea Crisis

Author-William Weiter

Section-Research Papers

INTRODUCTION

With North Korea's recent claim of detonating a hydrogen bomb, a potent thermonuclear fusion weapon at least a thousand times as strong as the bombs dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the risk North Korea poses to the region must be evaluated.¹ A major threat to US interests and allies in Asia is the hostile communist regime in North Korea led by the youngest of the Kim dynasty, Kim Jong Un. Tensions between North and South Korea have historically been high since the beginning of the Cold War; however, North Korea's increased military and cyber provocations as well as its burgeoning nuclear weapons program have exacerbated tensions in recent years. What makes North Korea particularly dangerous is its unpredictable and erratic behaviour that endangers not only its own citizens but also the whole Korean peninsula. Its pursuit of long range ballistic missiles, unrestrained uranium enrichment in direct violation of UN Security Council resolutions—US intelligence believes that North Korea has stockpiled enough plutonium to create five nuclear weapons—and recent claim of a successful hydrogen bomb test have raised concern among the international community.²

South Korea, a major non-NATO ally of the United States, is most directly threatened by North Korean aggression. South Korea's capital, Seoul, lies within 120 miles of North Korea's capital of Pyongyang and within 35 miles of the Demilitarization Zone at the border, well within the North's artillery and short range missile range. Because of the Mutual Defense Treaty between

Washington and Seoul, the US is pledged to defend South Korea against a North Korean attack. Because of North Korea's unpredictability and access to an increasingly potent nuclear arsenal, the US needs to forge an agreement with China, North Korea's most important ally, in order to curb Kim Jong Un's erratic and aggressive behavior, end his nuclear ambitions, and eventually transition into a more stable regime. **Background**

Having been annexed by Japan in 1910, the Korean peninsula was divided along the 38th parallel into two occupation zones by the US and the Soviet Union after Japan's surrender at the end of World War II in 1945. This division was intended to be a temporary measure that would eventually lead to a reunified and democratically-elected Korea under the auspices of the United Nations in 1947; however, because of differing ideologies, the USSR, preventing the elections, instead supported the establishment of a communist regime—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)—under the leadership of Kim Il Sung. To the South, the US backed the democratically-elected Syngman Rhee of the newly minted Republic of Korea (ROK). Both the DPRK and ROK were committed to the desire of a unified Korean peninsula, but their ideological differences prevented any meaningful progress. Per a UN agreement, the Americans and Soviets both withdrew their military forces from the region in 1949, but left many advisors on the peninsula. While the United States desired to have a democratic government in the region, Washington was not yet ready to commit troops to achieve this goal.³



However, in 1950, the DPRK, still desirous of ruling over the entirety of the Korean peninsula, launched a swift invasion across the 38th parallel, driving the ROK's army all the way back to Pusan, a small area on the southern coast of Korea. The US immediately called for a UN Security Council Meeting, and with the absence of the USSR—which was boycotting the UN because of the issue of Chinese representation—was able to pass a resolution calling for a DPRK withdrawal from the South. The US then led a coalition to rout the DPRK from South Korea, with General MacArthur's famed Incheon landing which allowed UN forces to drive back the communists and restore the prewar status quo by the end of September 1950.⁴

Despite having ended the DPRK's southern incursion, the UN decided to continue pushing north in an attempt to rollback communist forces and unify the peninsula under a non-communist government. UN efforts were largely successful, pushing back the communists to the North Korean-Chinese border by October 1950; however, this success was seen as a threat to Chinese security, causing China to commit troops to Korea, thus forcing MacArthur's forces back to the 38th parallel.⁵

The conflict continued for three stalemated years during which both China and the US were trying to hold the 38th parallel demarcation line, and neither was in a position to achieve total victory. On July 27, 1953, an armistice—not a formal peace treaty—establishing the 38th parallel as the permanent demarcation line between North and South Korea was signed by the US, China, and the DPRK; South Korea abstained. The US also signed a mutual defense treaty with South Korea promising to protect the ROK from another North Kore-

an invasion.⁶

While the US has continued to back South Korea postbellum, China has politically and economically supported North Korea from Kim Il Sung through Kim Jong Un—the third in the family dynasty. Stability in the Korean peninsula has long been a primary goal of Beijing, and by supporting North Korea, China is able to maintain a friendly nation on its northeastern border which also serves as a buffer between China and South Korea—which currently houses 29,000 US troops. Since 1963 China has also been concerned that a fall of Pyongyang would spark a massive border crisis as hundreds of thousands of North Korean refugees would try to flood into China. Because of these issues, Beijing has been dedicated to maintaining the North Korean government, calling for the international community not to push Pyongyang too hard so as to avoid a regime collapse.⁷

The DPRK has become so economically dependant upon China that since the 1990s North Korea has imported most of its food and 90 percent of its energy from China as well as conducting 60 percent of the DPRK's total trade volume. Currently, North Korea runs a 1.25 billion dollar trade deficit with China which some see as a Chinese subsidy as North Korea cannot borrow.⁸ Beijing also provides direct aid to DPRK; the Congressional Research Service wrote in 2010 that “It is widely believed that Chinese food aid is channeled directly to the military,” allowing food aid from international organizations to be distributed to the starving masses, “without risk that the military-first policy or regime stability would be undermined by foreign aid policies of other countries.”⁹ Without China's economic and political support, Pyongyang would inevitably collapse.



Despite Chinese support for the Kim family regime, there have been increased strain between the two countries, especially after North Korea began pursuing nuclear weapons and long range missiles. When the DPRK tested a nuclear device in 2006, China supported a UN Security Council resolution implementing sanctions on Pyongyang, marking a change toward a more punitive policy by China which it upheld through North Korea's second nuclear test in 2009. After a relaxation in penal measures, China resumed stringent policies following the DPRK's third nuclear test in 2013 by increasing trade sanctions, cutting energy supplies, and demanding denuclearization talks. While the North Korean nuclear program has caused tension between Pyongyang and Beijing, China still does not want to terminate its support for North Korea. In fact, between 2012 and 2013, Sino-North Korean trade grew 10 percent to 6.5 billion dollars.¹⁰

ANALYSIS

North Korea currently does not pose a direct threat to the United States as it does not yet appear to have the long range ballistic missiles needed to reach the US mainland—though North Korea's 2012 launching of a satellite into orbit proves it is on the path to developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Even its recent claim of having tested a hydrogen bomb is most likely an exaggeration as the resulting 4.8 magnitude earthquake is nowhere near the 6.8 magnitude seismic wave produced by the US's 1971 hydrogen bomb test under the Alaskan tundra.¹¹ Though the DPRK does not pose a threat to the US itself, it does pose a significant threat to South Korea—what Obama calls “one of [America's] closest allies and greatest friends.”¹² Perhaps more dangerous to the ROK than nuclear weapons are

conventional artillery weapons, short range missiles, and chemical weapons—which North Korea has stockpiled—as they can easily be launched across the DMZ into Seoul and followed up by an invasion utilizing the DPRK's 1.2 million man army, the fourth largest standing army in the world.¹³

The irrationality and unstable nature of North Korean leadership makes the DPRK extremely unpredictable and thus dangerous as Kim Jong Un would be willing to sacrifice his own people—seeing that he already commits a multitude of human rights violations against his own citizenry—as well as commit political suicide in order to achieve his ambitions. The current US policy toward North Korea, implemented by the Obama administration in 2009, is “strategic patience” in which the US remains calm but firm as it waits for North Korea to realize denuclearization is beneficial.¹⁴ This policy has not been effective in hindering North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile development, and negotiations in the Six Party Talks—involving US, Russia, China, Japan, ROK, and DPRK—have been disregarded by North Korea. In order to denuclearize the DPRK and neutralize the threat they pose to the US's Asian allies, the US needs to address two primary areas: increasing collaboration with China and reinforcing South Korea.

Because of the interconnectedness between Pyongyang and Beijing, the US needs to cooperate with China in order to address the North Korean issue. Though China has agreed to defend North Korea from unprovoked aggression as stipulated by the 1961 Sino-North Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, Beijing has shifted toward a more ambivalent stance for defending North Korea as



China is more concerned with its national self-interest than ideological similarities, allowing the US to collaborate with China to reach the mutual goal of nuclear disarmament. Like the US, China does not want North Korea to continue its development of nuclear weaponry and condemns North Korea's supposed hydrogen bomb test. Beijing realizes that nuclear devices in the hands of a highly irrational and unstable actor such as Kim Jong Un—albeit friendly to Beijing—is not in China's best interest. While China does not want to see the collapse of the DPRK, nor a unified Korea as this would eventually lead to another strong actor in the East Asian sphere to counter China, Beijing still strongly opposes North Korea's nuclearization. The US should play upon this by working with China, the sole economic and political support of the decaying North Korea, to strengthen economic sanctions against Pyongyang and force it to denuclearize. North Korean leadership, however, is untrustworthy, often reneging on denuclearization talks; therefore, the US needs to collaborate with China, South Korea, Japan, and Russia to implement a North Korean regime change. Though China may at first be opposed, the looming threat of Kim Jong Un's burgeoning nuclear and ICBM program may cause Beijing to warm to the idea and abandon their longtime ally. Ultimately, China's regional goal is to have stability in the neighboring Korean peninsula.

