



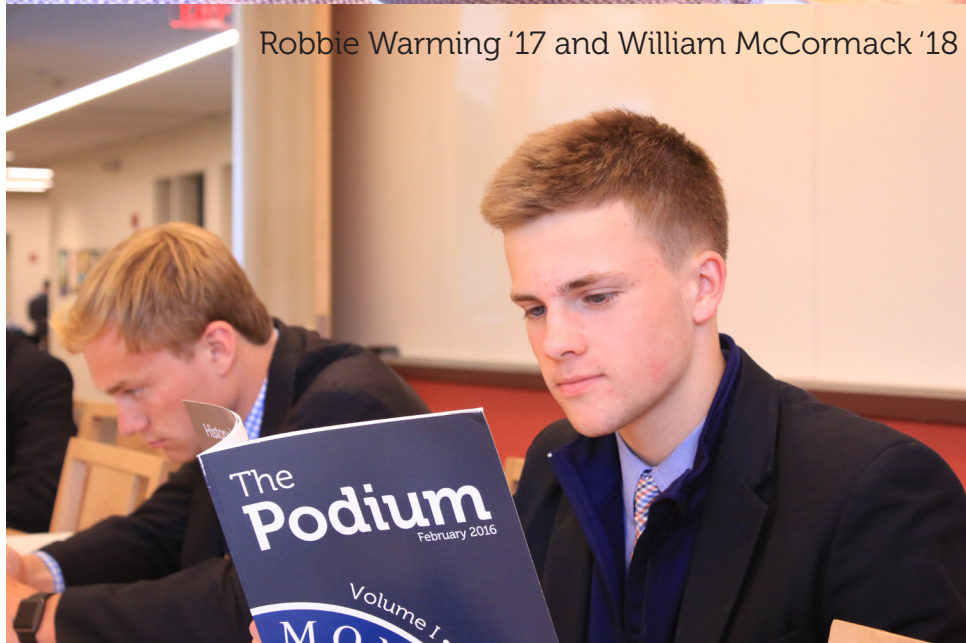
The Podium

September 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.



Jake Carter '18 and Coleman Walsh '18 Collaborate



Robbie Warming '17 and William McCormack '18



Faculty Advisor: Mr. Eric Smith



Letter from the Staff

Dear Readers,

After publishing our first edition in February, we set out to replicate our approach for this second edition of *The Podium*. This issue, like the first, is a retrospective of work completed during the second semester of the 2015-2016 school year. In it, you will find op-ed pieces, research papers, and polling projects. We are pleased to offer an expanded History on the Hill section, in addition to a paper from Mr. Feldman's Statistical Revolution class. For this issue, our History on the Hill feature consists of tributes to three retiring faculty members: Mr. Kirby, Ms. Tift, and Ms. Gettings. Each piece shares valuable glances into the lives and history of these beloved teachers.

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. Armin Thomas '17 crafted "A Potentially Historic Split in the Republican Party," drawing parallels between the demise of the Federalist Party in 1816 and Donald Trump's current campaign. In our second competition, senior John Gosselin's "Common Cents" claimed victory, advocating for the eradication of small coins from the American monetary system. As Gosselin explained, "the idea of phasing out coins is not radical, unprecedented, or partisan. It's common cents!" Finally, Charlie Danziger '16 composed a convincing op-ed advocating against AP classes. Infusing the piece with quotes, personal anecdotes, and a clever title (APs: Antiquated Pursuits), Danziger concluded that APs, classes he believes are dominated by the rote memorization of useless facts, provide no long-term benefits.



As we continue to grow from a new publication into a well-established journal, we will continue to evolve. Even within the span of the previous semester, we have introduced a new element to our op-ed competitions, adding in a *Historical* op-ed on the atomic bombs that ended WWII, a topic coinciding with President Obama's visit to Hiroshima, the first by a sitting U.S. president. In the future, we especially hope to increase the involvement of middle schoolers. *The Podium* will remain true to its mission, publishing the best student-written work in history and current events.

Looking back on a year of hard work, writing, planning, and designing, we proudly unveil the second edition.

-The Podium Staff

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

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Mr. Francis Kirby

Author-Quin McGaugh '18

Section-History on the Hill

The "History on the Hill" section of The Podium will be the first article(s) of each issue. It will consist of student-written pieces that present our readers with a glimpse into Belmont Hill's rich history. In this May edition, we honor three retiring faculty members: Mr. Kirby, Ms. Gettings, and Ms. Tift. Their wisdom and service have shaped the history of our school.

"How are you today, good sir?"

"Great race last weekend. You should be proud of your work"

"Spectacular performance yesterday. Great improvement, it really was."

Compliments and greetings like these echo throughout the halls of Morse as Mr. Kirby watches over the Goodband Commons from the second floor balcony. As his students file up the stairs, Mr. Kirby stands atop the flight greeting each and every student with an incredibly genuine smile, with the face of a man who loves teaching boys through the most important years of their lives.

In the fall of 1982, Mr. Kirby arrived at Belmont Hill young, enthusiastic, and ready to take on the daunting task of teaching teenage boys how to become men. Thirty four years later, he has only become wiser and better at his work, and still expresses the ever-present gleaming enthusiasm and passion that helped him coach and teach so many of our Belmont Hill brothers. Mr. Kirby is known by many as a Latin teacher, English teacher, track coach, ski coach, or cross country coach, but everyone knows him as one of the most thoughtful, endearing, down-to-earth men on campus.

Many students look up to him as a father figure. Giving rides back home to save a student from waiting until the late hours for their parents, or doling out his reprimands for, as he would say, "shenanigans in the hall-way," most every student has enjoyed the dedication, hard work, and immense amount of time Mr. Kirby has poured into the school, his students, and his athletes.

On May 7, the school held a congratulatory dinner for Mr. Kirby after his last home track meet of his career. Attending the dinner were dozens of Mr. Kirby's former students and athletes, all with nothing but congratulatory and thankful words to say about how Mr. Kirby had changed their Belmont Hill experience. Stories ranging from Mr. Kirby's arguments about the validity of global warming to the time he expressed his disgust for faulty shotputs by throwing the 12-pound bearing 60 feet into the brush, to which the presiding official noted, "I'd bet that throw will win the ISL." Of course, the night would not be complete without proper jesting, so the star of the night proceeded

to perform clever impressions of fellow coaches and friends Mr. Harder, Mr. MacLean, Mr. Brodie, with the grand finale of Dr. Melvoin. Engaging as always, Mr. Kirby's banter resulted in laughter similar to the cheers and hollers of his students he excites in his classroom.

Whether you have had the honor of hearing Mr. Kirby's amazing lectures in the classroom, or had the privilege of serving on one of his varsity teams, everyone remembers the first time he met Mr. Kirby. For me, it was my ninth grade year, in the deadly heat of August. It was the hottest day of the year, and I was showing up to the varsity cross country team's first day of practice as a little freshmen who had never run before. Before I had heard stories about Mr. Kirby, a pillar of the team's coaching staff. After mulling around the flagpoles outside the building for a few minutes making casual small talk with the team, out walks Mr. Kirby, decked out in his winter ski hat, track spikes, tall wool socks, and his nifty steed of a eight-gear bike. Without further explanation, he sent us off into the heat and trailed the pack on his bike, finishing the workout still wearing the ski hat and no regrets. From that day on, Mr. Kirby can be described as nothing other than one of my closest friends and biggest fans. Like all of his athletes and students, he always has your back, pushes you forward, and picks you up when you get knocked down.

Mr. Kirby is loved throughout the campus for his bright smile, approachable nature, and general jovial ambiance that he carries with him as he struts through the day in his worn down track spikes. Global warming jokes included, Mr. Kirby is described as "more of an experience than something you can put into words." Mr. Kirby will be missed dearly as he retires this spring, but to me and to the rest of his students and athletes, Mr. Kirby will always be a teacher, mentor, coach, role model, but most of all, our friend. Thank you, Mr. Kirby, for 34 years and 102 seasons that you have dedicated to Belmont Hill and all of the boys you have taught, coached, and mentored!

Ms. Holly Gettings

Author-Donavan Payne '18

Section-History on the Hill

As students, we sometimes seem to forget how teachers are so similar to us. I have always seen Ms. Gettings, but nothing about her grabbed my attention. She was an aging lady with long streaks of silver hair and I had never seen her outside of the art building. In the short time I have known Ms. Gettings, I learned much more from what I have seen in her photography class. She has always been the quirky teacher with an exceptional talent and passion for the arts. Ms. Gettings exemplifies values of equality and education. All of these values stem from episodes of her life that have had an impact on who she is today. Those who know Ms. Gettings would agree with me when I say that she is someone who thinks out loud. To truly know her, you simply have to be in her presence. In my experiences with her, I have learned so much about her personality just through observing her idiosyncrasies. I first met Ms. Gettings in her ninth grade Photography class. To be quite honest, my first impression from her was that she was a bit eccentric. Throughout the course, however, I learned that I mistook weird for her immense love for the arts. Filled with amazing insight, she was always enthusiastic.

Ms. Gettings first started taking pictures when she was in high school. Growing up, money was tight, but she learned photography by working for her neighbor, who was happened to be a high school yearbook photographer. Yet, it was her arrival at Belmont Hill that truly ignited an undeniable passion for photography. She started her Belmont Hill career as a part-time employee working with the theater department. One day, Mr. Morange asked if she could teach photography. She took classes over the summer and prepared herself to begin her teaching in photography but she learned that the challenge was not the knowledge, itself, but how to convey it. However, working with the students was a learning experience for her and she grasped the true meaning of photography.

When I interviewed some of my classmates from the class, all of them gave her glowing reviews. One student said, "Ms. Gettings was an excellent teacher who helped foster my love for photography. Without her guidance, I may not have developed such a great love for it." Others called her charismatic, honest, and talented, all accurate descriptors. The greatest answer I received from a student was when I asked about her greatest quality as an educator. This student said that Ms. Gettings's greatest quality was her absolute trust in students. She never doubts their ability to produce exemplary work. Ms. Gettings is always eager to teach and feels her greatest challenge as a teacher is invigorating "the disinterested student." Most teachers would probably agree that energizing a student that lacks initiative and motivation is certainly difficult. Ms. Gettings finds

it rewarding to hear that she has invoked an artistic passion. Ms. Gettings has had an impact on me and my passion for photography, theater, and other general arts. Throughout her class, I developed my own interest and perception of the arts that influences my life today. Ms. Gettings believes the importance of photography is learning how to see things from different perspectives and how to imagine, a quality she also holds. She upholds these values in her daily class. She affirms that art is valuable.

Ms. Gettings's work at Belmont Hill is greatly appreciated. Her life, like most teachers, is full of meaning and depth that cannot be seen throughout the duration of only one class period. I have had the honor and distinct pleasure of working so closely with Ms. Gettings. Having her as a mentor for the past two years has been invaluable. Her presence will be tremendously missed, and the hole that she leaves behind will never be completely filled. Ms. Gettings's guidance has formed strong foundations for several young artists, including me, ensuring that her eighteen years of service at Belmont Hill leaves a lasting mark.

Ms. Ann Tift

Author-Luke Jordan '18

Section-History on the Hill

Ms. Tift has been a staple to the Belmont Hill community for almost a decade, and she has affected the lives of countless boys in her position as Director of College Counseling. As her forty years of advising come to a close, we take a look back at her role to Belmont Hill college counseling and to our community as a whole. When interviewing Dr. Tift, her daughter and fellow teacher, she explained how devoted and driven her mother was to help boys make it through the complex, frustrating, and emotional rollercoaster that is the college application process. Dr. Tift said, "She has loved doing the college [counseling]...and she takes to heart getting to know each boy to match him up with his best college experience." She went on to explain that, "parents and students that have been through college process are really nice and warm towards my mother. People are very positive and it has been such a calling for her." For Ms. Tift, being a college counselor was not just an occupation; it was her passion. For example, she loved traveling to different universities with students, which greatly aided the boys in their decisions but also allowed her to gain key insight that she would use to help other students in the following years. Even here at Belmont Hill, there are a handful of students who may be the first in their family to go past a high school level education, which makes it extremely challenging when choosing between colleges. When addressing this issue, Dr. Tift said, "[She was] very dedicated to supporting students who may be the first in their families to go to college, or have financial problems, or a financial situation...and she tries to help them find their way."

The college counseling division at Belmont Hill consists of a close-knit group made up of Ms. Tift, Mrs. Bobo, and Mr. Doar. Although the three have only been working together as a whole for three years, they share an unbreakable bond with the same goal: to help every boy find his perfect school. When asking Mrs. Bobo about Ms. Tift, she said, "the best part of my job is having the opportunity to work with her. She has been such a strong presence in my personal and professional life - a mentor who has guided me in every aspect of work and life. The level of concern she has for others is beyond that of anyone I've ever met. Her quick wit and fantastic sense of humor has made this work environment light and joyful. The love and appreciation that Mr. Doar and I have for Ms. Tift is immeasurable." This quote perfectly sums up the role of Ms. Tift as a college counselor, and she will be greatly missed next year.

Outside of Director of College Counseling, Ms. Tift has served as the head advisor for Form VI, a position that has allowed her to be a mentor to each and every senior at this school. Additionally she has been an active member in Students Actively Fostering Equality (SAFE) and has represented Belmont Hill in

associations for college counseling, such as the Boston Area Independent Schools College Counseling Association. Another example showing Ms. Tift's desire to help others is evident every week at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk, where she teaches emotional literacy and poetry.

During her time here at Belmont Hill, Ms. Tift has been an integral part of college counseling as well as the Belmont Hill community as a whole. Her devotion and care for each boy is truly amazing. She has altered the lives of many students and their families, most of whom will never forget the tireless effort she gave to every Belmont Hill senior. Her absence will never be overlooked nor neglected, and, as Mr. Doar said, "Ms. Tift does more for Belmont Hill juniors and seniors than most people know. She's an advocate in every sense of the word, and she's especially good at reaching those who haven't already discovered their own voice around campus."