The US also needs to continue to foster friendly relations with South Korea and work together with Seoul to reinforce and support it against a Northern incursion. The US should continue to bolster the South by sending in Aegis missile defense cruisers to the Sea of Japan to intercept North Korean missiles, while maintaining the 29,000 US troops already stationed in

Korea who supplement the 640,000 man South Korean army along the DMZ. While improbable, an attack on South Korea by the North is not out of the question due to the irrationality and unpredictability of the DPRK. The US needs to remain militarily vigilant in the Korean peninsula in order to deter and prevent an attack from occurring.

While North Korea poses a dangerous threat to US interests, particularly South Korea, due to the DPRK's irrationality and burgeoning nuclear program, it does not pose any imminent danger. Chief of Staff of the Army Mark Milley claims that there are two primary questions that must be asked when assessing a threat: is there intent to harm America and is there the capability to destroy America? The DPRK has the intent to bring grievous harm to South Korea and by extension America, but it currently lacks the means necessary. The US still needs to be proactive in addressing North Korea's growing nuclear and long range missile program to prevent Kim Jong Un from acquiring the capability to do significant harm to America. Washington alone cannot stop a China-supported North Korea; therefore, only through collaboration with China, the last pillar upholding the DPRK, can the Kim family dynasty be phased out and a new, more stable government implemented that is mutually beneficial both to US, Chinese, and South Korean interests.



Endnotes

- 1 Danny Lewis, "What's the Difference between an A-bomb and and H-bomb," Smithsonian Magazine
- 2 Global Conflict Tracker, "North Korea Conflict," Council of Foreign Relations.
- 3 Office of the Historian, "The Korean War" US Department of State
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Beina Xu and Jayshree Bajoria, "China-North Korea Relations," CFR Backgrounders (August 2014).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Dick Nanto and Emma Chanlett-Avery, "North Korea: Economic Leverage and Policy Analysis," (2010)
- 10 Beina Xu and Jayshree Bajoria, "China-North Korea Relations."
- 11 New York Times, "Did North Korea Detonate a Hydrogen Bomb?"
- 12 "President Obama Vows Strengthened U.S.-South Korea Ties"
- 13 Scott Snyder, "US Policy Toward North Korea," Council on Foreign Relations
- 14 Ibid.

Making the Euro's Future

The Costs and Benefits of Keeping the Euro and ECB for Germany

Author-George Hu

Section-Research Papers



Early in 2008, as Germany's economy was finally rounding a corner to join in on the eurozone's economic prosperity, German finance minister Peer Steinbrück opined, "My feeling about the euro's success is close to euphoric. It is one of the greatest success stories in the history of the European Community."¹ Nevertheless, after the combined effects of the 2008 Great Recession

and the resulting European sovereign debt crisis, German attitudes towards the Euro, the European Central Bank (ECB), and fellow eurozone countries have deteriorated. Within three years of Steinbrück's optimistic declaration, German tabloid Der Bild was lampooning Mario Draghi, the new Italian head of the ECB, as it wrote in 2011, "With Italians, inflation is a way of life, like tomato sauce with pasta."²



Since the creation of the ECB and a common currency, the euro, in 1998 and 1999, German citizens, economists, and politicians have experienced both satisfaction and disappointment with the new currency and central bank. Nevertheless, the lingering effects of the Great Recession and sovereign debt crisis in the eurozone have undoubtedly caused German confidence in the euro and ECB to decline. While former Chancellor Helmut Kohl is widely considered the “father of the euro,”³ although current Chancellor Angela Merkel has publicly reaffirmed that Germany “needs Europe and our common currency,”⁴ overall skepticism over the euro and ECB has increased among both the country’s citizens and leading policy makers.⁵ A growing band of ECB critics in Germany, including finance minister Wolfgang Schäuble and Bundesbank head Jens Weidmann, have castigated the bank’s recent policies of quantitative easing and inflation, while public opinion has grown increasingly apathetic, even unfavorable, to the country’s participation in the eurozone.⁶ In fact, rightwing political parties in Germany, such as the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland), have emerged to promote an exit from the eurozone and the introduction of a neumark.⁷ The new economic realities in the country have prompted a once unthinkable question: should Germany leave the eurozone?

BACKGROUND (1945-1999)

Before the Second World War, trade in Europe had often been hampered by tariffs, strategically closed markets, and a lack of political cooperation. After World War II left the continent in ruin, nevertheless, the combined effects of collective plight, American aid (i.e. the Marshall Plan), and the Soviet Cold War menace forced the countries of Europe down a path of political

and economic cooperation; the tragedy of two wars was never to be repeated.⁸

Key to Europe’s transition from a continent of conflict into a haven of peace and free continental trade was the gradual unification of monetary policy and currency into the ECB and Euro. After the removal of national tariffs with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1951) and European Economic Community (EEC, 1957), the European Monetary System (EMS), launched in 1979 to further promote trade, effectively pegged all EEC currencies to each other at relatively fixed rates via the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).⁹

By establishing a fixed exchange rate between EEC currencies, the EMS was the first step towards a unified European currency, yet it had its imperfections. Having the strongest economy and most stable currency on the continent, West Germany could effectively dictate monetary policy throughout Europe with the EMS. The Deutsche Mark, due to German economic strength, came to serve as the currency of which all other EEC currencies were pegged.¹⁰ Inevitably, the D-Mark’s dominance in continental monetary policy caused resentment amongst other EEC members; with national currency pegged to the D-Mark on the ERM, EEC countries limited their ability to use monetary policy (lowering interest rates, mildly inflating) to combat economic stagnation and recession.¹¹ Due to this, Britain (to the delight of currency speculators such as George Soros) left the EMS in 1992 in hope of stimulating the struggling domestic economy by devaluing the pound.¹² Similarly, France, though it remained in the EMS, considered an exit in 1983, when President François Mitterrand’s fiscal stimulus packages to France’s stagnant economy forced



several devaluations of the Franc's exchange rate on the ERM to the nation's dismay.¹³

To solve the EMS's imperfections, by the 1990s the final stage of unifying Europe's money was completed. As the Cold War ended and Europe's largest economy, Germany, was reunified, the stage was set for further economic and political integration.¹⁴ Accordingly, the 1992 Maastricht Treaty set up the political and monetary framework of what became today's European Union. Germany, unwilling to allow the Mark's stabilizing monetary influence to perish unnoticed, proposed strict inflation, budget, and debt restrictions for all member governments of the new organization.¹⁵ Thus, under the Maastricht Treaty's and Germany's provisions, the Euro and the ECB, based in Frankfurt, became reality on January 1, 1999.¹⁶

THE EURO'S EFFECT ON GERMANY, EUROPE, AND THE WORLD

Initially, the introduction of the Euro in the German economy only prolonged unstable economic conditions that had plagued Germany since reunification. Even before the Euro, the economic costs of reintegrating East Germany's economy, globally uncompetitive due to years of communism, proved tremendous. In the early 1990s, German GDP per capita stagnated around \$23,000, unemployment rose to a steady level over 8%, and the total government debt to GDP ratio increased from 40% in 1992 to 60% in 1998.¹⁷ At the Euro's introduction, initially exchanged at 1.19 dollars, other eurozone nations, whose governments had historically over-engaged in deficit spending and inflation, felt the benefits of a strong new currency's stability, low interest rates, and low inflation.¹⁸ In contrast, the euro caused a rise in the cost of living in

Germany, while the country already was accustomed to low inflation/interest rates in the days of the Mark.¹⁹ As many euro-skeptical German economists noted, the euro erased the Mark's past monetary power, while it had yet to offer significant economic benefits in return.²⁰

Starting in 2005, Germany's domestic economy finally recovered from its post-unification woes.²¹ In the depths of Germany's post-unification economic doldrums, in 2003-2004 Chancellor Gerhard Schröder enacted a series of structural reforms known as Agenda 2010.²² Overall, these reforms, including the notorious Hartz IV labor reform, cut pensions and unemployment benefits down to social welfare.²³ Although the labor reforms sparked labor protests, gave rise to split the Social Democratic Party, and forced Chancellor Schröder to resign, in 2005 the German economy began to turn around, as GDP grew at 1.5-3% per year and unemployment fell to 5.5% in 2012.²⁴ Germany had reformed its welfare state into a more neoliberal market economy.

Nevertheless, just as the German economy entered prosperity, its fellow eurozone members soon faced economic difficulties. Historically, southern European governments often engaged in deficit spending, which inevitably led to high interest rates for borrowing and inflation.²⁵ Nevertheless, the Euro, a strong currency, curbed inflation and brought low interest rates; this allowed southern Europe's governments to engage even further in larger deficit spending programs.²⁶ While credit was easily available, southern European governments could even borrow to repay their debts, yet after the 2008 Great Recession, credit markets froze, and the PIIGS countries (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, Spain) found themselves with



massive debts that they could not repay.²⁷ Italy, the eurozone's third largest economy, amassed a \$1.8 trillion debt by 2010, while credit rating agencies such as Moody's and Standard & Poor's downgraded the PIIGS' government bonds to junk status (BBB+ and below) by mid-2010.²⁸ Banks in Spain, Ireland, and Portugal all faced complete default, while most alarmingly The Economist noted that Greece was "teetering on the edge" of bankruptcy.²⁹

With Southern Europe falling into an economic abyss, Germany, along with the ECB and IMF, had no choice but to enact a series of bailouts to contain the crisis and avert global recession. German, ECB, and private sector money poured into a \$80 billion bailout for Portugal in spring 2011, a \$85 billion bailout for Ireland in November 2010, and a \$109 billion bailout for Greece in July 2010.³⁰ Furthermore, low-interest (3.5%) loans from Germany, the ECB, and the European Rescue Fund (EFSF) were doled to Greece, Ireland, and Portugal, and the ECB increased emergency lending to floundering banks in exchange for cuts in government spending (austerity), structural adjustment programs, and drastic banking reforms.³¹ While the emergency bailouts have stabilized the regional and global economy for the time being, Europe's issues, as economist Johan van Overtveldt notes, are "far from over."³²

After stabilizing the sovereign debt crisis with taxpayer money, Germany has continued to experience tension with the ECB over how to rebuild Europe's fragile and stagnating economy. Most recently, the ECB's decision in April 2015 to adopt Quantitative Easing (QE) to stimulate the European economy has unsettled German nerves.³³ The ECB's quantitative easing program seeks to pump money into the

Eurozone economy by purchasing government, even private sector bonds.³⁴ The asset-purchase program, worth \$1.1 trillion,³⁵ intends to spark Europe's economy from the recent crisis and stagnation, and it also aims to reverse the Euro's deflationary trend back towards a target inflation rate of just below 2%.³⁶ Although the primary German stock index DAX boomed since the introduction of QE, many Germans support the program reluctantly, as German economist Marcel Fratzscher notes, "We don't have to like the programme, but we should support it."³⁷ In particular, since the Weimar Republic's days of hyperinflation in the 1920s, Germans have always feared raising inflation, and German economists, along with Angela Merkel, also fear that by giving countries a short-term easy way out of stagnation, QE would delay necessary structural reforms in many eurozone economies to restore Europe's competitiveness in the global market.³⁸

FUTURE PLANS/POLICY

Germany's future commitment to the Euro will undoubtedly hold economic and political consequences on a domestic, regional, and global scale. Domestically, the Euro may subject citizens to greater monetary volatility and burden taxpayers should another debt crisis arise, yet a return to the D-Mark and monetary supremacy in Europe via a new EMS may destroy the eurozone, destabilize the EU, and erode Europe's political solidarity.³⁹ For Europe, German commitment to the Euro determines the currency's survival; without its default creditor, the eurozone would have already folded during the 2010 sovereign debt crisis.⁴⁰ Globally, the economic stability of the Eurozone and the European Union, with a GDP larger than the United States, is of primary concern. As German commitment



to the currency largely determines the Euro's fate, it by default holds great global economic relevance.

Overall, although the establishment of the Euro and ECB has burdened Germany with short-term economic costs, the long-term economic and political benefits of the bank and its currency ultimately outweigh those costs. Though the current economic woes of fellow eurozone members may impose a greater burden on German taxpayers, politicians, and government expenditures in the short run, in the long run the continent's monetary union will only benefit the country by allowing it to expand economic and political influence across Europe and the world.

Although some economists have proposed the idea of "eurobonds"⁴¹ and greater fiscal unification of the eurozone as immediate remedies to the eurozone's current crisis, Germany should instead continue to support the euro by promoting structural reforms in other eurozone economies before pursuing fiscal unification.⁴²

The Euro and the ECB have so far burdened Germany with short-term economic costs because of the Euro's volatility and the ECB's control of Germany's monetary policy. As the Eurozone's sovereign debt crisis and the ECB's Quantitative Easing policy have proven, the different economic habits of Germany's eurozone neighbors have caused the euro to become more volatile/unpredictable than the Deutsche Mark, while the ECB's continental monetary policy has often failed to serve the economic interests of the entire eurozone. As economist Charles Wheelan notes, "The European Central Bank now controls monetary policy for the whole eurozone. This can be a problem if one part of the currency zone is in an economic slump and

would benefit from lower interest rates while another region at the same time is growing quickly and must raise rates to ward off inflation."⁴³ The ECB's 2015 Quantitative Easing policy, during a time of economic prosperity in Germany, only exemplifies Wheelan's point, while the deficit spending habits of southern Europe threaten German wishes for a strong, stable Euro.

Despite the short-term economic costs that the Euro has incurred on Germany, there do remain economic and political benefits to the Euro that outweigh such costs. Economically, a weaker, more volatile Euro does have the perverse effect of stimulating exports, the mainstay of Germany's economy.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the new currency further stimulates German exports by destroying the currency exchange trade barriers with other Eurozone members, many of whom traditionally are net importers with account deficits.⁴⁵ Politically, keeping the Euro further promotes European integration and strengthens the EU via greater economic ties. An economically strong Europe, with Germany as the prime economic and political power, will allow the country to exert influence across the globe and perhaps even to become a geopolitical equal of the United States and China.⁴⁶ Furthermore, an economically intertwined Europe would end Germany's long-held fear of political isolation and continental encirclement; as former German chancellor Helmut Kohl once noted, the solution to the age old "German question," concerning Germany's simultaneous position of political power and vulnerability on the continent, was a "Europeanized" Germany.⁴⁷

In the short term, Germany should support the Eurozone by promoting structural reforms for



fellow Eurozone economies, while fiscal unity and common “Eurobonds” should only come once the entire Eurozone has reformed domestic fiscal policies and regained competitiveness in the global market. While the lack of a unified fiscal policy remains a structural weakness in the European Monetary Union, and although Eurobonds would initially appear as an easy fix to the problem, due to the current gulf between Germany’s and Southern Europe’s fiscal policies and bond ratings (Germany is AAA and S. Europe is junk), quickly uniting fiscal policy and government bonds is neither politically attainable nor economically beneficial for all.⁴⁸ In the short term, it remains impervious that Germany aid Southern Europe by promoting economic structural reform while minimizing the costs of austerity measures. By funding southern european governments to become more globally competitive and fiscally balanced before unifying the eurozone’s fiscal policy, Germany can enjoy the long term economic and political benefits of the larger economic union without the burden of the past and present costs.

- detail?vid=2&sid=81fb04db4cc54d8fbc036e8b0ad1f18c%40sessionmgr115&hid=128&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=nlebk&AN=760712.
- 8 Van Overtveldt, *The End of The Euro*, 18.
- 9 Ibid, 26
- 10 Schlevogt, “Supranational Visionary and Builder,” 9.
- 11 Charles Wheelan, *Naked Economics* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010), 256.
- 12 Ibid, 245
- 13 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 2728.
- 14 Schlevogt, “Supranational Visionary and Builder,” 810.
- 15 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 34.
- 16 Ibid, 33.
- 17 Matthijs and Blyth, *The Future of the Euro*, 126.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 34.
- 21 Matthijs and Blyth, *The Future of the Euro*, 128.
- 22 Ibid, 127.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid, 128.
- 25 “The European Debt Crisis Visualized,” video file, 19:27, Bloomberg, posted by Alberta Cannon, April 9, 2015, accessed December 28, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j4_tyEl84IQ.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 1389.
- 29 Ibid, 138.
- 30 Ibid, 140.
- 31 “The European Debt Crisis” video file.
- 32 Ibid, 144.
- 33 European Central Bank, “Decision of the European Central Bank of 4 March 2015,” news release, 12.
- 34 European Central Bank, “Decision of the European Central Bank of 4 March 2015,” news release, 12.
- 35 Jana Randow, “Europe’s QE Quandry,” Bloomberg Markets, June 18, 2015, accessed November 17, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvew.com/quicktake/europesquandary>.
- 36 “QE Is Coming, but on German Terms,” *The Economist*, January 20, 2015, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freexchange/2015/01/ecbsmomentousmeeting>.
- 37 “QE Phobia,” *The Economist*, January 22, 2015, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/news/businessandfinance/21640487germansare-stilluncomfortablethoughtunconventionalmonetarypolicyqephobia>.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 183.
- 40 “The European Debt Crisis” video file.
- 41 George Soros, “The World Economy’s Shifting Challenges,” Project Syndicate, last modified January 2, 2014, accessed November 25, 2015, <http://www.projectsyndicate.org/commentary/georgesorosmapstheterrainofaglobaleconomythatisincreasinglyshapedbychina>.
- 42 Dervi and Mistral, *Europe’s Crisis, Europe’s Future*, 116.
- 43 Wheelan, *Naked Economics*, 262.
- 44 Ali AlEyd and Sylvia Gottschalk, “Europe and the Euro Area: Poised for Domestic Growth?,” *National Institute Economic Review*, no. 191 (January 2005): 21, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org.libdb.belmonthill.org>
- 45 Ibid.