A Potentially Historic Split in the Republican Party

Author-Armin Thomas '17

In recent weeks, the presidential primaries have been filled with lots of surprises, the most notable being the unexpected success of political outsider Donald Trump. His surge in the polls has been characterized by a willingness to issue controversial remarks to address issues, such as building a wall on the Mexican border to curb illegal immigration and the drug trade. In the aftermath of the San Bernardino terrorist attacks, Trump called for a temporary ban on Muslims to prevent terrorists from clandestinely entering the US amid the torrent of refugees fleeing the chaos in Syria. Trump's poll numbers show no sign of abating, and Trump's campaign style is replete with demagoguery and showmanship, pleasing many voters who are angry and upset at the current political establishment. His rise has therefore led to an increasingly visible divide between the Republican Party establishment and the Party's rank-and-file constituency. While media channels controlled by the establishment-supporting corporations such as Fox News have attempted to anoint Senator Marco Rubio of Florida as the Republican candidate to unify behind to defeat Hillary Clinton, Trump's current standing with the average Republican is threatening the corporate hold on the Republican power base.

Trump's rise could spell the doom of the Republican Party as we know it. In 2000, 2008 and 2012, all three Republican candidates were supported by the establishment and the conservative media. Pundits quickly coalesced around a single candidate. However, many leading political figures such as Governor Chris Christie of New Jersey have endorsed Donald Trump, exposing the wide variety of interests that the Republican Party endorses. In fact, on the debate stage, the only thing candidates often agree on is their universal disagreement and hate of Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, the Democratic Party, and their policies.

If Trump were to get the nomination, he would not run as a conventional Republican, because much of his rhetoric and intentions seem more similar to populist fascism of 1930s Europe than to modern-day American politics. If he did not, which right now is only possible through a brokered convention where Republican delegates hand another candidate the nomination, the large majority of Republican voters who opted for him as their candidate will lose faith in the party as they will feel that their vote did not

count. It could be a historic election, like the election of 1816 which doomed the Federalist Party or the election of 1852 which ended the relevance of the Whig Party. No matter what happens, whether Trump gets the nomination or not, the American political landscape is bound to drastically change, whether it be through political revolution as Senator Bernie Sanders promises, or through increased "winning" as Trump promises.

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The future lies in the hands of American voters, and as of now they appear to be voting mostly for Clinton on the Democratic side. The Republican nomination is still up for grabs, but Trump increasingly looks like he will clinch the nomination.

Competition 3 (March 2016), Winner

Common Cents

Author-John Gosselin '16

The continued existence of pennies, nickels, and dimes exemplifies gross government incompetency. These coins supposedly serve three functions: as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a unit of account. They fail to serve all three and embarrass America in the process. All of these coins should be phased out over a number of years such that our money can begin to serve its basic purpose again.

It is impossible to use small coins as a medium of exchange, that is, as something that represents value and substitutes the barter system. They are not accept-

Last year, the US spent \$132 million to create and distribute \$50 million worth of pennies.

ed by parking meters, vending machines, toll booths, or in bulk payments. The opportunity cost associated with small coins makes them mathematically inefficient for all transactions. Opportunity cost is the loss of potential gain from other alternative options when one alternative is chosen. The average American spends 2.4 hours per year handling coins, not choosing to engage in other, vastly more productive alternatives. If retail employees were included in the study, the number of hours would have been far higher, since retail employees handle coins at a far higher rate than the average population. Small coins are so inefficient that some retail companies, including Chipotle in 2012, have rounded down their prices to avoid pennies. The slight increase in line efficiency vastly outweighs the cost of the slightly lower prices. Phasing out the penny would save 15 billion USD per year by reducing the opportunity cost of handling small coins. If you spend more than four seconds picking up a penny from the sidewalk, you would be making less than the federal minimum wage.

Worse still, these coins are literally not worth the metal they are made from. Pennies cost 1.7 cents to make, and nickels cost 9.4 cents. Last year, the US spent 132 million USD to create and distribute 50 million USD of pennies. Keep in mind that these pennies were still owned by the government. There has never been a coin worth less in America than the penny today, proving that pennies are not a store of value. No bank denominates their assets in pennies, nor does any retiree their savings. The size to value ratio of a penny, when compared to any bill, is pitiful. Pennies take up more space and represent far less value than bills. Small coins fail in a third way by being insignificant units of account. Large companies with billions of dollars of revenue could make millions dime-sized accounting mistakes and no one would notice because the values associated

with them are so insignificant.

Our country and nations around the world have phased out coins before. From 1793 to 1857, there was the half-cent, and when it was phased out, it was worth 11 cents adjusting for inflation. There was also the two-cent piece, circulated from 1864 to 1873. It was phased out when it reached a similar value relative to today's currency. The "three-cent nickel," circulated from 1865 to 1889, met the same fate. Other countries have realized the inefficiency caused by ultra-small coins and reacted effectively. Canada, New Zealand, and Mexico have already stopped producing small coins. At US military bases overseas since 1980, prices are rounded to the nearest nickel. Our government should act to join the rest of the developed world and stop using worthless coins.

The idea of phasing out coins is not radical, unprecedented, or partisan. It's common cents!

Competition 4 (April 2016), Winner

APs: Antiquated Pursuits

Subtitle-A Look at the Flaws of our AP System

Author-Charlie Danziger '16

Sit in on any junior or senior English or History elective, and you'll see students running discussions, deciding what is important, and dictating the course of the class. The most exciting part of any class is when the dialogue is guided by what the students, not the teacher, find important. This ability to absorb information and discern what is relevant and interesting is an important skill that must be learned at Belmont Hill, but the growing number of AP classes is quickly devaluing that skill.

"It's not important, but it's on the AP." This is a commonplace expression in most AP classrooms as teachers and students prepare for tests designed and created by educational professionals from around the country. The set AP syllabus vastly limits the teachers in their exploration of a subject matter because the pace and rigor of the course leaves few holes in the schedule.

In 11th grade, I decided not to take AP US History and soon realized that the Non-AP class did more interactive, hands-on learning, while spending more time on topics that we, the students, wanted to discuss. Whereas the AP class was bound to a strict calendar, we spent days talking about current events, US history in pop culture, and a variety of other issues that we found worthwhile on any given day. Says one faculty member, "The AP curriculum, while quite comprehensive, does not account for the personality of individual classes; consequently, it can be quite limiting as students are not able to examine the topics they find fascinating." My Non-AP class was able to make connections between different eras and explore overarching themes of American History. Meanwhile, my classmates taking the AP were too busy memorizing and regurgitating a seemingly endless list of key terms in preparation for their standardized exam.

A common fallacy among students taking APs is that they will place out of all their freshman classes and enter their first year with six credits. The harsh reality is that colleges are making drastic changes to

sult, Dartmouth decided that in order to graduate from Dartmouth, one must receive the Dartmouth education. I completely agree with Dartmouth because I find it impossible to believe that students who earn a 5 on AP Biology in 10th grade would be prepared to skip Freshman Biology at a given university three years later.

The disappointing truth is that at a school like Belmont Hill, which gives students the opportunity to take a multitude of AP exams, AP classes are required to be considered a competitive college applicant, but rendered useless once in college.

I think the ultimate goal of Belmont Hill should be to prepare young men to be thoughtful, critical, and creative thinkers. The AP classes take the creativity and curiosity out of the student and replace it with the requirement to memorize lists, regardless of their perceived importance. Our world is moving away from an education style dominated by rote memorization. Belmont Hill must rework its AP system in order to adequately prepare students to thrive in this changing landscape.

The AP classes take the creativity and curiosity out of the student and replace it with the requirement to memorize lists, regardless of their perceived importance.

their academic policy, rejecting AP credits. Dartmouth is leading the way by refusing to give credit for any AP exams. A Dartmouth study found that out of a pool of 100 students who scored a 5 on a Psychology AP, 90% failed the freshman final exam for psychology. As a re-

Competition 5 (May 2016), Winner





The Fall from Grace

Subtitle-Analysis of and Recommendations for Brazil's Economic Strife

Author-Brendan Pulsifer '16

Section-Research Papers

All too often, a country's economic prospects are determined by the morals of a trusted leader and his or her top officials. Brazil knows this fact to be true – from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the country saw crippling hyperinflation, set in motion by a president who was impeached for corruption.¹ But the country's future looked auspicious in the first decade of the twenty-first century. From 2002-2008, Brazil's economy expanded at an average of 4% each year, contributing to its current status as the largest economy in South America and 8th largest economy in the world.² During that time, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva declared that the country had found a "winning lottery ticket" after it discovered new oil resources in the Atlantic Ocean.³

Yet because of myopic decisions and a corrupt bureaucracy (in addition to a few external factors), Brazil's growth has reversed, and the economy has begun to contract.⁴ Current President Dilma Rousseff, who began her second term less than a year ago, has not only enacted failing fiscal policies to satisfy the agenda of her leftist Worker's Party, but also implicated herself and her administration in a \$3 billion scandal with the Petrobras oil company. Petrobras is Brazil's largest investor and contributes to 10% of Brazil's gross domestic product (GDP).^{5 6} Consequently, the domestic market has suffered, and it will not be long before these problems affect the international market as well, as once-loyal investors begin to pull out and buyers stay away from Petrobras. If Brazil's leaders hope to jumpstart its economy again, they must work together to adapt the budget, purify the polluted bureaucracy, and handle public relations properly.⁷

The bulk of Brazil's economic issues stem from President Rousseff's major policy blunders. Rousseff took office in 2010 when the economic growth rate hit a staggering 7.6% but was plateauing. In the hopes of preventing a serious slowdown, Rousseff coerced the central bank to lower interest rates to encourage spending. Her plan worked, but only temporarily – now, exasperated creditors are fighting to pay back shortsighted loans they took out when rates were dramatically reduced. In the hopes of further encouraging economic growth, Rousseff instituted price controls for oil and electricity companies while lowering taxes for specific domestic industries; those tactics, however, only resulted in

disaster for public energy corporations.⁸

Running on a leftist platform in both 2010 and 2014, Rousseff pursued policies which unnecessarily expanded her administration's control in the private sector. Though government intervention in an economy can often improve it, her programs actually inhibited growth. By increasing the size of the national development bank – which was bigger than the World Bank even before the expansion – Rousseff escalated the amount of risky loans doled out to giant companies. Not only were these investments made at rates even lower than those at private banks: they were paid for by taxpayer dollars.⁹

These ideological oversights certainly added to the current financial emergency, but it was the lack of morals and transparency in the Rousseff administration which sent the nation into hysteria. In 2014, political insiders claimed that Rousseff and the Worker's Party took funds from government-controlled banks to fill holes in the inadequate budget and make the party appear dominant as the next election season began, even though they understood that the plan would disrupt public finance. The administration has since denounced these claims, but the public does not seem to be giving Rousseff much credibility after her alleged decade-long involvement in the Petrobras oil controversy.¹⁰

Starting in 2004 under the codename "Operation Carwash," the now-infamous Petrobras scandal functioned like a criminal kickback scheme. A cartel comprised of multiple corporations and high-ranking Petrobras officials would overcharge Petrobras for basic services, such as construction, and decide which of its member corporations would receive the extra money. The Petrobras executives involved in the scam were given large bribes, which they often passed on to important government figures for political clout. Since the government owns 51% of Petrobras (even though it is publicly traded), most of the bribes came from taxpayer money. Naturally, citizens were outraged when news of the scandal broke in early 2015.¹¹

Brazilian police have made over 120 indictments in the past year, and citizens are now calling for the President's resignation after evidence, albeit equivocal, has surfaced that points to her involvement. Of the \$3 billion the cartel pocketed, \$200 million went directly to the Worker's Party and was used to back political



campaigns, including both of Rousseff's. Furthermore, Rousseff was chairwoman of the Petrobras Oil Company from 2003-2010 while the graft occurred. Rousseff continues to deny any involvement in the corruption and insists she had no knowledge of its existence while she served on the oil company's board of directors.¹² Despite her pleas, her popularity ratings fell to single digits – only 8% – when her impeachment proceedings began in early December 2015, spearheaded by her political foe and prominent right-wing leader, Eduardo Cunha (who, ironically, has also been accused of involvement in the kickback scheme).¹³

In response to criticism from economists about its handling of the economy, the Rousseff Administration has largely blamed factors in the international market – especially the slowdown in China – for the financial breakdown.¹⁴ There is truth to the government position: China's reduced demand for raw materials has certainly hurt Brazil's economy. China is Brazil's largest trading partner, importing soybeans, oil, and iron ore, and exporting finished electronics and capital goods in multi-billion dollar investment contracts. Chinese demand doubled from 2010-2013, going from \$20 billion to \$45 billion in four short years. Yet with the recent devaluation of the yuan, trade has abated. Consequently, Brazilian companies have lost a staggering \$12 billion, and the country has begun to run a 4.17% current account deficit, the largest trade gap since 2001. The deficit highlights a growing lack of reciprocation in Brazil's international deals – even though China is Brazil's top trading partner, Brazil does not even rank in the top 10 exporting partners for China.¹⁵

Rousseff's administration has also cited severe droughts in the region as a leading cause of the recession. Over 80% of Brazil's electricity comes from hydroelectric dams, making it simultaneously one of the most sustainable nations and also the most weather-dependent.¹⁶ Relentless droughts have devastated a large part of Brazil for a prolonged period of time, and with hydropower becoming scarce, energy bills have soared.¹⁷ The prices of basic commodities dependent on water, such as food and beverages, have increased as well due to the decrease in supply. Exports have markedly decreased because of the reduced crop yield resulting from arid conditions.¹⁸