Endnotes

- 1 Johan Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro: The Uneasy Future of the European Union* (Chicago, IL: Agate Publishing, 2011), 77, accessed November 17, 2015, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.libdb.belmonthill.org:2048/ehost/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=81fb04db4cc54d8fbc036e8b0ad1f18c%40sessionmgr115&hid=128&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=nlebk&AN=452880>.
- 2 “Berlin v Frankfurt,” *The Economist*, January 22, 2015, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21640360tensionsarerising-betweengermanyandeuropeancentralbankberlinvfrankfurt>.
- 3 Kai-Alexander Schlevogt, “Supranational Visionary and Builder of Euroland: Former German Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl on the Euro’s Significance for Germany and Its Neighbors,” *The Academy of Management Executive* 16, no. 1 (February 2002): 8, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org.libdb.belmonthill.org:2048/>
- 4 Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro*, 167.
- 5 Matthias Matthijs and Mark Blyth, eds., *The Future of the Euro* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 120121.
- 6 European Central Bank, “Decision of the European Central Bank of 4 March 2015,” news release, 1, March 4, 2015, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/legal/pdf/en_dec_ecb_2015_10_f_sign.pdf.
- 7 Kemal Dervi and Jacques Mistral, *Europe’s Crisis, Europe’s Future* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2014), 117, accessed November 17, 2015, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.libdb.belmonthill.org:2048/ehost/detail/>





Climate Change at BH

Author-William McCormack '18
Section-Data Analysis

Polling Conducted
Early January, 2016

The issue of climate change is more relevant than ever. With the first universal climate agreement adopted at the COP21 conference in Paris about a month ago, people across the world are considering global warming, its impact, and potential solutions. Both Democratic and Republican presidential debates only add to this multitude of growing discussion. As a result, The Podium sought to decipher Belmont Hill's opinion on the issue.

A questionnaire was sent to everyone in the community (excluding parents and alumni). By sending an open invitation to the community, we conducted the poll with a voluntary response sample. It is important to note that using this method may create potential for biased results, as more opinionated persons may feel more inclined to respond to the questionnaire. Two other sources of possible bias were identified after the survey was sent out. One question, not included in the results, asked respondents to prioritize either the environment or economy in a mutually exclusive scenario, even when certain solutions to climate change can positively affect both. The wording of a second question, Should the government pass environmental regulations that may negatively impact the American economy?, may have also opened the survey up to bias. Since the wording specifically highlights the negative impact certain regulations may have, but not the positive or neutral impact others may have, respondents are more likely influenced to answer No. Although possible bias was involved in this question, a majority of 54.3% percent still responded Yes. All possible sources of bias were completely unintentional.

Although the majority of the Belmont Hill community is typically thought to be Republican, of the 151 survey respondents, 107 (70.9%) claimed they were either Democrats or Independents (See Figure A). It is possible that the political climate at Belmont Hill is shifting, as students arrive and graduate each year; however, a more likely explanation for the small amount of Republican respondents lies in the use of a voluntary response sample. Liberals in America are generally stronger proponents of environmental regulation and are accordingly believed to feel more opinionated on the topic of climate change. Therefore, it is possible that liberals and independents feel more compelled to respond to a survey about this issue.

An examination of Figure B clearly shows that the Belmont Hill community recognizes

the fact that global warming is occurring. In addition, regardless of political party, Belmont Hill is largely convinced the primary culprit for global warming is mankind and its development (See Figure C). A CBS News poll demonstrates that when compared to the entire population of America, Belmont Hill is far more insistent in primarily blaming humans for climate change. In the 2014 CBS News poll, only 35% of Republicans, 67% of Democrats, and 55% of Independents felt "Global warming is caused mostly by human activity such as burning fossil fuels." The percentages of Belmont Hill Republicans, Democrats, and Independents who primarily blame mankind for global warming all far exceed 67, the largest percentage as recorded by CBS News.

Belmont Hill's stance on the presidential priority of climate change and the American government's actions are also more progressive than the national population's stance, yet there is more disparity between party for these two data sets (See Figures D and E). A November, 2015 Quinnipiac University poll of more than 1,400 respondents nationwide reported that 26% of Republicans, 83% of Democrats, and 62% of Independents felt the United States needed to do more to address climate change. At Belmont Hill, on the other hand, about 90% of Democrats and Independents feel the American government has not done enough and only 18% of Republicans feel the government has done too much.

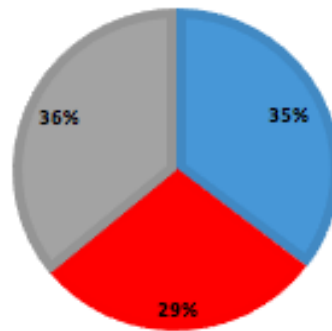
According to survey results discussed above, the Belmont Hill community's stance on climate change appears to be far more progressive and forward-thinking than the average American's. A combination of factors, most notably young age and education, likely contribute to this modern interpretation of global warming. Finally, a variety of potential solutions to climate change were proposed by the community, most centering around the use of alternative, sustainable sources of energy, such as wind turbines and geothermal. Other respondents articulated the potential of carbon sequestration techniques and government-regulated carbon taxes, but common to all proposed solutions was the importance of collaboration and international cooperation in the future. As Belmont Hill students mature, graduate, and enter the real world, based on survey results, The Podium predicts this eager group, armed with ideas to combat climate change, will work hard to eradicate the issue of climate change.