Though there are legitimate external problems, Rousseff's effect on the domestic market is even more devastating than China's or the drought's. From 2010-2014, during Rousseff's first term, the economy, which once boomed, grew a paltry 2.2% each year on average; in 2015, the economy contracted 3%.¹⁹ The value of the real, Brazil's currency, has plummeted 60% since Rousseff's first inauguration, while the inflation rate hit double digits at the end of 2015. The high inflation rate is beginning to cripple buyers' purchasing power – already, consumer confidence is at an all-time low, a distressing reality for a country which owes over half of

its growth in the past decade to consumerism.²⁰ Concomitantly, the unemployment rate has been rapidly increasing – now at 7.5% – largely because a scandal-mired Petrobras, which has lost 75% of its market value in 2015 alone, has been forced to halt construction projects and lay off ten of thousands of unskilled workers.²¹

So far, the government has failed to find any adequate solutions. Though Rousseff once had the power to pressure the central bank, she has so far failed to influence monetary policy in this recession. Interest rates are at 12.75%, a six-year high, which is discouraging creditors from investing in Brazil and stymieing attempts for quick relief (but also keeping a handle on the country's mercurial inflation).²² The market-friendly finance minister, Joaquim Levy, has tried to promote austerity by cutting \$18 billion in spending; however, his plans failed to gain traction in the divided Congress.²³ Rousseff, too, has decided to ignore most of Levy's solutions. In her latest budget, she increased taxes up to \$16.9 billion while trying to trim around the edges of an overloaded budget.²⁴

Rousseff, however, cannot raise taxes for struggling citizens and slash the budget without receiving backlash. Her proposed spending cuts are mainly targeted at health and low-cost housing programs (including her signature cash-transfer project, Bolsa Familia), investment in infrastructure, government salaries, and agricultural subsidies. The taxpayers whom these programs target need government assistance the most at this time of economic strife, especially the water-deprived farmers and unemployed laborers; Brazilians feel like their country is abandoning them. Ironically, Rousseff has spent much of her presidency fighting for welfare programs; she made Bolsa Familia the cornerstone of her domestic agenda. This sudden departure in policy has many wondering where her interests truly lie.²⁵

In her plan, Rousseff fails to take into account the country's sizable and rapidly expanding debt – \$250 billion in December 2015, up from \$100 billion only five years ago – which will have adverse effects on both domestic and international markets.²⁶ The weak real makes this debt more burdensome than it would be otherwise. To make matters worse, Standard & Poor's Rating Services downgraded Brazil's sovereign debt to BB+, or to the "junk" level in September 2015. With many other credit assessment organizations following Standard and Poor's lead in lowering Brazil's credit rating, the country could face even more economic strife as restrictive foreign pension funds and cautious investors begin to unload bonds and as interest on the debt grows. It will be much harder now for Brazil to borrow from foreign nations and climb out of recession.²⁷

Despite its inauspicious position, Brazil can still recover from the crisis, but first, the government must have fiscal discipline. Fiscal irresponsibility, such as



government promotion of risky loans and extravagant spending to accommodate the expansion of the welfare state, chiefly drew Brazil into the mess. Both the executive and legislative branches must work together to rein in spending on needless programs. At the same time, Keynesian economics dictates that with the economy contracting, complete adherence to austerity policies may not actually provide relief. Instead, the government must prioritize which programs to invest in to get the best overall stimulus to the economy.

An excellent, relevant example of successful economic recovery is the United States' return from recession in the 1980s. Throughout the 1970s, Americans were reeling from high inflation and high unemployment in a period called "stagflation." Similarly, Brazil's inflation is soaring and unemployment is only growing; therefore, it might be wise for the Brazilian government to take a page out of the United States' book. To combat stagflation in America, Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker increased interest rates to combat inflation. Working in tandem with Volcker, President Ronald Reagan enacted a hidden stimulus package, which unleashed public spending power through specialized tax cuts and an increase in funding for certain programs, such as the military.²⁸ Perhaps instead of raising taxes and practicing strict austerity, the Brazilian government could lift the tax burden and also invest in certain industries.

This ambitious plan, however, involves a heavy level of cooperation between the many houses of government, and right now, there is very little synergy among the key players, namely the Brazilian central bank, President Rousseff, Congress, and the finance minister.²⁹ If any of these parties wishes to stabilize the economy, they must work together. A large reason for American prosperity in the 1980s relates to Volcker and Reagan's cohesion on economic issues.³⁰ Though Rousseff might not have the respect she once had and though Congress remains gridlocked, it is imperative for each decision-making body to come together and form a unified plan.

When rebuilding the economy, the government cannot forget that the Petrobras scandal also brought Brazil into distress; in order to ensure that collusion of that scale does not happen again, Rousseff must work to fix corrupt institutions, perhaps by scaling back the size of Brazil's bureaucracy. A sizable portion of \$3 billion lost in the graft ring was taxpayer money, since the government owned over half of Petrobras.³¹ As a publicly traded, capitalist company, Petrobras should not be subject to any government control. As mentioned above, government intervention can help economic growth, but too much socialistic regulation can impede market forces and forcibly intertwine the future of the economy with the principles of the current regime – as it did in the Petrobras scandal.

A final, and perhaps the most important, way

Brazil can get back on track is by reinventing its image. Brazilians have lost faith in Rousseff's administration – a whopping 79% of citizens are displeased with the government's handling of the economy and are pessimistic about the nation's future.³² The Petrobras scandal has unleashed an insurmountable torrent of public relations nightmares. But instead of deflecting criticism, as Rousseff and her party have done, they must face the issue head-on, even if many of them are not directly involved in the Petrobras scandal. Rousseff, whose impeachment proceedings began shakily in December 2015, has clearly failed to exculpate herself. If Rousseff did, in fact, take part in the graft as many believe, she should understand that the cover-up almost always exacerbates the problem (just ask Richard Nixon or Bill Clinton.) The onus is on Brazil's leaders to turn the country's image around.

In the year ahead, Brazil is set to host the Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, an international honor and a perfect opportunity for the country to show the world its prosperity. Yet since very few of 3.5 billion people who viewed the costly 2014 World Cup in Rio brought tourism or economic relief to Brazil, there is little reason to believe that the Olympics could give the country a significant economic boost.³³ It appears that the only solutions to Brazil's recession involve a reduction of needless spending, the injection of a stimulus package, coordination among partisan government officials, a purge of government agencies, and improving the current regime's image – all tricky tasks that are not overnight fixes. It may take years, but if Rousseff's administration sticks to these guidelines, the economy should boom again.³⁴

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Mao v. Deng: A Closer Look

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Section-Research Papers

Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping are often considered two of the most influential and greatest leaders of the People's Republic of China, yet the question as to which of the two leaders was more effective has been widely debated. In order for a leader to be effective, he or she must understand the genuine needs within an organization or a country, then execute a clear plan in ways that are easy to follow and yield projectable results. Effective policies have clear and consistent standards which allow successful and desirable outcomes. In evaluating the effectiveness of Mao's and Deng's policies, one must take a close look at the historical aspect of the Communist movement in China as it relates to the country's rich history. Hence, this essay will compare and contrast the effectiveness of Mao's and Deng's policies from social, economic, and political perspectives. While Mao and Deng had similar ideologies and were aligned for many years, there are clear differences between both their priorities and policies. These had to do with their unique circumstances and visions of China as a country, as well as the challenges they faced both internally and externally. Mao's policies were focused almost exclusively on social issues, even when China's national economy suffered greatly. Conversely, Deng's policies were largely economic, meaning that China lost some of the National cohesiveness that it gained under Mao.

The first of the three categories used to analyze Mao's and Deng's leadership has to do with their social policies. An effective social policy helps foster a sense of National Unity. Mao was a very good social leader because he was able to identify the needs of the masses. The birth of Mao's regime came out of a tumultuous time where the country of China suffered social divide, class conflicts, power struggles and turmoil. Mao was keenly aware of the need to instill stability for China. In fact, his successful pitch of 'Hope' and 'Chinese Unity' to the struggling Chinese peasants speaks to his talent as a social leader. Immediately after coming to power as the head of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the social dynamics of different groups within China became his chief concern. Through his observation, he understood the needs of the poor; he knew that the poor longed for the improvement of their lives, and that the presentation of an altruistic China where each works towards a collectivism could be used as propaganda to garner popularity for himself. Mao's ideology presented a vision of China where the working-class peasants would no longer struggle alone, and prosperity would not be individually gained but equally shared by all. From there, he promised a 'better' China or a 'single-class' China where everyone was equal and worked together, and where no one was 'exploited.' In this new world, Mao made the working class believe that collective prosperity was

attainable, and that they had the possibility of land ownership. Mao's Agrarian Reform Laws of 1950 were issued, written for the Chinese working-class in order to rouse their hope, hence securing their support:

The land, draft animals, farm implements and surplus grain of the landlords, and their surplus houses in the countryside shall be confiscated... shall be taken over by the Hsiang peasants' association for the unified, equitable and rational distribution to poverty-stricken peasants who have little or no land and who lack other means of production, property, and farm equipment of the landlord was confiscated from its owners and redistributed and shared equally amongst the peasants.¹

It is beside the point whether or not Mao actually believed such goal was attainable. Yet, the mass collectivization offer catapulted Mao's popularity to the point of nearly worship. Mao was revered because he was the hero amongst the poor. He believed, and he encouraged and inspired the poor and suffering to also believe.

It is Mao's understanding of his citizens' need which elevated him to a Godlike status, allowing him to push forward more policies under the 'social equality' propaganda, some of which spawned a gigantic scale catastrophe resulting in famines and an estimated 30 million deaths. For example, Mao's Great Leap Forward (GLF) movement had identifiable flaws, but the pretense to go along with Mao ideology was important to avoid persecution or punishment. At the other extreme, however, many of the working-class Chinese were completely drawn in by this newfound single-class system. In fact, the lasting 'liberating' effect of Mao's ideology still played important roles in people's minds many decades afterward. At the times when their morale was low, the working-class Chinese would often recall Mao's ideology. A fond reminiscing of Mao's era as the 'good old days' is not unusual amongst the Chinese working-class of today, as one woman stated:

"They now say that Mao was bad, but it's not true. Our lives were better then. We may not have had much, but we all suffered together. We at least had jobs and hope - now we have neither. We watch a few others get rich while we grow poorer."²

Such is a perspective of a working-class woman who found herself on the sidelines and not benefitting from the rapid economic movement of present China. Her discontent serves as a reflection of how powerful Mao's Communist ideology remains in the uneven rise of prosperity of the late 1990s. Those who dislike the opening and privatization of commerce still look back



fondly of Mao's much romanticized propaganda of hope. Mao could bring people together, unite them with a common agenda and drive efforts in the direction that he wanted. Through Mao, the people felt they had a mission, and that they had an attainable goal.

Deng Xiaoping understood the importance of social unity as a motivation to move the country forward, and was initially a strong supporter of Mao's ideology. In fact, Deng had similar social aims as Mao, but was able to consider a broader view of the Chinese condition. Social equality alone wasn't enough to propel the country forward. Deng was more pragmatic and became less interested in the "unifying culture," placing more emphasis on poverty after Mao's death and after having secured his position as the leader of CCP. Mao's dictatorship scarred China with trauma for years, much of which resulted from poverty and economic stagnation. Deng "recognized that China could not afford to continue experimenting with policies that favored egalitarianism over economic growth."³ While realizing that China must remain controlled by the Communist Party, its economy must also be a priority. Deng's social policy then was to reinforce the social unity, with a lot of emphasis on economic policy.

Mao's economy policy was conceived out of class struggle and economic discrepancies between the working- and upper-class. As previously stated, the social divide resulting from class struggle drove him to establish GLF in 1958, where he enforced communal living, totalitarianism, and reform (or rather punishment) of the bourgeois. The communal agriculture was imposed to generate food for industrial urban workers in an attempt to accelerate industrialization. The GLF campaign, proven later as an epic failure, was a result of Mao's social policy or a "single-class" economy as well as job security and equality for all. In contrast, Deng's priority was to jumpstart the economy. Deng began his career as a compatriot to Mao Zedong, and first took over day-to-day party control when Mao temporarily retired in 1957. He remained in a position of power until 1966 and the Cultural Revolution.⁴ Returning to power in 1976, and having complete control of the country in 1979, he realized that China still suffered greatly as a result of the GLF and the Cultural Revolution as a whole. Deng now was hard at work in trying to alleviate the rampant poverty. In 1979, merely three years after Mao's death, he firmly consolidated his power at the head of the CCP. He initiated the merit-based Household-Responsibility System, a system whereby a communal compound was decommissioned and land divided amongst the families formerly living there. Each family would produce a specific quota for the government, and then would be permitted to sell the remainder of their harvest for personal profit. The 'new' merit-based system now provided incentives for the working-class to work harder, thus further stimulating the economy. In his *New York Times* article in 1995,

Patrick Tyler pointed out to America that, "Since 1978, when Mr. Deng pushed through China's first agricultural reforms, freeing peasants to expand their private plots and markets, more than 170 million Chinese have climbed above the 'absolute poverty' line of \$43 a year per capita."⁵ Unfortunately, however, such economic intervention was not without its drawbacks. According to Tyler, the World Bank indicated that, "the quick reductions of poverty through agricultural growth' in China 'were largely exhausted by the end of 1984.'" The historical context which explains this stagnation has more to do with the reemergence of 'economic disparities' between the upwardly climbing Chinese and those left behind. Because only 11% of China's land is consistently arable, those outside the abundant area of China became frustrated as their 'impoverished inland' farming did not yield as much productivity. In addition, coastal cities were prioritized for infrastructural development, with little investment being directed to inland regions. Those left behind became mere "spectators to China's economic transformation."⁶ Those without upward mobility were once again reminded of the inequality which existed prior to the CCP era. The Communist Party was now warned of the brewing division between the haves and havenots. Deng, however, was not deterred. He continued his mission in economic policies, further introducing four Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in four different southeast Chinese ports. Not only did these ports attract the business of many overseas Chinese, but also siphoned Western business from nearby Hong Kong, thus reintroducing China into the Global Market. Deng's most cited quote, "I don't care whether a cat was black or white, what mattered was whether the cat caught mice," is reflective of his pragmatic and unwavering vision of China's economic improvement. In contrast, Mao's economic policy mainly reflected his social policy of eliminating the bourgeoisie. In doing so, his 'guaranteed job security' as an economic policy fostered job security and social equality. Because Deng's economic policy inspired the working class Chinese to work hard, his approach appeared to be more effective to the starving people of China as opposed to Mao's GLF and Cultural Revolution. As such, Deng was a more effective economic leader.

Both Mao and Deng proved to be very successful politicians because both were excellent at assessing the needs of the country and its people, and both were able to utilize the crisis at hand to their benefits. Mao was a master of what he called the "mass-line" strategy, and he tied it directly into what he learned of Marxism in his time in the Soviet Union. He would gather requests from his political base, i.e. the peasants, and adjust their need to benefit the Communist Party. Often the final results no longer closely resembled the initial request, however it was enough to ensure the peasants' support. A master of manipulation, Mao was very deft at diverting positive attention to himself while trans-



ferring negative attention to others. Throughout his political career, he kept a constant cycle of scapegoats, often villainizing his inner circle members such as Liu Shaoqi and at one point even Deng Xiaoping to preserve his own power. In 1960, Mao turned the Schistosomiasis Epidemic into a means to secure his popularity among the affected. As the waterborne disease went rampant among 4.9 million Chinese, Mao produced a document proclaiming that “scores of thousands of medical workers... made the rounds of the stricken areas and provided much-needed medical treatment.”⁷ According to the Ling Yang of the Peking Review, over 75% of those affected were cured, including animals. This document served as an important political agenda for Mao to remain in power. Mao also resorted to the same political strategy in 1966 after the GLF was proven to be a catastrophic economic policy resulting in death and famine. Mao’s fear of betrayal from the poor and suffering as well as resentment from his own party members prompted an introduction of the Red Guard, arguably a very shrewd political move which helped garner more support from working-class students and children.⁸ At the height of the violence, these groups of young Red Guards fervently vandalized public property, burned books, and tore down temples. Through Mao’s encouragement, the physical attack was aimed toward those believed to be anti-Communist.⁹ Additionally, Mao’s most effective political strategy was to manipulate people into fighting amongst themselves. Mao relished the game of bending people against one another as shown in his repeated ousting of his inner circle. The local effect of his policy was such that ordinary citizens constantly displayed social compliance to avoid being targeted for persecution. The popularization of Quotations of Mao, better known as Little Red Books, further increased the apparent fanaticism and worship surrounding Mao. In reality, however, Mao’s ideology became a symbol of ambiguity: A juxtaposition of reverence and fear. While a certain group may deem him a hero, the opposing group secretly grieved while displaying pretense of compliance in order to save their lives. Mao’s most fervent supporters, the Red Guard, became Mao’s political pawn, serving as ‘Shock Troops’ to physically combat any potential competition or threat. Nearing his death, China was suffering greatly from Mao’s leadership. The last years of his reign, specifically 1975, saw the declining popularity of the Red Guard. Realizing this, Mao issued a law regarding the recruitment of women into the workforce. Not only was this law a clever economic policy, but also an ingenious political move to gain support from the female population. In his document aimed at gaining more support from his people, Mao urged women to join the Chinese workforce:

The women have shown more enthusiasm for their tasks and even more concern for the collective... many young women have learned to drive tractors and carts and to plough, all

things they were not allowed to learn before... It’s fine for women to be running things with the men!¹⁰

Mao’s encouragement for women to enter the workforce was another example of ascertaining his political power by championing different groups of Chinese. Because of his inconsistent support of different groups, his governance resulted in constant domestic turmoil which in turn suggests his leadership was key to maintaining stability.

Deng was also adept with his political policy to maintain his popularity. He recognized the trauma left by Mao, including the fear of another absolute dictatorship. Assessing the need of his citizens, Deng’s economic reform extended individual merit-based incentivization to include women as well as men. This important political move was presented as an economic policy, but arguably served as Deng’s agenda to solicit political support from those suffering from economic hardship. A clear example of this politically savvy roadmap is a rural woman’s recount of her success story, suggesting that upward mobility is easily attainable through hard work and perseverance. The article was written from the point of view of someone who rose from poverty after much struggle, pointing out that Chinese men and women alike could afford financial independence through entrepreneurial opportunity, a campaign spearheaded by Deng. Such account was Deng’s political agenda to promote his popularity, reflective of Deng’s political craftiness:

I decided to learn a skill and work for myself. In line with my level of education, I went to a hairdressing and beauty school to study hairdressing. I finished the required three months’ apprenticeship in a month and a half. The principal and the teachers were all very pleased with me, saying I could set up on my own... In less than a year I paid back all the debts my family owed.¹¹

Both Deng’s and Mao’s political policies derived from their keen understanding of the Chinese people, their ability to assess the situation, and convert the crisis at hand into a political opportunity for themselves. While Mao navigated his political path through his insightful awareness of class struggle, Deng’s calculated political moves took cues from mistakes made by his predecessor. From past failures, Deng assessed what was needed for the country and executed his plan to allow China to enter the global economic arena.

True to their strengths, Mao is synonymous with China’s National Unity, making him the more effective social leader, whereas Deng unquestionably had superior success in improving the economic fortunes of the nation, thereby making him the more effective economic leader. Unfortunately, however, aside from their expertise in navigating traditional politics, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping eventually succumbed to the



downfall of absolute power. They did what many dictators are oft to do, which is to abuse their power and cut down those who oppose them. Both leaders ended their legacies with much violence and bloodshed. Mao's rule ended with tens of millions dead throughout the several decades of his power. He also left China with mistrust, loss of friendship and fear of personal relationships as Mao could turn neighbor against neighbor. By the same token, Deng's legacy ended with the Tiananmen Square massacre, thereby revealing Deng's rhetoric of emerging democracy of China as a mean for political gain, a mere lip service for his naive citizens. While Mao's false hope of social equality was his political agenda, Deng's promise of upward mobility and economic freedom was his strategic political policy. At the end of the day, such brutality was committed by brilliant leaders because no challenging groups could ever be allowed to emerge from their ruling. Such is the pitfall of a one-party system, despite their social, economical and political promises.

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The Windrush Generation

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Section-Research Papers

Blacks and people of African descent have been living in Britain for many centuries now. For years it was as slaves, then after slavery was abolished, they started living there as servants, and were treated as inferior to the white British population. Due to this, along with the fact that many of the blacks living there were from different parts of the world and different backgrounds, a cohesive "Black Identity" was lacking. That was, until June 22, 1948, when 500 Jamaican passengers landed at Tilbury Dock in Tilbury, England. These people came across the Atlantic on the Empire Windrush and ended up starting the "Windrush Generation," causing many more Afro-Caribbeans to migrate to Britain, helping form cultural and political cohesion among the black population.

Before the Windrush Generation arrived, a "Black Identity" was essentially non-existent. This was mainly because there was a smaller black population, estimated to be no larger than ten thousand,¹ living in Britain, but it was also because of the way blacks had been treated in Britain. Even though slavery had been abolished in 1807,² black life in Britain was still difficult. Up until the late 1800s, blacks found themselves working as servants to aristocratic families and were treated as the lowest group on the social ladder. They were even depicted as simians in portraits and were completely disregarded as important by the whites.³ Even beyond that, into the 20th century, Africans and Indians in Britain were displayed to whites in exhibits such as the Empire Exhibition. This exhibit, which took place in 1924, drew around 27 million people, and viewers were warned via flyer from the Royal Anthropological Society, that "many primitive beliefs and customs appear repulsive to the civilised man." Shows like this Empire Exhibition aimed to display natives from British colonies and exhibit their inferior language, intelligence, and technology.⁴

The actual Windrush Movement took place over the course of nearly a decade, from June 22nd, 1948 to 1958. Afro-Caribbeans did not just randomly voyage to Britain; in fact, they migrated to Britain because of The Nationality Act. The Act gave all members of the British Commonwealth citizenship in Britain, and many different people from British colonies started to migrate to Britain.⁵ Around half a million blacks and Asians migrated to Britain in the following years.⁶ This was also coupled with new US immigration laws making it more difficult to immigrate to the United States.⁷ Also, Jamaicans and others living in the Caribbean felt that there were more jobs and better wages in Britain. Because of this, there was a correlation between the number of jobs available and the number of immigrants arriving. When there were more jobs available one year, then

more immigrants would arrive. In the following years, that number went from 500 to tens of thousands, with around 27,500 immigrants from the West Indies travelling to Britain.⁸ As more and more Afro-Caribbean immigrants arrived in Britain, a "Black Identity" began to emerge.

By 1948, around 125,000 people had migrated to Britain from the Caribbean.⁹ Most arriving Afro-Caribbean immigrants (along with immigrants from other places) clustered together in certain neighborhoods. The first place where the immigrants settled together was in Brixton, due to the fact that the original passengers were housed at the Clapham Common shelter and that the nearest labour exchange was in Brixton.¹⁰ Aside from just the increase in population, culture was one of the other major factors that contributed to the sculpting of a Black Identity. When the 125,000 Caribbeans came looking for work, they brought along a unique culture, one manifested in language, festivals, and religion. First off, they brought a language, Jamaican Creole. Over the years, it evolved, becoming British Jamaican Creole, the language now used by most blacks, including British-born Afro-Caribbeans. Especially in the generations following the original Windrush migrants, British Jamaican Creole created an identity for all blacks, given their shared racial experiences and discriminations.¹¹ Even though Britain remained mainly Christian with their arrival, the Afro-Caribbeans brought along parts of Rastafarian lifestyle. Even before Reggae became popular, a music style called "mento," which combined European-style music with traditional African folk music, started to gain popularity among the Jamaicans in the early 1950s.¹² Obviously, Reggae hit the scene later, given the Jamaican population, and its impact was also large. Reggae allowed the blacks to separate themselves from the whites, yet it also gave them a way to express their feelings through music and through a music style that was gaining popularity rapidly throughout the world.¹³

The increased population of blacks in Britain was not favorable to lots of whites already living in Britain. Pretty soon, the blacks in Britain were forced to show that they had truly come together, as whites started to become impatient with the increased immigration of Afro-Caribbeans. Young whites, who called themselves "Teddy Boys," began strong pushes against the increasing black population. Groups started to form, and white-supremacists started to put "Keep Britain White" posters all over London in a strong effort to prevent blacks from coming into Britain. These same "Teddy Boys" caused one of the worst race incidents in the history of Britain, the Notting Hill race riots. Conflict began with the vandalization of Caribbean shops,



houses, and property, but on August 24th, 1958, the issue grew violent. Five black men were assaulted, in separate instances, by nine young whites. On August 30th, starting in Notting Hill, huge crowds of whites, both youth and adults, started to chase and harass Caribbeans, throwing petrol bombs at their houses, along with other things. Riots moved contagiously across the country, spreading from Notting hill to Paddington, Notting Dale, Shepherd's Bush, and Marylebone. Eventually the police were able to intervene, after a week of riots, and arrested around 140 people in total, mostly white. However, some blacks were arrested for possessing weapons for self defense, which also angered those who were being attacked. Nonetheless, the riots ended, but the event left an ugly stigma on all of Britain. A little over a year later, a black carpenter by the name of Kelso Cochrane was killed by a group of white men. This event is said to be the cause of the "Notting Hill Carnival," a Caribbean-style carnival that is now held once a year in Notting Hill. The carnival originated to show the white people of Britain that the blacks were a united community. To this day, the carnival is held yearly, drawing roughly 1 million spectators.¹⁴

Along with the carnival, there have been other protests, such as the Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963. In that year, an Afro-Caribbean man by the name of Paul Stephenson organized a bus boycott in response to a British bus company refusing to employ a young black man. Stephenson, along with many other Afro-Caribbeans and black people living in Bristol, refused to ride buses for 60 days. Eventually, the company was forced to change their policy against hiring "coloured workers."¹⁵ The Bristol Bus Boycott exemplified how the American Civil Rights movements influenced some of the same tactics used by blacks in Britain. In fact, the color bar on British busses was lifted on August 28, the same exact day that Martin Luther King Jr. gave his most famous "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C.¹⁶ These bus boycotts eventually led to two separate acts to be passed, the Race Relations Act of 1965 and the Race Relations Act of 1968. The Race Relations Act of 1965 formed the Race Relations board, but it proved unsuccessful in many aspects and was generally considered ineffective.¹⁷ This eventually led to the Race Relations Act of 1968, which made it illegal to "unlawfully discriminate" in employment, provisions of goods, trade unions, and more.¹⁸ These proved to be big steps in changing how blacks were viewed politically in Britain by whites and the government, and the movements that spearheaded these changes were Afro-Caribbeans.

In the early years of the 20th century, life as a black in Britain was not easy. Racism aside, Great Britain lacked a large black population. Accordingly, blacks were not well-represented and often oppressed. The small population made them incapable of forming any sense of "Black Identity," and they were unable to stand up for their intrinsic rights. Luckily, the Windrush Gen-

erations arrived, forming an important "Black Identity." Over the first decade of Afro-Caribbean migrants to Britain and the years following their initial settlement, the migrants greatly influenced British "Black Identity," both culturally and politically. They brought with them their culture, including festivals and language, and with that, formed political views and actions that served to combat the racism all blacks were experiencing. Beginning with the simple migration of 500 passengers on the Empire Windrush, over the course of the following decades, a "Black Identity" emerged in Britain.