Data

A

RESPONDENTS BY PARTY

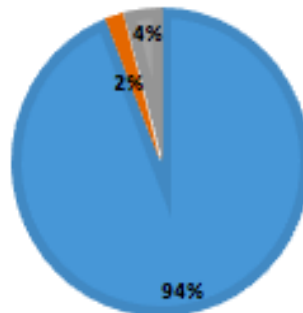
Democratic Republican Independent



B

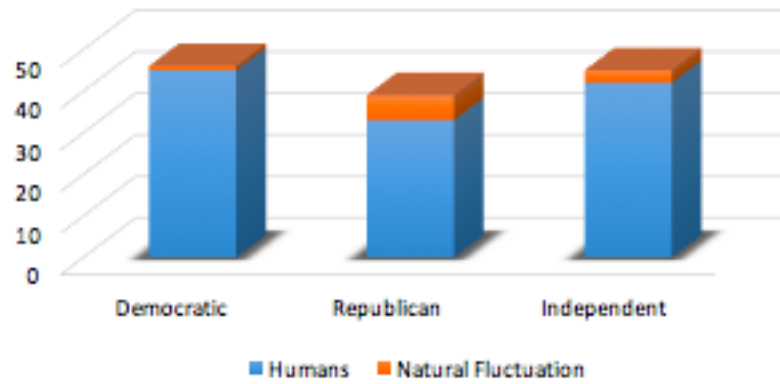
BELMONT HILL ON GLOBAL WARMING'S OCCURRENCE

Yes No Unsure



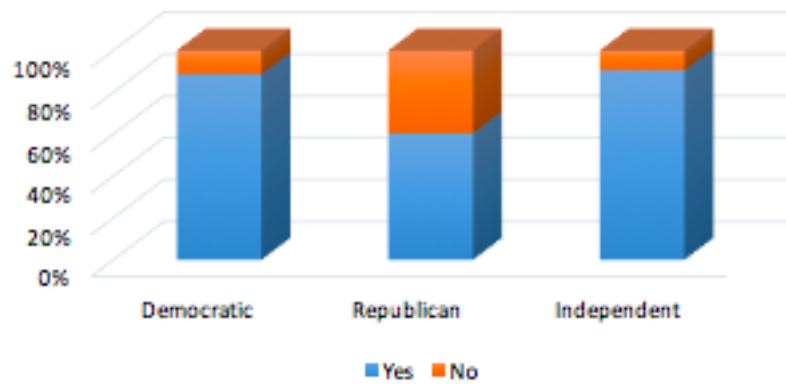
C

Primary Culprit of Global Warming by Party



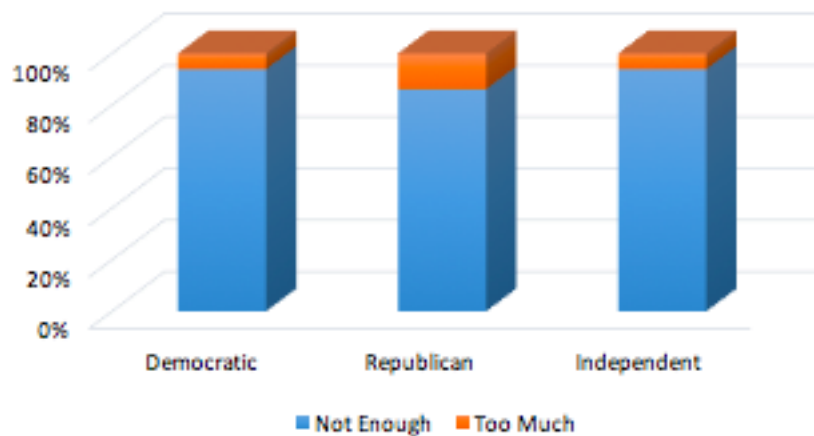
D

Should Global Warming be a Priority for the POTUS?



E

American Government Action by Party



Donald Trump at BH

Author-Robert Warming '17
Section-Data Analysis

Polling Conducted
Early January, 2016

Our survey was conducted with a voluntary response sample. This means that we submitted an open invitation to the entire Belmont Hill community and the individuals within said community could respond voluntarily. It is important to note that this method does open the survey up to bias, as more opinionated persons provide answers to voluntary surveys more frequently. However, the information found cannot be disqualified and, we believe, can offer an important snapshot of the school's opinions on Donald Trump. The Podium staff would like to thank the entire Belmont Hill community for participating in our survey.

There is no question that Trump has completely thrown the Republican presidential nomination process into disarray. His bombastic and often controversial rhetoric has attracted crowds in the tens of thousands, while also driving a divisive stake into any traditional Republican or moderate's heart. So, in the spirit of the election year now finally upon us, the Podium decided to test our own waters on the Trump Issue.

Our survey received 156 responses over 3 days. The majority of these responses, 85.9%, were from students. We also received 20 responses from faculty members and 2 responses from alumni. Unfortunately, no parents were reached. All responses received were included in the final number crunching. The party breakdown of our sample is as follows: Republican, 33.5%; Independent, 33.5%; Democratic, 31%; Libertarian, 1.3%; and Other, 0.6%. Of the participants, 42.9% will be voting in the upcoming presidential election. But on to the toupéed elephant in the room: Donald J. Trump.

Trump fared the worst among Belmont Hill Democrats, garnering an average rating of 4.77 (on a 1-5 scale, 5 being the strongest opposition rating). His right wing social views and campaign centered on anti-Washington sentiment, as expected, did not resonate with Democrats. BH Democrats averaged a 2.1 on the social views scale (1=left-wing views), suggesting a moderate left orientation. In addition, when asked whether they approved or disapproved of Washington, Democrats were fairly complacent, averaging a 2.95 (3 being indifferent and 1 being approved). They also, in the general election, remained extremely faithful to their party's chosen nominee, with Bernie Sanders garnering the largest amount of support (91.7%) in a hypothetical run against Trump. This makes sense since Sanders, according to the survey, won the most support for Democratic nominee, garnering 50% of the votes. The most unpopular scenario for the Democrats, however, would be a general election of Trump vs. O'Malley. In fact, 10.4% said they would refuse to vote in such a situation. Even so, O'Malley crushed Trump 83.3% to 6.3%.

That being said, given that he wins the Repub-

lican nomination, Trump will not focus on winning the hearts of Democrats come election time. As with years before, Independents will ultimately be the ones who swing the vote to our next President. So how did Trump do with Independents at Belmont Hill? Well, not so good. When asked whether Trump was good or bad for America, regardless of whether he wins or not, BH Independents resoundingly gave him a thumbs down. On a scale of 1-5, they gave him a 4.1 (on a 1-5 scale, 5 being "bad for America"). Trump lost all three matchups with Clinton, O'Malley, and Sanders respectively. The only real situation where he came close to beating a Democrat was against Sanders, who only received 51.9% of the votes. Trump received 25%, while the other 23% chose not to vote, suggesting widespread dislike of the extremes of both parties by Independents, whose social and fiscal views both hovered around 3 (or moderate) on a scale of 1-5. Because of their more moderate views, BH Independents came out to enthusiastically support O'Malley (71.2%) in a general election bout with Trump (13.5%).

The reaction to the Trump Train has been mixed among Republicans. BH Republicans ultimately feel Marco Rubio is their best choice as nominee (winning 36.5%). Trump came in with only 26.9% of the votes... So you won't exactly hear him touting The Podium's poll anytime soon. This lukewarm rejection of Trump runs completely against National and Massachusetts GOP Primary polls. In an RCP national average, Trump is currently far ahead in first at 34.5% of GOP primary voters. Interestingly enough, the RCP average of liberal Massachusetts trumps the national average, placing Donald with the votes of 40% of GOP primary voters this fall. And even though Trump's main support base at Belmont Hill lies within the BH Republican demographic, they do not give him the amount of support National or even state Republicans do. The topic of Trump seems incredibly divisive within the Republican ranks, even in the upcoming general election. Though Trump wins all 3 matchups with possible Democratic competitors, there seems to be a boycott brewing for 2016. About 15% of Republicans would refuse to vote in



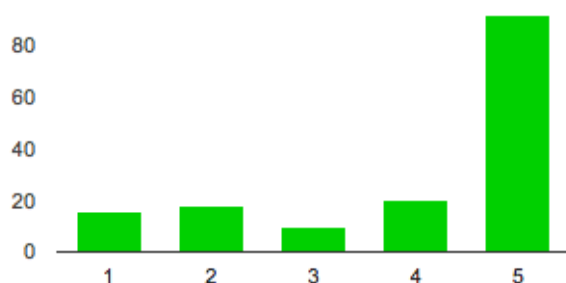
a Matchup between Trump and Sanders/O'Malley. That number rises to nearly 20% refusing to vote if he faces Clinton. All in all, if Trump wins the nomination, the 2016 election cycle will not be a happy one for Republicans at Belmont Hill. In a way, it has passed the point of "picking the best of two evils." Some Republicans might just not vote.

This presidential election has already changed politics forever. And 2016 could very be year that faults party lines. Quite simply, the Trump Problem seems to have everyone baffled. All around the country, experts are rushing to figure out just how to deal with him, and voters are scratching their heads in choosing whether to ecstatically support or vehemently oppose him. Belmont Hill is certainly not an exception.

Data

A

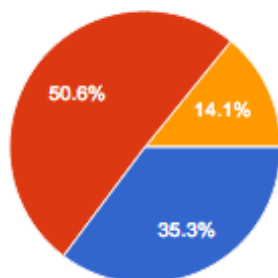
Do you support or oppose Donald Trump for President?



Support: 1	16	10.3%
2	18	11.5%
3	10	6.4%
4	20	12.8%
Oppose: 5	92	59%

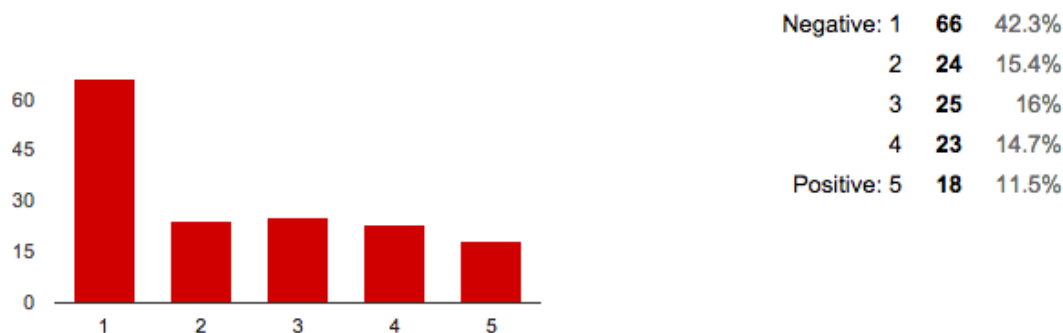
B

In a matchup between Trump and Sanders, for whom would you vote?