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American Apostle

Subtitle-Thomas Jefferson's Faith, its Causes, and its Effects

Author-Robert Warming '17

Section-Research Papers

Introduction

The battle between Federalist and Antifederalist camps turned to a fever pitch approaching the 1800 presidential election between John Adams of the Federalists and Thomas Jefferson of the Democratic Republicans.¹ Political clashes soon turned personal, as both sides looked to gain an edge. In the mudslinging, Jefferson was labeled as both an infidel and atheist.² Federalist leaders and clergy preached these false accusations with fervor in the late 1790's.³ They strove to paint Jefferson and his Democratic Republicans as naive buffoons who held court with the devil himself (see cartoon below).⁴



Federalist Cartoon, 1793

And, according to historian Eugene Sheridan, "as Jefferson's prospects for winning the presidency in 1800 increased," Federalists unleashed ever more desperate attacks aimed at "his personal character and public record."⁵ Adams's men claimed Jefferson was "a weakling, an atheist, a libertine, and a coward."⁶ They proclaimed him unworthy to serve as president because of what they viewed as hostility towards Christianity.⁷ The attacks did not cease once he had won the election of 1800 and assumed the presidency. The Federalist press pointed to his friendship with Thomas Paine and Jefferson's stand for separation between Church and State as evidence of his religious infidelity.⁸ Jefferson simply sat by, as he was reluctant to describe his religious views in public.⁹

In the past, Jefferson's faith was constantly under the microscope of the public eye. And to this day, his faith is still the subject of passionate debate. Today, university-trained scholars claim Jefferson and the majority of the Founding Fathers were, in fact, religious

rationalists or Unitarians.¹⁰ On the other side, American pastors and Evangelicals claim that "the Founders held orthodox beliefs."¹¹ Both sides of the debate, eerily mimicking the mudslinging of the 1800 election, tend to simplify the beliefs of extremely complicated men. And Jefferson, no doubt, was the most complicated of them all.

Jefferson, in truth, surveyed and staked out an American middle ground between the ferocity of evangelizing Christians on one side and the contempt for religion of secular philosophers on the other.¹² Jefferson had a complex and personal set of beliefs and could not be constrained to either side of the religious debate; he was, in Jon Meacham's words, "a lot like many of us."¹³ Jefferson was a religious Christian Deist, with a passion for both faith and thought. Jefferson's beliefs included elements of Deism, Anglicanism, and Unitarianism.¹⁴ Jefferson was deeply rationalistic, anti-clerical, and anti-confessional, but he was not anti-Christian or even anti-religious as some have claimed.¹⁵ Jefferson was utterly fascinated with religion. And, eventually, such a deep fascination further drove Jefferson into action in long-echoing religious and state reform.

Jefferson's beliefs, like any rational person, were deeply complex and cannot be constrained and twisted to fit the modern debate between religion and secularism. He is one of the most well written and studied figure in American history, and yet he is fundamentally misunderstood. Thomas Jefferson was neither a Deist nor Christian. He was neither establishment nor rationalist. Jefferson represented a mixture of beliefs, beliefs that shaped every step of his life, and beliefs that continue to shape ours.

Jefferson the Anglican

Thomas Jefferson, born on April 13, 1743, grew up in the wake of the Great Awakening, a religious revival that swept the colonies with sermons delivered by the likes of George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards.¹⁶ The revival would have undoubtedly left an impact on the young Jefferson, possibly sparking his long fascination and study of faith. The times Jefferson grew up in "were neither a golden age of religion nor a glowing hour of Enlightenment reason."¹⁷ Being in between the Great Awakening and the American Enlightenment, Young Jefferson was confronted with two seemingly opposite movements. This tug of war would tear Jefferson between two worlds and shape his religious views throughout his life.

Thomas Jefferson's home colony of Virginia was one of the earlier strongholds of the Anglican Church in America. Similar to other Southern colonies, the



Church of England was the recognized state church of Virginia and was consequently supported by a portion of tax revenues.¹⁸ This status was not simply traditional, but constituted immense power for the Church socially and legally.¹⁹

Such was the environment that Jefferson was reared. His aristocratic, protestant upbringing mirrored the upbringing of nearly all other Founders.²⁰ Jefferson, like many young Virginian upperclassmen, was raised Anglican.²¹ Adhering to the state-sponsored Church was simply the proper position for any respectable Virginian family.²² And Jefferson's family was no exception. Jefferson's father, Peter Jefferson "was a vestryman in the Fredericksville parish, this having been laid out in the year before Thomas was born."²³ Thus, the Church's presence was surely felt in Thomas Jefferson's upbringing. The traditional, establishment practices of his native Church would ultimately shape his religious convictions later on in life.

Jefferson would carry the torch of his traditional church throughout his life, in fact. Like many of the Founding Fathers, Jefferson was baptized, listed on church rolls, and married Christian.²⁴ Jefferson, throughout his life, staunchly believed in a God and afterlife as well.²⁵ Jefferson's belief in God, "like many of those whom he had read as a youth," was unshakeable.²⁶ In fact, Jefferson was "more clearly a man of faith than any other of the Founding Fathers"—somewhat ironic considering what Federalists put him through nearly his entire political career.²⁷ Jefferson's church attendance was also impressive. In an 1858 biography based on interviews with surviving family members, Henry Stephens Randall claimed that Jefferson "attended church with as much regularity as most of the members of the congregation—sometimes going alone on horseback, when his family remained at home."²⁸ Jefferson was also incredibly involved with churches other than his local one, as his accounts record donations to multiple churches in Washington, Charlottesville, and Philadelphia.²⁹ He was known to carry his worn Book of Common Prayer to Sunday services.³⁰ A respectable man in the community, he was elected vestryman like his father.³¹ In speeches, Jefferson was well known to invoke the divine.³² When Jefferson passed, he "took his leave in the most Christian of ceremonies, in the manner dictated by the faith of his fathers."³³ Given these facts, Thomas Jefferson would seem like a pious, God-fearing Anglican.

However, Jefferson was no conventional Christian.³⁴ His later religious beliefs often came to butt heads with his established, organized mother church. However, just because he did not agree with every aspect of the Church of England, it did not mean that he shunned the traditions that raised him. Part of it was political; the Anglican Church was an enormous community force in Virginia, and it was advantageous for anyone to be counted among the ranks.³⁵ But in a

deeper sense, he had a lasting respect for his Anglican core. The Church had inspired him to take up Christian faith in the first place, after all. His establishment, Anglican roots certainly had a lasting impact on Jefferson throughout his religious journey. Jefferson himself surely recognized that.

Jefferson the Rationalist

Thomas Jefferson's faith, however, was, "like that of most Enlightenment figures, strongly moralistic and rationalistic."³⁶ Jefferson did not blindly follow his faith, but would seek to back up nearly every belief with reason. These rationalistic influences of the Enlightenment would grow on Jefferson, modifying the religion he was born into.

Rationalism traces its roots to European intellectuals who strove to contrast "the feudal and excess nature of Old World politics."³⁷ The religious wing of this philosophy looked to establish a coexistence of both faith and reason, as new scientific and philosophic advancements flew in the face of traditional religion.³⁸ Enlightenment Christians, like Sir Isaac Newton, saw the laws of Nature as God's law; these intricate laws of nature, which were just being uncovered, could only begin and operate under God's watchful eye.³⁹ Therefore, the Enlightenment movements of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, emerging from English Christianity, were neither hostile to Christian theology nor institutions.⁴⁰ Christian Rationalists instead focused on expelling superstitious liturgy that they believed plagued their faith.⁴¹

One such superstition that was challenged, and resonated incredibly well in revolutionary America, was divine authority.⁴² Rationalist philosopher John Locke challenged the divine right of kings in the 1680's with his *Treatises on Civil Government*, writing, "In this last age a generation of men has sprung up amongst us, that would flatter princes with an opinion, that they [monarchs] have a divine right to absolute power... To make way for this doctrine, they have denied mankind a right to natural freedom; whereby they have... exposed all subjects to the utmost misery of tyranny and oppression."⁴³ Such arguments lead American revolutionaries, such as Jefferson, to dismiss the divine power of British monarchs.⁴⁴ The Religious Enlightenment was, therefore, reflected across the Atlantic, tapping into a prevailing love of virtue and liberty that resonated in the colonies.⁴⁵

Rationalism thrived in the American gentry, which Jefferson was undoubtedly a part of.⁴⁶ Additionally, Jefferson's alma mater, William and Mary College, was an enlightenment stronghold among colonial universities.⁴⁷ Simply put, Jefferson's surroundings later in life introduced and explained rationalistic thought to him, leading him down the path to his own unique beliefs concerning religion.

In such an environment, Jefferson was inspired



by John Locke's belief that truth was not freely given, but earned through hard, experimental thought and experience.⁴⁸ From this foundation, Jefferson cultivated a love for thought and a truly scientific mind. According to historian Edwin S. Gaustad, "from Bacon, Locke, and Newton, Jefferson learned to count, collect, explore, measure, observe, arrange, invent, and put his perceptions of the present rather than the precedents from the distant past."⁴⁹ Jefferson, in a letter to his nephew, Peter Carr, said "you must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, and neither believe nor reject anything, because any other persons, or description of persons, have rejected it or believed it."⁵⁰ Thus, Jefferson often went into thinking about the world, and subsequently religion, with an unbiased, present, and scientific mindset. All he cared about was the truth.

Jefferson used his meticulously scientific mindset to approach his faith. Publically, Jefferson often avoided talking about his faith.⁵¹ Deep down, however, Jefferson suffered through an ambivalent relationship with his Christian faith.⁵² In a letter to Peter Carr, Jefferson instructed the young man to "question with boldness even the existence of a God; because, if there be one, he must more approve of the reason, than that of blindfolded fear."⁵³ Jefferson then added, in his "Republican Notes on Religion and an Act of Establishing Religious Freedom," that "reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against terror," and that if such reason were let loose, it'd eventually "support true religion."⁵⁴

This reason-heavy "true religion" forced an incredibly personal faith, which Jefferson wholeheartedly understood. In a letter to his friend Thomas Leiper, Jefferson said "religion is not the subject for you and me; neither of us know the religious opinions of the other; that is a matter between our Maker and ourselves."⁵⁵ This unique perspective, that one's religious views were an intimate, personal, and very individual matter, would be expressed through his political reforms relating to religious freedom, which is later described.

Furthermore, Jefferson believed that such challenges to organized and established religion would only make it stronger as a whole. Frustrated at the oppression of certain religious sects, he writes,

Difference of opinion is advantageous to religion. The several sects perform the office of a censor morum over such other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch toward uniformity.⁵⁶

Instead of the religious harassment utilized by the likes of the Catholic Church, the Church of England,

and countless other establishment churches, Jefferson believed that, "if there be but one right, and ours is that one," the best way to gather "the nine hundred and ninety-nine wandering sects... into the fold of truth" would be through "reason and persuasion."⁵⁷ Such a free-flowing and nonviolent exchange of religious views would, according to Jefferson, only strengthen religion, infusing it with his beloved reason.

In addition to this exchange of spiritual views, Jefferson encouraged the inclusion of true science into the fold. Jefferson slammed the "barbarians" who sought "to bring back the times of vandalism when ignorance put everything into the hands of power and priestcraft. All advances in science were proscribed as innovations. They pretended to praise and encourage education, but it was to be the education of our ancestors."⁵⁸ In such, Jefferson was adamant about keeping scientific discoveries pure and out of the hands of the priestly elite.⁵⁹ Instead of science being distorted to support certain views, it would be free to challenge established religious notions. If religions' peacefully challenging each other strengthens faith, so do science's objections. With the support of science, sects gravitate toward natural truth.

Jefferson categorized this denial of science by the "priestly elite" as spiritualism, which came to a head in the debate over the materialism of the soul. Jefferson, in a letter to political philosopher Thomas Cooper, said, "The fathers of the Church of the three first centuries generally, not universally, were materialists [believing in the materialism of the soul], extending it even to the creator himself, nor indeed do I know exactly in what age of the Christian Church the heresy of spiritualism was introduced."⁶⁰ Jefferson, therefore, saw the rationalization of religion, its infusion with scientific, materialistic thought as a way of restoring the original Christian Church, which, he believed, had been corrupted by elites since the death of Christ.

This fusion of rationalism with religion deeply affected Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's rationalist foundation, and his free thought concerning religion, would continue to impact his faith and actions.

Jefferson the Unitarian

In the height of the rationalist age, Unitarianism broke onto the scene. The core belief of Unitarianism insists upon the oneness of God, but it has no core beliefs otherwise.⁶¹ Unitarianism is liberal and fluid, as Unitarians respect the personal relationship of faith.⁶² Being born from rationalist thought, it attracted many of England and America's enlightened elite during Jefferson's time. Jefferson was undoubtedly a follower of the new faith, taking on similar views to and corresponding with British Unitarian leader, Joseph Priestly.⁶³ Both were committed to restoring what they thought was pure, uncorrupted Christianity.⁶⁴ A simplistic, personal religion, like Unitarianism, would

be best, as Jefferson said, “No historical fact is better established, than that the doctrine of one God, pure and uncompounded, was that of the early ages of Christianity; and was among the efficacious doctrines which gave it triumph over the polytheism of the ancients, sickened with the absurdities of their own theology.”⁶⁵ By purging Christianity of unnecessary extravagance, the Christian Church would only grow stronger.

Thomas Jefferson consistently slammed establishment churches for what he perceived as their over-complex and irrational view of God. He viewed the Trinity (see Figure 1) as completely unreasonable.

The Holy Trinity

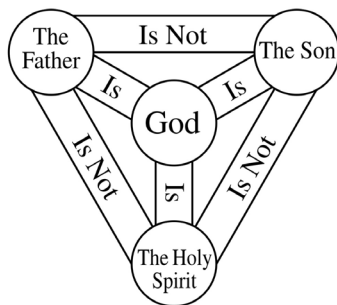


Figure 1⁶⁶

In a letter to John Adams, his old political rival and later friend, he criticized the notion of the Trinity, writing “It is too late in the day for men of sincerity to pretend they believe the Platonic mysticisms that three are one and one is three; and yet one is not three, and the three are not one...”⁶⁷ He then furthered his frustration over Trinitarianism in writing to James Smith, calling the Trinity, “the hocus pocus phantasm of a God like another Cerberus, with one body and three heads...”⁶⁸

Such an abhorrence to the Trinity was the one core belief of Unitarianism. Coupled with his obsession with a more rationalist and primal Christianity, this confirms Jefferson’s Unitarian faith. Jefferson’s being a Unitarian further shows his faith as liberal, complex, and personal. Unitarianism would continue to shape his views and, therefore, the country he fathered.

Jefferson the Deist

Perhaps Thomas Jefferson’s most famous religious belief was his Christian Deism. Deism became widespread in eighteenth century America.⁶⁹ Drawing on work from philosophers and scientists, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Isaac Newton, and John Locke, the new belief “argued that human experience and rationality—rather than religious dogma and mystery—determine the validity of human beliefs.”⁷⁰ It praised the so called “Nature’s God” who was merely a creator and kept a hands-off approach in dealing with the world.⁷¹ Deism counted among its followers many of the Founders of the United States, such as George Washington,

Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and James Madison.⁷² Because of its flourishing at American colleges, Deism attracted educated men in America and became the choice religion of the elite.⁷³ Like Jefferson and his Antifederalists, many Deists also believed in universal education, freedom of the press, and the separation of Church and State.⁷⁴

Jefferson, of course, had his own unique views as a Deist. According to historian Joseph Ellis, Jefferson “would have described himself as a Deist who admired the ethical teachings of Jesus as a man rather than as the son of God (In modern-day parlance, he was a secular humanist).”⁷⁵ Jefferson himself said in a letter to Benjamin Rush, “I am a Christian, in the only sense he wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; & believing he never claimed any other” [Italics mine].⁷⁶ Jefferson had an incredible, devout admiration for Jesus Christ and his teachings, but he drew the line at his divinity.

Jefferson, in a letter to Joseph Priestly, said of Jesus’s life, “Much was forgotten, much misunderstood, and presented in every paradoxical shape.”⁷⁷ Indeed, Jefferson believed in Jesus being a mortal man, and looked to “purposely omit the question of his divinity.”⁷⁸ Jefferson, instead, saw Jesus as a Deist reformer who saw the Jewish faith and state in shambles.⁷⁹ He saw Jesus as someone “who, sensible of incorrectness of their [The Jews’] ideas of the Deity, and of morality, endeavored to bring them to the principles of a pure Deism, and notions of the attributes of God, to reform their moral doctrines to the standard of reason, justice and philanthropy, and to inculcate the belief of a future state.”⁸⁰ Jesus was, in Jefferson’s view, only a liberal philosopher who tried to change the ways of the ancient Jews. Only after his works came to fame was his life story distorted to make him seem divine.

This view of Jesus as philosopher rather than son of God offered Jefferson a unique view on approaching Christian faith. He wrote to Peter Carr, “Read the Bible, then, as you would read Livy or Tacitus. The facts which are within the ordinary course of nature, you will believe on the authority of the writer... But those facts in the Bible which contradict the laws of nature, must be examined with more care, and under a variety of faces. Here you must recur to the pretensions of the writer to inspiration from God.”⁸¹ Even with these views, which some Christian sects would deem heretical, Jefferson adored Jesus the philosopher. Jefferson described Christ as “a master workman” with his system of morality being “the most benevolent and sublime probably that has been ever taught, and consequently more perfect than those of any of the ancient philosophers.”⁸² He loved Jesus’s teachings so much that he invested huge amounts of time studying his Bible in Monticello, scoring over it with a razor blade, and eventually producing *The Jefferson Bible: The Life and*



Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, which provided a complete record of Jesus's life and teachings, omitting any trace of his divinity.⁸³

Jefferson saw Deism as a way to get back to the more primitive and simple Christianity. He strove for simplified morality, without the burden of mystery and complexity placed upon it by ivory tower scholastics and theologians.⁸⁴ He also saw parallels in the corruption of pure Christianity to the Old World corruption of liberty that the Colonies were fighting against in the Revolution.⁸⁵ This central and simple Christian morality was incredibly important to him, for it allowed him to link the greater Christian faith to other religions.

Central to Jefferson's Deist, and subsequently Unitarian, beliefs was the notion that all religions followed a central truth, or morality, which could be uncovered through reason. Jefferson thought that such educated dialogue could lead to reconciliation of different faiths, writing, "I very much suspect that if thinking men would have the courage to think for themselves, and to speak what they think, it would be found they do not differ in religious opinions as much as supposed."⁸⁶ Jefferson was more interested in the similarities of religions, than their seemingly vast differences, concerning himself with, in his own words, the "moral branch of religion, which is the same in all religions"⁸⁷ He even went so far to say that anyone who adhered to the core morality of all religions would find heaven's gates welcoming him, no matter what particular religion he belonged to.⁸⁸ That being said, Jefferson's so called Universal Religion, though holding the same moral core, revolved around man's recognition of his Creator and "of his sustaining power through observation of creation."⁸⁹

The universal religious truths Jefferson studied convinced him to fight for his long standing reforms, for he did not see people of other faiths as enemies or heathens, but rather fellow pilgrims on a path to truth. Their particular path may be drastically different than his, but they all led to the same goal of attaining truth and living by basic morals. But where did this inner religious, reasonable morality come from? To Jefferson, the God-given morality of the common man lay at the core of any faith.

Jefferson on Common Morality

Jefferson believed that all mankind had the ability to be moral. In this, he resoundingly rejected the Old Faith doctrine that taught that morality flowed from religion. He wrote to Peter Carr that "man was destined for society. His morality, therefore, was to be formed to this object. He was endowed with a sense of right and wrong, merely relative to this. This sense is as much a part of his nature, as the sense of hearing, seeing, feeling; it is the true foundation of morality, and not the *Tò Kalón* truth, &c., as fanciful writers have imagined."⁹⁰ Though Jefferson did admit that individu-

als had varying degrees of morality, he maintained that the sense of morality was human nature and as human as a "leg or arm."⁹¹ He also added that morality "may be strengthened by exercise, as may any particular limb of the body."⁹²

Such a faith in human morality would lead to his greater political efforts to educate and include the common man into the new democracy, as he thought that any common man could become knowledgeable, but most importantly responsible, citizens.⁹³

Jefferson the Reformer

Despite his refined views of religion, Jefferson was no philosopher sitting high up in an ivory tower; Jefferson acted in accordance to his views, and, in doing so, pushed through major leaps in religious liberty by way of his vast political power. And, of course, he backed such reforms up with sound logic. In his Notes on the State of Virginia, Jefferson wrote, "it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."⁹⁴ Throughout his public career, he'd champion such tolerance for different faiths.

However, many in Jefferson's time did not think as he did. Many regular Americans saw no folly in the State and the Church being legally bound together. According to historian Walter Mead, "Americans had no problem defending the State's obligation to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, to encourage respect for Christian doctrine, and to assure the compliance with numerous Christian mores."⁹⁵ It would take a few independent American thinkers, with Jefferson at the forefront, to turn the tide.⁹⁶ Most notably, Jefferson and his ally, James Madison, argued against the taxing of non-Christians in order to support the state-sponsored Anglican Church.⁹⁷ Jefferson would, therefore, begin his crusade in his own state of Virginia.

The Colony of Virginia had long been a place of gross religious persecution. It had imposed laws forcing all inhabitants to attend Anglican public worship and arrested Baptist ministers after the sect swelled in ranks in the colony.⁹⁸ Mobs of Anglican Virginians were also known to storm into the prayer meetings of their Baptist brethren and beat them.⁹⁹ Jefferson saw such events as a direct effect of religious influence within the Virginian government. He sought to cut out this cancer with his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

Thomas Jefferson's movement was met with wide support, as Virginia had gone through a massive religious evolution during the American Revolution, making the majority of its citizens members of a myriad of non-Anglican sects.¹⁰⁰ Many of these people were angry that they had to pay taxes to support a minority religion, and, as Jefferson writes in his autobiography, "the first republican legislature, which met in '76, was crowded with petitions to abolish this spiritual tyranny."¹⁰¹



Despite the popular support, Jefferson's initiative did face push back. Jefferson himself observed that "although the majority of our citizens were dissenters... a majority of the legislature were [Anglican] churchmen."¹⁰² Though Jefferson had swayed the populace of Virginia to his side, the Anglican elite, who were in power, still needed hard convincing. After seven years of haggling, though, Jefferson pushed the Statute through in 1786 "with some minor mutilations to the preamble," according to Jefferson.¹⁰³ The revolutionary legislation took "within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and Gentile, the Christian and Mohometan [Muslim], the Hindoo [sic], and Infidel of every denomination."¹⁰⁴ The legislation that declared "that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions" was a huge hit internationally, being "received with infinite approbation in Europe," according to Jefferson in a letter to James Madison.¹⁰⁵ Jefferson's crusade for reason, however, did not stop in the early years of the United States. He would continue to guide the nation in lasting leaps of religious freedom.

Jefferson's Antifederalists were the force behind the enacting of the Bill of Rights and the limiting of federal powers.¹⁰⁶ They believed, and believed well after they coalesced into Democratic Republicans, that the best government was the one that governed least.¹⁰⁷ So naturally, such a hands off approach to governing extended to dealing with religions. Therefore, the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed separation between Church and State, became one of the cornerstones of the Bill of Rights.¹⁰⁸

The motives behind the First Amendment were simple: the deistic Virginians wanted to remove any chance of a religious threat that could corrupt the purity and freedom of the State.¹⁰⁹ They asserted that this staying out of religion would ultimately preserve the faith, protect smaller sects from persecution, and assure that corruption was checked.¹¹⁰ Such reasoning echoed Jefferson's philosophical elaborations earlier; and rightly so, Jefferson was at the helm of the Antifederalist movement. The Bill of Rights were eventually ratified in 1791, just five years after Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. Jefferson, however, did not stop there in his mission to cut out religious influence from government.

In the early days of the Republic, it was not uncommon for a president to proclaim national days of thanksgiving, fasting, or mourning.¹¹¹ George Washington proclaimed a National Day of Thanksgiving in early October, 1789.¹¹² Even before that, throughout the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress declared multiple days of prayer for the cause of freedom.¹¹³ Jefferson, however, staunchly stood by his beliefs, saying "I do not proclaim National fasting or thanksgivings, as my predecessors did."¹¹⁴ Thus, even in the smallest of ways, Thomas Jefferson kept to his beliefs in separating Church and State.

Thomas Jefferson also sought to remove what he saw as negative religious influence on education. In his time, all the major colleges in America were seminaries, training the future of Christian ministry, for their respective denominations.¹¹⁵ This clerical vision is what the University of Virginia, Jefferson's final legacy, completely disavowed.¹¹⁶ Jefferson even went to the extreme: prohibiting the teaching of theology at the University altogether.¹¹⁷ However, it is important to note that this does not mean that Jefferson was against religion, he just believed that it had no place in a modern university, which should focus on the natural philosophies.¹¹⁸ It was the same logic he used in keeping religion out of the Republic: religion can be good and should be kept free, but it can corrupt some institutions.

Thomas Jefferson had an extensive career in public service, one which he used to create change that would ring throughout the ages. His actions concerning religion were a direct result of his fascination of religion and his own beliefs. If he was not the forward thinker that he was, being a lover of reason yet someone who respected faith immensely, the reforms he formulated could have never seen the light of day. It was because he was an Anglican, a rationalist, a Unitarian, a Deist, a believer in common morality that he was a reformer. His reforms were, in short, a direct consequence of his complex personal religious beliefs.

Conclusion

Thomas Jefferson, like any major historical figure, had his complexities. Jefferson was a product of two worlds: the traditional Christianity of his forebears and the new rationalist movement of the Enlightenment. An incredible thinker, he had a complex set of beliefs incorporating his Anglican roots, rationalism, Unitarianism, and Deism. And an ardent believer in the republican system, he was very much a believer in common morality. Though his writings on religion are extensive and enduring, his actions shaped American political and religious thought the most. There is no amount of letters, Bibles, or books Jefferson could write that'd match the grandeur of his reforms. His faith was a balance between rationalism and conservatism, and he spearheaded massive religious and civil reform because of it.

Through his efforts, America, in a sense, began to mirror Jefferson's own views. Though religion is very much a part of American life, it is neither strangling nor coerced.¹¹⁹ America, like Jefferson, is often stuck between religious conservatism and more secular rationalist beliefs. And this balanced culture is a direct result of Jefferson's work. Without his pushing for the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom and the First Amendment, the country may never have gained the enshrined right to freedom of religion. Without this right, ideas could not be exchanged as freely, and faith could not be as fluid. Instead of one big, Ameri-



can Church, the United States has many diverse sects who all complement each other by pushing their peers closer towards reason. In the United States, belief is truly between man and his Creator. Those beliefs are not pressured by imposing Churches or an overreaching government. Though his views took years to ferment and his reforms took decades to become reality, Jefferson's grand religious experiment has largely been a success. And though not everything can be attributed to him, as Jefferson himself said "I have been the instrument of doing the following things [reforms]; but they would have been done by others; some of them, perhaps, a little better," he certainly got the ball rolling.¹²⁰ Thomas Jefferson was the spark that started an American religious revolution.

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A Fatal Compromise

Subtitle—How John F. Kennedy’s Hawkish Rhetoric and Intragovernmental Discord Condemned the Bay of Pigs Invasion to Failure

Author—Alex Czarnecki ‘17

Section—Research Papers

Winner of the 2016 Monaco American History Prize

Introduction

On April 21, 1961, one day after the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion, John F. Kennedy conceded to reporters at a press conference, “There’s an old saying that victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan. . . I am the responsible officer of this government, and that is quite obvious.”¹ On April 17, just over 1200 Cuban exiles, trained, armed, and funded by the CIA, beached their craft at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba.² Three days later, the entire counter-revolutionary force surrendered to Fidel Castro, and over one hundred exiles were killed.³ Only ninety days into his presidency, Kennedy assumed complete responsibility for this foreign policy fiasco, humiliating the United States Government at home and abroad. One day after Kennedy’s apology speech, C. L. Sulzberger wrote in an article titled “And Nothing Fails Like Failure” in the *New York Times*, “We look like fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies, and incompetents to the rest.”⁴ Arthur Schlesinger, Kennedy’s Special Assistant, reflected in his journal, “We not only look like imperialists; we look like ineffectual imperialists, which is worse; and we look like stupid, ineffectual imperialists, which is worst of all.”⁵ Americans wondered how such a disastrous plan had been devised and implemented by their own government.