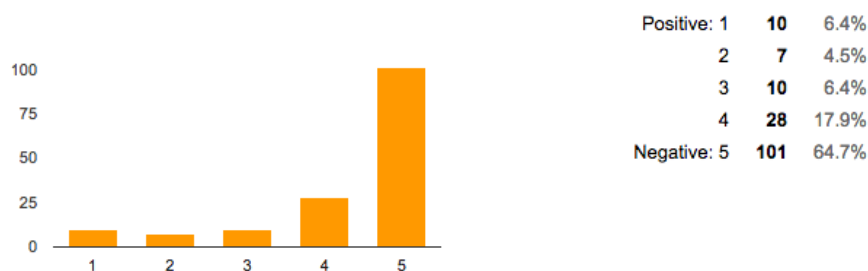


Trump	55	35.3%
Sanders	79	50.6%
Refuse to vote	22	14.1%

C Do you think Donald Trump has a negative or positive effect on US domestic issues?



D Do you think Donald Trump has a positive or negative effect on the US's image in the international community?



E Do you think will be a contender by the National Republican Convention in July?



Israel-Palestine Conflict Basis

Author-William Weiter '16 & William Galligan '16

Section-Data Analysis

PROBLEM/CONTEXT

From October 1st to October 14th of 2015 – a timeframe spanning two weeks after Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech to the UN General Assembly – rising tensions between Israel and Palestine resulted in a surge of violence between the two groups. Isolated stabbings as well as escalating clashes between Palestinians and Israeli security forces prompted Netanyahu to crack down on the violence; however, the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis did not abate. As of October 13th of 2015, seven Israelis and 29 Palestinians, including ten alleged attackers and eight children, died in the outpouring of violence.¹ Disagreement over the cause of these attacks and clashes became a contentious issue. Netanyahu blamed Mahmoud Abbas, President of the Palestinian National Authority, for inciting division between Israel and Palestine. However, the executive committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization claimed that the string of violence was a result of, "Israel's...systematic and escalating violence of occupation, whether in the form of settler-terrorism or at the hands of the Israeli military using live ammunition."²

HYPOTHESIS

Because the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is such a divisive issue and there are such distinct sides to the dispute, it is expected that media sources in the Israeli-allied West will present a bias towards portraying Israel in a positive light whereas pro-Palestinian nations in the Middle East will reflect a bias in their media negatively depicting Israel as the aggressor.

DATA COLLECTION

In order to quantify the biases of media sources in the West and in the Middle East, this analysis will attempt to qualify whether each article is pro-Israel, pro-Palestine, or neutral based on certain keywords or tone within the title or first paragraph of the article. The next step in the analysis is to quantify the number of articles in each category for the different media sources in the Middle East and West to see if there is a bias in the reporting. Examples of keywords identified with each bias are listed below:

Pro-Palestine

Israeli occupation
Illegal settlements
Palestinians injured/
hurt
against Palestine/Pal-
estinians
Israel's fault

Pro-Israel

Palestinian violence
Palestinian stabbing
Israelis killed
Israelis injured/hurt
Palestinian rage
against Israel/Israelis
Terrorists
Palestine's fault

Tone was the harder of the two metrics for bias determination, as it is the sum of specific diction choices, word order, and syntax – not necessarily recurring keywords. Examples of pro-Palestinian/pro-Israeli tone include the following with analysis of bias posted after each:

1. "Palestinian shot dead allegedly after stab-wounding soldier"

The use of the word "allegedly" questions the factuality of the stabbing account, making the Palestinian seem more innocent or at least not proven guilty yet. By placing "Palestinian shot dead" at the beginning of the title, the article appears to be drawing attention to the fact that a Palestinian was killed instead of his "alleged" stabbing action, thus sympathizing with the Palestinian.

2. "An Israeli airstrike in Gaza killed a pregnant Palestinian woman and her toddler, drawing a warning Sunday from Islamist movement Hamas, as unrest spun further towards a full-scale uprising."

By specifying that the two killed Palestinians were a pregnant woman and a toddler in the first paragraph of the article, the media source casts a negative light on the Israeli strike as it killed seemingly innocent bystanders. The description of Hamas as an Islamist movement also conveys a pro-Palestinian bias as many countries including the US deem Hamas to be a terrorist group.

3. "New Intifada looming as Israel kills more Palestinians"

By claiming that Israel is killing more Palestinians, the article clearly is assuming a pro-Palestinian stance as it portrays Israel as the aggressor. As an aside, "Intifada" is an interesting word as it can convey different



tones depending on context. For pro-Palestinians, “Intifada” seems to symbolize Palestinian nationalism and rebellion against the “occupying power,” whereas for pro-Israelis, the word appears to represent mass senseless violence by the Palestinians.

4. *“Leaderless Palestinian Youth, Inspired by Social Media, Drive Rise in Violence in Israel”*

By blaming Palestinian youth for the increase in violence and by not acknowledging any responsibility which Israel might have in worsening the situation, the article takes an obvious pro-Israel stance. The characterization of the Palestinian youth as “Leaderless” and “Inspired by Social Media” draws into question the rationale behind Palestine’s push for Israel’s removal from Palestinian territories.

5. *“We’ll Treat Terrorists First if They’re More Severely Wounded”*

By referring to Palestinian aggressors as “Terrorists,” the article labels what some Palestinians see as a movement to remove Israeli presence from Palestine into a series of senseless terrorist attacks. Also, by justifying Israeli medics’ failure to treat hurt Palestinians, the article title is illustrating a clear pro-Israel bias.

To briefly summarize the core qualifications for pro-Israel or pro-Palestine bias, if the article highlights Palestinian deaths, the illegality of Israeli settlements, or the source of Palestinian discontent and recent violence as a result of the systematic oppression and occupation of Palestine by the Israelis, then the article is quantified as pro-Palestinian; if the article highlights Israeli deaths, Palestinian terrorists, or Palestinians randomly and senselessly stabbing or attacking Israelis, then the article is quantified as pro-Israeli. If the article fits the criteria for neither of these biases, then it is classified as neutral. Although Israel is geographically located in the Middle East, its media sources were included in the group of Western media sources due the country’s close ties with Western nations; therefore, in this analysis, when the terms “West” or “Western” are used, they refer to the West and Israel. Similarly, the Middle Eastern group of media sources excludes Israeli news outlets; thus, the terms “Middle Eastern” and “Middle East” refer to everything in the Middle East, excluding Israel, unless otherwise specified.

DATA

Tables:

Table A: Articles from Middle Eastern Media Sources (Count):

	Jordan Times	Arab News (Saudi Arabia)	Iran Daily	PNN
Pro-Israel	0	0	0	0
Pro-Palestine	29	11	8	25
Neutral	2	1	4	5

Table B: Articles from Middle Eastern Media Sources (Relative Frequency):

	Jordan Times	Arab News (Saudi Arabia)	Iran Daily	PNN
Pro-Israel	0	0	0	0
Pro-Palestine	93.55	91.67	66.67	83.33
Neutral	6.45	8.33	33.33	16.67

Table C: Articles from Western Media Sources (Count):



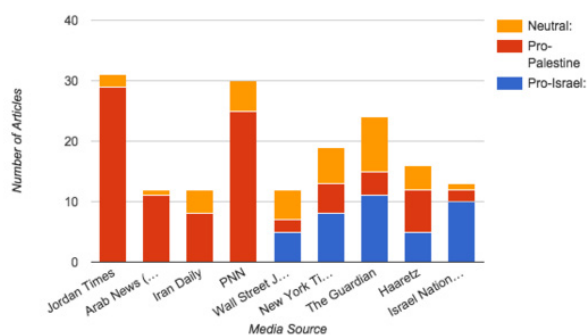
	Wall Street Journal	New York Times	The Guardian	Haaretz	Israel National News
Pro-Israel	5	8	11	5	10
Pro-Palestine	2	5	4	7	2
Neutral	5	6	9	4	1

Table D: Articles from Western Media Sources (Relative Frequency):

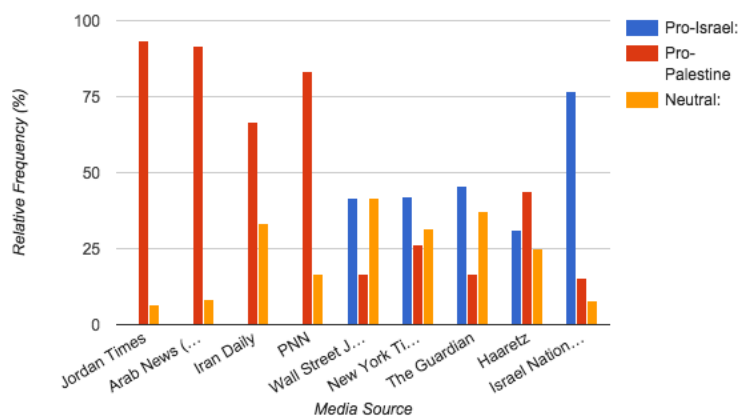
	Wall Street Journal	New York Times	The Guardian	Haaretz	Israel National News
Pro-Israel	41.67	42.11	45.83	31.25	76.92
Pro-Palestine	16.67	26.31	16.67	43.75	15.38
Neutral	41.67	31.58	37.50	25.00	7.69

Graphs:

Media Biases of All Sources (Count)



Media Biases of All Sources (Relative Frequency)



DATA ANALYSIS

Relevance: The data collected is relevant to the question posed at the beginning of the observational study as it illustrates the biases, and sometimes lack of biases, of media sources in the West and Middle East. The articles examined are taken from October 1 to October 14, 2015, a period spanning two weeks after Netanyahu's speech to the United Nations General Assembly. During this timespan, violence in Israel-Palestine escalated.

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

West:

It was hypothesized that Western media sources would have a pro-Israel leaning because of the close relationships between Western nations, such as the United States and the UK, and Israel. Most of the Western media sources, excluding the Israeli National News, however, did not display as much of a pro-Israel, anti-Palestine bias as was expected. As shown in Table D and Figure 2, within the first two weeks of October 2015 only 41.67% of the Wall Street Journal's articles concerning the Israel-Palestine conflict took a pro-Israel stance. Similarly, only 42.11% of the New York Times' articles and 45.83% of The Guardian's articles concerning the surge in violence were pro-Israel. Although there were noticeably more pro-Israel articles than pro-Palestine articles in the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, and The Guardian, the number of neutral articles in these newspapers was surprisingly large, with neutral articles making up 41.67%, 31.58%, and 37.5% of the total articles in their respective media sources (see Table D and Figure 2). The substantial presence of neutral articles in the newspapers from the United States and Great Britain may reflect how their particular countries are attempting to promote cooperation between the two parties as a way of alleviating the tension. The United States Secretary of State, John Kerry, embodied the West's more balanced approach to the conflict when he stated in a speech that he and other members of Congress were working with both Israelis and Palestinians to "stabilize the situation."¹ Kerry also refused to blame either side for the outpouring of violence in his speech and stressed to both parties, "the importance, politically and privately, of preventing inflammatory rhetoric, accusations or actions that could lead to violence."² The outstanding reputation of these newspapers and their international readership might also drive these newspapers to take a more neutral view of the situations

they cover in their daily articles.

The Wall Street Journal, New York Times, and The Guardian, despite having similar frequencies of pro-Israel, pro-Palestine, and neutral articles, varied greatly in the total number of articles written about the conflict. As shown in Table C and Figure 1, the Wall Street Journal, with a total of 12 articles, contained the least number of articles regarding the friction between Palestine and Israel of all the Western media sources. The Guardian, on the other hand, published the largest quantity of articles, 24, regarding the violence. The New York Times, with 19 articles, published slightly more than the average number of articles written by Western media sources, 16.8. This difference in the number of articles might reflect the different circumstances of the United States and the UK. For example, the controversy over the recent Iran nuclear deal might take a more front and center position in American news than in British news due to the United States' large role in the making of the deal, and thereby taking print space away from American coverage of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The Israeli newspaper, Haaretz, provided, perhaps, the most surprising results of the study. Being an Israeli paper, it was expected that Haaretz would take a very pro-Israel stance. Instead, as shown in Tables C and D and in Figures 1 and 2, the study found that between October 1st and October 14th of 2015, only 31.25% of the 16 articles written about the Israel-Palestine conflict were pro-Israel. In fact, the newspaper took a pro-Palestine leaning, with 43.75% of articles having a pro-Palestine bias. This leaning was a result of Haaretz's clear opposition to the Netanyahu administration, which was reflected in the large number of articles that criticized Israel's President for escalating the situation. Thus, Haaretz's pro-Palestine bias is more of a result of its opposition to the Netanyahu administration than it is a result of its support for Palestine.

The data, shown in Tables C and D and in Figures 1 and 2, concerning the Israel National News supported the hypothesis the most. Within the two-week timespan, 76.92% of the 13 articles written about the conflict took a pro-Israel stance. The number of articles sympathizing with Israel greatly outweighed the number of articles taking a pro-Palestine stance, which comprised only 15.38% of the total number of articles taken from the Israel National News. Thus, as was hypothesized, the media source strongly supported the actions of Israel.

The difference in biases between the two Israeli papers illustrates the controversial nature of the issue. As evidenced by Netanyahu's slim majority in congress, many Israelis have different points of view when it comes to such divisive issues as the surge of violence between Palestine and Israel.

Middle East:

The media sources from the Middle East showed a strong pro-Palestine stance, and therefore supported the hypothesis. This slant was reflected in the overwhelming number of pro-Palestine articles published by the Jordan Times, Arab News, Iran Daily, and the PNN, in which pro-Palestine articles comprised 93.55%, 91.67%, 66.67%, and 83.33% of their respective media source's total number of articles included in the study (See Table B). Furthermore, none of these Middle Eastern media sources published a single article that was considered to be pro-Israel. This highly unbalanced view of the issue is a reflection of the prevalent feelings of animosity towards the Israeli nation that is found throughout the Arab and Persian countries included in the study.

Of the Middle Eastern media sources observed during the two-week timeframe, the Jordan Times and the Palestinian News Network (PNN) published the most articles concerning the issue, with 31 and 30 articles, respectively (See Table A). The Arab News and the Iran Daily, on the other hand, both only published 12 articles (See Table A). This disparity is possibly a consequence of the geographical proximity of each of these countries to the conflict. With the conflict taking place near Jordan and directly affecting Palestine, it makes sense that the surge of violence would receive a great deal of attention in Jordan and Palestine. On the other hand, because Iran and Saudi Arabia are geographically distant from the conflict and Iran is more directly affected by the recent nuclear deals, it is understandable that the crisis would receive less consideration in these two nations.

It is noteworthy, however, that Jordan should publish the most, in both count and relative frequency, of pro-Palestine articles, despite its government's close relationship with the Israeli government (see Figures 1 and 2).³ After further inspection, however, it is evident that the nation's close ties with Israel is due primarily to Jordan's relationship with the United States and not its citizens' acceptance of Israel as a nation. Because

Jordan is dependent on the United States' economy, political support, and military assistance, it is forced to ingratiate itself with the Israeli government despite its people's hatred for the Jewish state.⁴ Therefore, even though the country is outwardly friendly towards the Israeli government, Jordan continues to internally attack Israel, as illustrated by the pro-Palestine slant of one of its main newspapers.

Demonstrated by the pro-Palestine stance found in many Middle Eastern media sources, most Arab and Persian nations in the Middle East see Israel as a threat, particularly with its unofficial nuclear capabilities. Therefore, it seems logical that they would assist their fellow Muslims in Palestine in their quest to rid the area of Israeli influence.

Reporting Differences:

While conducting the study, differences were observed between the events that received news coverage in Western media sources and the events that received coverage in Middle Eastern media sources. For example, one event that took place within the time-frame was the launching of an Israeli airstrike into the Gaza Strip in response to Palestinian rockets being launched from the same area. This airstrike resulted in the death of a pregnant, Palestinian woman and her three-year-old daughter. This news story, obviously portraying Israel in a negative light, appeared a total of five times across all of the Middle Eastern media sources, yet appeared only once in Western media sources in a Wall Street Journal article. By reporting on this story several times, Middle Eastern media sources showed a strong pro-Palestine, anti-Israel bias. In contrast, the Western media sources, most of which failed to acknowledge the incident, demonstrated a pro-Israel bias by keeping the event relatively hidden from the public eye.

In conclusion, it was determined that Western media sources and Middle Eastern media sources differed in the way they portrayed the Palestinian-Israeli conflict between the dates of October 1st and October 14th, 2015; however, while Middle Eastern papers supported the hypothesis, Western papers did not. Instead of all taking a hard pro-Israel stance, most Western media sources took a neutral stance—covering the conflict with similar numbers of pro-Israel, pro-Palestine, and neutral articles (see Figure 2). This neutrality was a reflection of the West's balanced approach to the



situation. The Israel National News, however, was the only Western news outlet that supported the hypothesis, as it overwhelmingly supported Israel (see Figure 2). On the other hand, Middle Eastern media sources were very pro-Palestine and anti-Israel--a manifestation of their animosity towards the Jewish nation--and therefore were aligned with the expectations established in the hypothesis. (See Figures 1 and 2) The large number of pro-Palestine articles found in Middle Eastern media sources also suggests that the issue is much more pressing in that region than in the West.