Although the Bay of Pigs Invasion failed in its attempt to overthrow Castro’s regime, the plan wasn’t an irrational and senseless catastrophe perpetrated by the Kennedy Administration. After inheriting the Cuban Invasion Plan from the Eisenhower Administration, Kennedy was compelled to carry out the scheme due to strident anti-Castro rhetoric during his presidential campaign in 1960, mounting threats from Cuba, and uncertainties about the dissolution of the trained Cuban exiles. At the same time, the president understood the ominous global ramifications of invading a sovereign state without due cause. Torn between the CIA’s escalating unease about Castro’s political leanings and the State Department’s fears of international consequences, Kennedy chose a calamitous middle ground. In his quest to oust Fidel Castro while maintaining plausible deniability, Kennedy ultimately achieved neither objective.

Background

Rise of Castro

In the beginning of 1952, Cuba was a poor but nascent republic governed by constitutional law, a congress, and democratically elected President Carlos Prío

Socarrás.⁶ Chaos slowly unfolded after former president General Fulgencio Batista, doubting his chances of achieving the presidency again democratically, staged a military coup d’état and overthrew Socarrás on March 10, 1952.⁷ This unlawful seizure of power prompted Fidel Castro, a fiery young Cuban nationalist, to form “The Movement,” a clandestine association intent on undermining and ousting the right-wing dictator.⁸ On July 26, 1953, Castro and 165 other members of “The Movement” boldly attacked the Moncada barracks outside of Santiago de Cuba with the intention of sparking a nationwide revolt against Batista.⁹ The rebels, countered by unexpectedly strong resistance from the garrison, were swiftly captured or killed, and Castro was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.¹⁰

Castro’s trial, in which he delivered his famous “History Will Absolve Me” speech, drew enormous publicity, and his reputation thus transformed from a violent extremist to a political revolutionary with popular support.¹¹ During his time in prison, “The Movement” was renamed “26th of July Movement” (MR-26-7), and thousands of copies of his eminent trial speech, which would eventually become Castro’s manifesto, were printed and delivered across Cuba.¹² After holding a fraudulent presidential election in 1954, Batista believed that granting amnesty to the Moncada prisoners would turn public opinion in his favor, and on May 15, 1955, all of the Moncada prisoners, including Castro, were released, a reasonable decision which eventually proved disastrous for Batista.¹³

Another period of repression induced by violent student demonstrations and sabotage prompted Castro to flee to Mexico City, where he and other loyal members of MR-26-7 devised a plan to overthrow Batista’s authoritarian regime.¹⁴ On December 2, 1955, Castro and 81 revolutionaries landed at Playa Las Coloradas, and the Cuban Revolution thus began.¹⁵ As Castro’s Rebel Army rapidly increased its numbers, and as MR-26-7 members bombed and sabotaged Batista’s strongholds, the dictator’s support and legitimacy waned.¹⁶ On January 1, 1959, the Rebel Army took power.¹⁷

U.S. Concerns and Initial Response

At the onset of the Cuban Revolution, popular sympathy for Castro within the United States emerged, with democracy-loving Americans despising Batista’s despotic regime¹⁸ and cheering on the “romantic freedom fighters.”¹⁹ Many journalists even traveled to Cuba, eager to interview the young revolutionary.²⁰



Characterizing him as a “creature of his own country,” journalist Herbert Matthews declared him “the greatest hero their history has ever known,” allaying concerns about his political leanings by illustrating that “Neither the Batista regime nor the United States Embassy in Havana was ever able to present proof that Fidel personally had been a communist.”²¹ While the American populace cheered on Castro, the United States Government was severely conflicted about how to deal with the Cuban Revolution. American officials were horrified by Batista’s censorship, murder, and torture, practices categorically incompatible with democratic values.²² On the opposing end, fears that Castro, whose political views were nebulous, might drift towards communism made it impossible for the United States Government to support the rebels.²³ National interests were also at play, as Batista had been particularly amiable to the United States.²⁴

Although Batista was a “son of a bitch,” the Senior Caribbean Desk Officer in the State Department remarked, “at least he is our son of a bitch.”²⁵ As Castro’s power, legitimacy, support, and numbers grew, the United States began to provide weaponry, money, and fuel to Batista’s regime, inciting Fidel’s brother Raul to start kidnapping and imprisoning Americans in Cuba.²⁶ The American public, which for a few years had voiced strong support for Castro, quickly turned against him.²⁷ In a Gallup poll conducted in the midst of the mass kidnapping, only four percent of Americans gave Castro a positive rating, with eighty percent holding an unfavorable view of him.²⁸ As Batista’s power declined, the Eisenhower Administration sent General Eulogio Cantillo, a former top general of the dictator, to assume power in Cuba.²⁹ Cantillo swiftly took over Batista’s floundering government, only to be arrested by MR-27-6 a few days later.³⁰

Economic Divisions

Once Castro arose to power, the chasm between Cuba and the United States rapidly expanded. On February 13, 1960, Castro signed a trade agreement with Anastas Mikoyan, the First Deputy Premier under Nikita Khrushchev, by which the Soviets would buy from Cuba five million tons of sugar over five years³¹ and provide a \$100 million low-interest loan.³² Implicit in this agreement was the assumption that further trade between the two countries would continue, and the alliance the United States had dreaded most was beginning to take shape.³³ Four months later, Soviet cargo ships carrying oil arrived in Cuba, and Castro asked Texaco and Esso (American Oil Companies) to refine it.³⁴ When Texaco and Esso met with Eisenhower and refused, Castro nationalized all of the oil, the property of United States companies.³⁵ Obligated to protect its financial assets abroad, the United States responded by cancelling the 700,000 tons of sugar it planned on importing from Cuba, initiating a cycle of retaliation.³⁶ Castro quick-

ly hatched a deal to buy more sugar from the Soviet Union, compelling Eisenhower to strengthen existing embargoes, which then induced Castro to nationalize more United States property.³⁷ The United States and Cuba were becoming increasingly divided economically, and with Castro’s rhetoric moving further left, America’s worst fears were materializing.

Hatching a Plan

A Program of Covert Action

As hostilities with Cuba increased, J.C. King, the anti-Communist Chief of the CIA’s Western Hemisphere Division, proposed a plan on December 11, 1959, to “overthrow. . . Castro within one year” by means of a counter-revolutionary force or assassination.³⁸ King’s proposition marked a reversal from General Charles P. Cabell’s (Deputy Director of the CIA) claim a month prior that “the revolutionary government is basically non-Communist, with legitimate reform goals that deserve U.S. respect and support.”³⁹ According to Jack Pfeiffer, a renowned CIA historian, January 8, 1960 signified the “beginning of the serious anti-Castro programs by the Central Intelligence Agency.”⁴⁰ On March 17, 1960, J.C. King, Richard Bissell, and Allen Dulles, three high-profile members of the CIA, presented “A Program of Covert Action Against the Castro Regime” to President Eisenhower.⁴¹ The plan consisted of an opposition party within Cuba, anti-Castro propaganda emitted through radio, a clandestine anti-Castro intelligence force, and a paramilitary force to be deployed in the future against Castro.⁴² The plan, which would require six to eight months to develop⁴³ and cost an estimated \$46 million, was readily accepted by Eisenhower under the condition that the plan remain completely secret.⁴⁴ An astute Castro, cognizant of the United States’ recent history of implementing regime change, announced later that March to the Cuban people, “If there is an invasion, the war, they can be sure, will be to the death.”⁴⁵

The Guatemala Scenario

After Eisenhower approved the Program of Covert Action, Richard Bissell, the CIA’s Deputy Director for Plans, organized the Cuba Task Force, also known as the WH/4, a new agency which would coordinate the plan to overthrow Castro.⁴⁶ In the early stages of the plan, the “Guatemala Scenario,” designated as PBSUCCESS by the CIA,⁴⁷ was used as a template.⁴⁸ In 1954, Jacobo Arbenz, the democratically elected leader of Guatemala whose rhetoric had sounded dangerously close to Communism, was speedily toppled when Bissell ordered the Air Force to drop explosives on Guatemala City.⁴⁹ Carlos Castillo Armas, a Guatemalan military officer chosen by the CIA, quickly succeeded Arbenz.⁵⁰ Bissell surmised that Castro could be overthrown with a similar blueprint, yet his initial assessment neglected Castro’s reputation as a beloved Cuban hero, whereas Arbenz had garnered little popular support as president.⁵¹



Organizing Political Opposition and a Military Force

A military invasion of Cuba necessitated the formation of political opposition groups, as an amphibious infiltration of Cuba would succeed only if a legitimate democratic alternative to Castro's regime were installed in his place. Accordingly, Bissell and the CIA were confronted with the monumental challenge of organizing thousands of Cuban exiles (living in the United States) whose only source of unity was a shared animosity towards Castro.⁵² The Cuban Revolutionary Front (also known as the FRD), created by the CIA but named as such in an effort to masquerade the rebellion as a homegrown force, would organize the entire overthrow of Castro.⁵³ Beginning in May 1960, Howard Hunt and Gerry Droller, two of the leaders of the FRD, scoured Miami to recruit Cuban exiles for the CIA's political operation.⁵⁴

In conjunction with its political opposition program, the CIA started to enlist Cuban exiles for Brigade 2506, the counter-revolutionary force.⁵⁵ Recruits hailed from various backgrounds; many had served in Batista's army,⁵⁶ but most were passionate students, professionals, factory-workers and farmers.⁵⁷ Some enlisted in the brigade because of political views, and others had seen themselves, their family, or their friends wronged by the Castro regime.⁵⁸ Unity among the recruits appeared promising at first, but quickly began to fray at the seams. Former soldiers, suspected by the students as being too loyal to Batista, accused the students themselves of being Communists allegiant to Castro.⁵⁹ As Bissell, Hunt, and Droller struggled to consolidate the brigade, the CIA supplied weapons, administered lie detector and IQ tests in order to ensure the recruits' allegiance and capabilities, and taught the enlistees how to engage in guerrilla warfare, operate radios, and decode ciphers.⁶⁰

Although the CIA dictated most of the operation, the Pentagon assisted by lending camps, aircraft, personnel, and ships.⁶¹ After being trained for two months in Panama,⁶² the recruits were covertly translocated to a military base in Retalhuleu, a small city in southwestern Guatemala, made possible thanks to the overthrow of democratically elected Jacobo Arbenz and the installment of Carlos Castillo Armas, a CIA-backed dictator cordial with the United States.⁶³ As Castro's policies and rhetoric drifted further towards communism, the increasing diaspora of Cuban exiles in Florida augmented the numbers of Brigade 2506.⁶⁴

Widening the Scope of the Operation

In the final months of Eisenhower's second term, as the 1960 presidential election drew closer, Castro, disconcerted by progressively militant rhetoric towards Cuba by both Kennedy and Nixon, feared a pre-election attack by the United States.⁶⁵ Raul Roa Garcia, Cuba's Foreign minister, openly indicated awareness of "mercenaries and revolutionaries" sta-

tioned in southwestern Guatemala,⁶⁶ and on October 27, 1960, twelve days before the election, Castro stationed sentinels across the entire southern coast of Cuba.⁶⁷ Although the United States was far from executing an attack on Cuba, the month of October signified a marked and nearly indelible upscaling of the operation. The CIA, perceiving the scantiness and ineptitude of the Cuban underground forces (into which the Cuban exiles were to be interpolated), recognized that an infiltration scheme would almost certainly fail;⁶⁸ it was becoming increasingly axiomatic that a few hundred paramilitary counter-revolutionaries wouldn't provide a spark capable of initiating an internal uprising against Castro.⁶⁹ Bissell realized that in order to "produce a psychological effect sufficient to precipitate general uprisings or widespread revolt among disaffected elements of Castro's armed forces. . . shock action" was imperative.⁷⁰

With the guerrilla plan scrapped, the CIA shifted the focus of the mission "to seize and defend lodgement in target by amphibious and airborne assault," and the infiltration operation summarily morphed into an invasion.⁷¹ In October, 1960, Major Harry Aderholt of the CIA approached Brigadier General George Reid Doster, commander of the Alabama Air National Guard, asking him if he would be willing to lend his 117th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing in an effort to oust Fidel Castro.⁷² Ideal candidates for the operation, the 117th Wing's members were adroit at flying B-26 bombers. Doster responded gaily, "Mister, you've got yourself an air force."⁷³

JFK's Campaign Promises and Inheritance Political Constraints

"Communist influence has penetrated into Asia, it stands in the Middle East, and now festers some ninety miles off the coast of Florida," Kennedy proclaimed on July 15, 1960, in his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention.⁷⁴ The mounting menace of communism would function as a keystone of Kennedy's campaign. Partly born of personal apprehension but mostly derived from political acumen, this rhetoric was repeatedly stressed by Kennedy, who understood that any detected trace of indifference towards Cuba could paint him as a Communist sympathizer and spoil his chances of reaching the presidency. Defeating Richard Nixon, a fervent anti-Communist, required Kennedy to surpass him as an anti-Communist, an arduous task that called for political outmaneuvering.