A more thorough investigation would include an expansion of the time frame to include dates prior to and during the UN conference in New York. This would have provided a control group, as the increased timespan would illustrate the biases or lack of biases of Western and Middle Eastern media sources prior to the escalation of tensions between Israel and Palestine. Also, a more in-depth analysis would include additional news outlets and other forms of media, such as live videos found on Television news stations and social media posts. These additional media outlets would expand the amount of information included in the study, and, as a result, the data collected would have more accurately displayed the true biases of Western and Middle Eastern news sources. In a more in-depth analysis, more care would also be taken to exclude all op-ed pieces, which could skew the data. Several op-ed pieces may have accidentally slipped into the articles that were included in the study, and therefore could have caused inaccuracies in the analysis's results. Without these opinion-based articles, the data would more accurately reflect the true biases of the media sources.

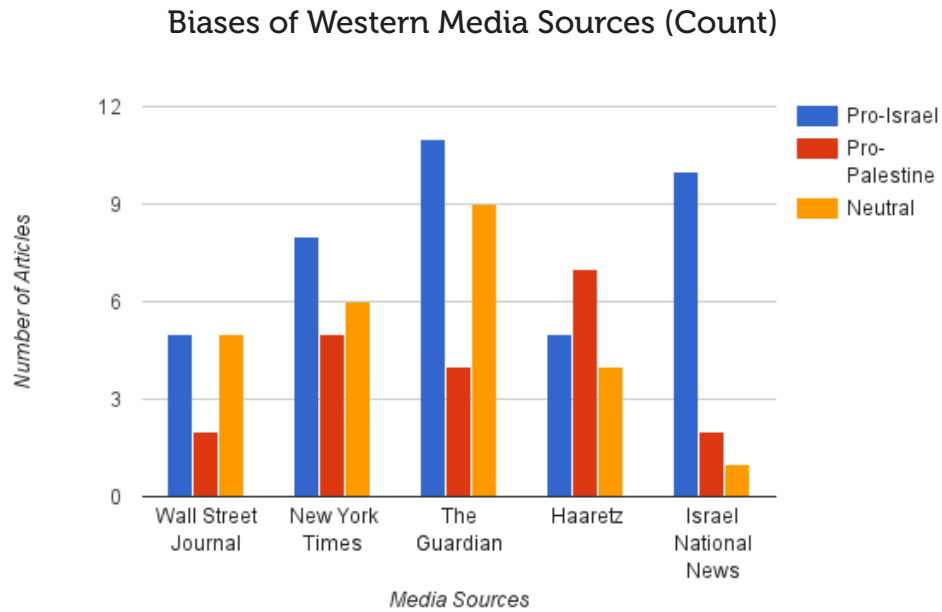
Endnotes

- 1 John Kerry condemns terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians, *The Guardian*, October 2015.
- 2 John Kerry condemns terrorist attacks against Israeli civil
- 3 Israel and Jordan: The Middle East's Odd Couple, *U.S. News*, March 28, 2014
- 4 U.S. Relations with Jordan, U.S. Department of State

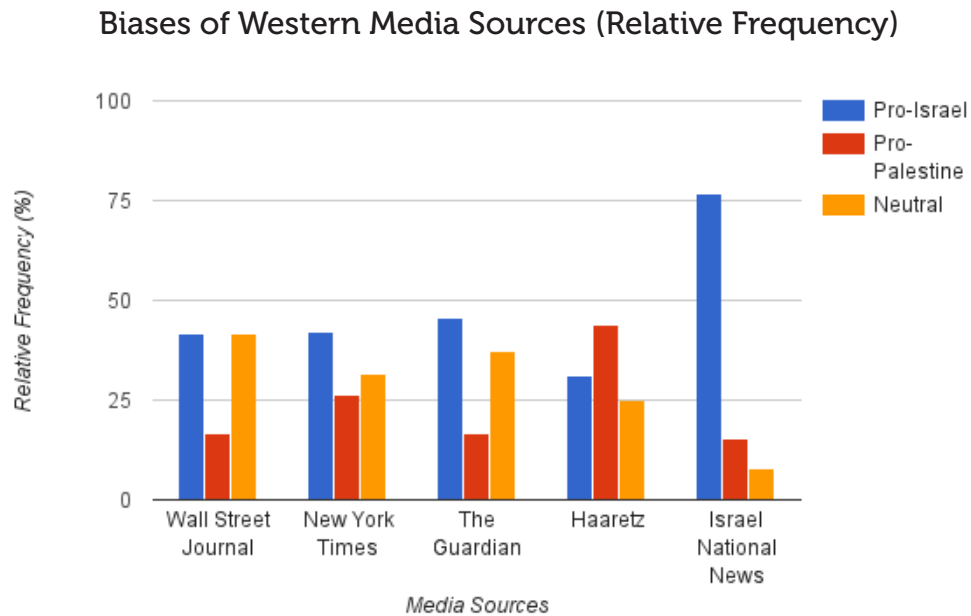


Data

A

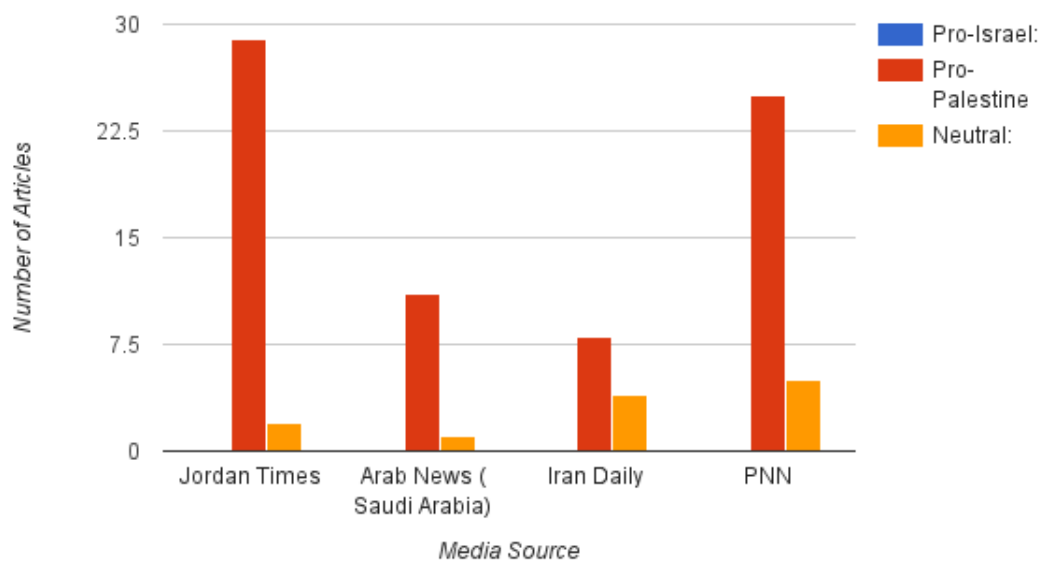


B



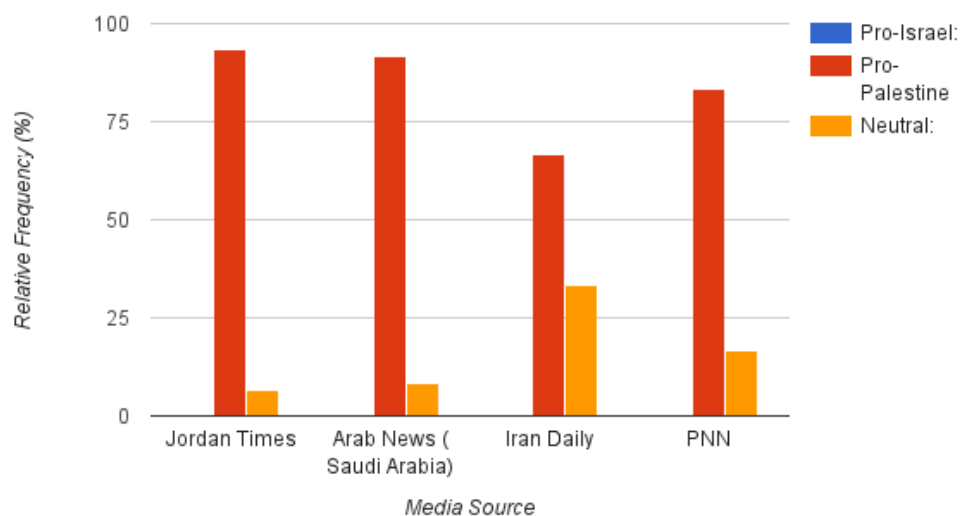
C

Biases of Middle Eastern Middle Sources (Count)



D

Biases of Middle Eastern Media Sources (Relative Frequency)





History | Current Events