Just over a month before the election, Kennedy, during a speech in Cincinnati, assailed Eisenhower for "the most glaring failure of American foreign policy today," blaming his and Nixon's "neglect and indifference" for enabling Cuba to "slip behind the Iron Curtain."⁷⁵ According to Kennedy, Nixon "could not see then what should have been obvious--and which should have been even more obvious when he made his ill-fated Latin American trip in 1958--that unless the Cuban people,



with our help, made substantial economic progress, trouble was on its way.”⁷⁶ Inculcating Nixon for the rise of Castro’s increasingly Communist regime, Kennedy promised not to “repeat past errors” and pledged to encourage “those liberty-loving Cubans who are leading the resistance to Castro.”⁷⁷

On October 20, 1960, John F. Kennedy issued a statement condemning the Eisenhower and Nixon Administration’s embargo on Cuba as “too little too late, a dramatic but almost empty gesture,” scolding Nixon for his “blunder, inaction, retreat, and failure. . . ignoring the repeated warning of our Ambassador that the Communists were about to take over Cuba.”⁷⁸ The statement closed with a declaration of the necessity to “strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government.”⁷⁹ Stupefied by how Kennedy had proposed exactly what he, Eisenhower, and the CIA had been planning for months, Nixon wrote, “Now the question was, did John Kennedy know of the existence of the project?”⁸⁰ Later that day, Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton reported to Nixon that Allen Dulles had divulged the entire outline of the Cuban Invasion plan to Kennedy on July 23, 1960.⁸¹ In *Six Crises*, Nixon wrote:

For the first and only time in the campaign, I got mad at Kennedy-personally. . . Kennedy was now publicly advocating what was already the policy of the American Government--covertly--and Kennedy had been so informed. But by stating such a position publicly, he obviously stood to gain the support of all those who wanted a stronger policy against Castro but who, of course, did not know of our covert programs already under way.⁸²

Kennedy’s campaign promises and hard stance on Cuba, despite aiding his ascent to the Presidency, constrained his future actions and political decisions. Kennedy’s foreign policy intentions concerning Cuba declared, the public fully expected him to pursue his defined goals if elected. Softening his stance on Cuba would jeopardize his chances at reelection in 1964, thereby preventing him from walking back on his adamant promises as president. Kennedy’s hawkish rhetoric towards Cuba during election year would eventually haunt and restrain him as the Bay of Pigs Invasion loomed on the horizon.

Strike Force

Ten days after scarcely defeating Nixon in the 1960 presidential election, Kennedy met with Allen Dulles and Richard Bissell to discuss the state of the invasion stratagem.⁸³ The two CIA dignitaries explained to the youthful president-elect that the paramilitary infil-

tration plan had been scrapped in favor of “strike force,” a plot designed to create the “shock action” necessary to topple Castro.⁸⁴ Later that month, Eisenhower, unbeknownst to Kennedy, proposed increasing the number of invasion troops to two-thousand, asking, “Are we being sufficiently imaginative and bold, subject to not letting our hand appear?”⁸⁵ Eisenhower, a former five-star general, perceived that merely half-a-thousand troops could not feasibly defeat an army of twenty-five thousand Cuban soldiers, yet simultaneously emphasized a commitment to obscuring American involvement and maintaining plausible deniability.

“A Grenade with the Pin Pulled”

On January 2, 1961, Castro commanded the entire staff of the U.S. embassy in Havana to leave within forty-eight hours, justifying his actions by alleging, “ninety percent of functionaries are spies anyway.”⁸⁶ Eisenhower promptly informed Castro that the United States Government had chosen to sever diplomatic relations completely with Cuba,⁸⁷ and subsequently ordered all members of the Cuban Embassy in Washington to depart “as soon as possible.”⁸⁸ The president convened with bigwigs from the CIA, Department of Defense, State, and Treasury, asserting that the United States “should not tolerate being kicked around” by Cuba.⁸⁹ During the meeting, Eisenhower and his advisers considered creating a false flag attack on Guantanamo, an incursion which could justify an invasion of Cuba by U.S. troops.⁹⁰ After Eisenhower ordered his councilors to augment the number of recruits, his chief of staff, General Andrew Goodpaster, warned the president that the plan was snowballing into an operation that would become nearly impossible to forestall by the next president.⁹¹ Goodpaster’s prophetic admonition was quickly discounted by Eisenhower, who assured him that Brigade 2506 would simply function as an “asset” to Kennedy.⁹²

One day after Eisenhower chose to cut diplomatic relations with Cuba, Jack Hawkins, a United States Marines Corps Colonel charged with training and commanding the Cuban exiles in Guatemala, informed the Eisenhower administration of the objectives of the strike force.⁹³ After a tactical air preparation would “destroy or neutralize all Cuban military aircraft and naval vessels constitution a threat to the invasion force,” the brigade would “survive and maintain its integrity on Cuban soil.”⁹⁴ Accordingly, the purpose of the invasion force would be not to overrun the entire country, but to capture and maintain a beachhead.⁹⁵ If the brigade could “maintain its integrity,” internal revolts or patent military aid would unseat Castro.⁹⁶ In a warning that presaged precisely what would transpire in April, Hawkins wrote:

The question has been raised in some quarter as to whether amphibious/airborne opera-



tion could not be mounted without tactical air preparation or support or with minimal air support. It is axiomatic in amphibious operations that control of air and sea in the objective area is absolutely required. . . If this is not done, we will be courting disaster.⁹⁷

On the day of Kennedy's inauguration, Eisenhower spoke with Kennedy about a clandestine matter, later revealed to have been recent developments in the "Program of Covert Action."⁹⁸ Chet Huntley, NBC's news anchor, proclaimed to his audience, "It would be a most delightful thing to have a microphone between former president Eisenhower and President John F. Kennedy."⁹⁹ William Bundy, assistant secretary at the Department of Defense, characterized the situation as "A grenade, with the pin pulled."¹⁰⁰

A Doomed Invasion

Operation Trinidad

Eight days after Kennedy assumed the presidency, Allen Dulles outlined the expectations and impetus for the Program of Covert Action.¹⁰¹ The invading force would attempt to secure a beachhead for at least two weeks, after which U.S. and Latin American forces would occupy the island; the success of these two objectives would almost certainly bring about the downfall of Castro's regime.¹⁰² Characterizing the situation in Cuba as now or never, Dulles demonstrated that Castro was consolidating his grip on Cuba, and would soon begin to receive weapons from the Soviets.¹⁰³ More distressing was the Pentagon's prediction that the USSR would soon send Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21's, supersonic jet fighter aircrafts, to Castro, a shipment which would convert Cuba's ragtag air force into a world-class fleet.¹⁰⁴ With the rainy season in Cuba beginning in April, during which an operation would be far more challenging to execute, time was of the essence.¹⁰⁵ On January 31, Bissell and the Joint Chiefs laid out a template of an invasion plan titled Operation Trinidad.¹⁰⁶ The plan stipulated a daytime landing of the invasion force near the city of Trinidad, located in southern Cuba, concluding that the chance of success was "fair," and surmising, "even if it does not achieve immediately the full results desired, [the operation] could contribute to the eventual overthrow of the Castro regime."¹⁰⁷ Although the plan depended on local support or external assistance, the report struck a positive tone.¹⁰⁸

Internal Conflict

As the plan gained momentum, the CIA and the State Department bifurcated: While the former remained fervid and optimistic about the invasion, the latter feared political repercussions in Latin America, Europe, and the United Nations. Bissell, the primary benefactor of the operation, reiterated many of the generic and well-known arguments in favor of invasion,

pointing out that if the United States did not make a concerted attempt to oust Castro, he would remain in power for a substantial period of time, allowing Cuba to "provide an effective and solidly defended base for Soviet operations and expansion of influence in the Western Hemisphere."¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Bissell contended that although the military capabilities of Cuba in the present were slim, Cuba's importation of Soviet armaments in the coming months would tremendously increase the competence of Cuba's military, a development which would render it "militarily infeasible to overthrow the Castro regime."¹¹⁰ The window within which a military operation could be successfully conducted against Castro, Bissell argued, was shrinking rapidly. Bissell's third line of argument centered upon the aftermath of the dissolution of the Cuban exiles. If the members of the brigade were not used, Bissell explained, they would have to be released into the population, free to vent their grievances to other citizens and the press.¹¹¹ The Cuban exiles, argued Bissell, "will be angry, disillusioned, and aggressive with the inevitable result that they will provide honey for the press bees and the U.S. will have to face the resulting indignities and embarrassments."¹¹² Bissell thus crafted a strong case that a military operation against Cuba was not merely advantageous, but imperative, and his shrewd warning about dissolution could not readily be dismissed or ignored.

Members of the State Department fiercely opposed the CIA's rationale. In advance of a White House meeting about the CIA's plan, McGeorge Bundy, the United States National Security Advisor to Kennedy, wrote, "State Department takes a much cooler view [than the CIA], primarily because of its belief that the political consequences would be very grave both in the United Nations and in Latin America," closing with a suggestion "that there should certainly not be an invasion adventure."¹¹³ Arthur Schlesinger, Kennedy's Special Assistant and future confidante, advised against the invasion plan:

However well disguised any action might be, it will be ascribed to the United States. . . The result would be a wave of massive protest, agitation and sabotage throughout Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. . . At one stroke, it would dissipate all the good will which has been rising toward the new Administration through the world.¹¹⁴

Thomas Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American affairs, concluded that less than two-thousand soldiers wouldn't feasibly trigger a mass uprising, Cuba did not represent an immediate threat to American national security, Latin American countries would oppose the operation, and such an invasion would violate the charter of the United Nations.¹¹⁵

Kennedy assessed both ends of the spectrum: On



one hand, he recognized that invading Cuba, a sovereign state, without due cause could induce the Soviets to retaliate by sequestering West Berlin (by closing access through East Germany), as well as worsen relations with Latin American countries.¹¹⁶ Kennedy had assumed the presidency with the intention of bolstering economic bonds with Latin America through the Alliance for Progress; an invasion could categorically ruin the Alliance and signal to Latin American countries the restoration of the reviled gunboat diplomacy of Teddy Roosevelt.¹¹⁷ On the opposing end, no easy answer to the dissolution question had been posited, and it appeared probable that Cuba's weapon arsenal would soon rapidly expand if action were not taken. Furthermore, Kennedy's strident and opportunistic anti-Castro rhetoric during election year, advantageous at the time, had backed him into a corner. In the ensuing weeks, Kennedy would seek to reconcile this dilemma, ultimately settling upon a precarious middle ground.

High Tide of the Invasion Plan

On March 11, Bissell presented the state and expectations of a more developed Operation Trinidad to the president, explaining that the counter-revolutionary force consisted of 850 soldiers and counting, 30 planes, and 12 naval vessels.¹¹⁸ Arguing that morale would surely decline if the operation continued to be protracted, he emphasized the necessity to invade soon.¹¹⁹ Tracy Barnes, the CIA's Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, in a concerted effort to assuage the president's concerns, explained that airstrikes would be confined to "specific targets," assuring Kennedy that Operation Trinidad was "NOT a U.S. Operation."¹²⁰ An amphibious assault, with the goal of causing a "demoralizing shock" to Castro, would be carried out during the early hours of the morning.¹²¹ If the counter-revolutionary force could secure a beachhead, the inserted provisional government would function as a foot in the door.¹²² Provided that the brigade held tight for long enough, Bissell presumed that Cuban natives might join the invasion force and create a genuine insurgency against Castro.¹²³

Most appealing about the operation was the escape plan; if the invasion didn't succeed, the Cuban exiles could hide in the Escambray Mountains.¹²⁴ There, the counter-revolutionary force could pester Castro and exert "continuing pressure on the regime,"¹²⁵ effectively ensuring that the chances of total failure were minuscule. Immediately after Bissell presented his plan, Kennedy interjected, "Too spectacular. It sounds like D-Day. You have to reduce the noise level of this thing."¹²⁶ Naturally, Kennedy sought to disguise American involvement, yet doing so meant drastically diminishing any substantial chance of toppling Castro. Kennedy failed to recognize that reducing the noise meant reducing the shock, which functioned as the keystone of the plan.

Bay of Pigs

Sent back to the drawing board, Bissell and his team perused the Cuban coast for a less noisy landing befitting with an airstrip long enough for a B-26.¹²⁷ The planners settled upon Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs), a bay southeast of Havana, ideal due to its sandy beaches (optimal for amphibious landings), small population (less public), and virtually impenetrable swamp, which would serve to hinder Castro's advance and buy time and space for the exiles to establish a provisional government.¹²⁸ Despite the location's assets, the most glaring pitfall with the Bay of Pigs lay in its inaccessibility to the Escambray Mountains.¹²⁹ The counter-revolutionary force could not feasibly retreat to the mountain range, and thus the escape hatch was eliminated. Additionally, while the small population of the location satisfied Kennedy's wish for a reduction in noise, it spoiled any chances of a popular uprising; not enough people lived near the Bay of Pigs for any sizeable insurrection to take place.¹³⁰

Snowballing toward Disaster

Bissell presented the newly constructed plan (known as Operation Zapata) to Kennedy, who denounced the dawn landing as too conspicuous and expressed desire for an even smaller invasion force.¹³¹ Kennedy's wish for an "inside guerilla-type operation," irreconcilable with the CIA's strike force plan, confounded Bissell and Dulles, who hastily conjured up another scheme per the president's wishes on the same day.¹³² In the new ploy, the landing would take place at night, despite Bissell's prior warnings about the difficulties and impractical nature of landings before dawn.¹³³ Kennedy tentatively accepted Bissell's new invasion plan for April 17, although he still questioned the necessity of airstrikes,¹³⁴ undeterred by Hawkins' earlier admonition that "control of air and sea in the objective area is absolutely required."¹³⁵ Castro, upon learning from a Russian diplomat about a forthcoming invasion on his soil,¹³⁶ summarily begin arresting and executing suspected separatists.¹³⁷ On April 6, Kennedy convened another meeting with his advisers from the CIA.¹³⁸ Sensing that the president remained hesitant about the plan, Bissell explained that April 14 was the deadline to call off airstrikes, and April 16 was the last date on which he could terminate the landing.¹³⁹ General Alfred Gray wrote of Kennedy's disposition that day, "the President indicated a desire to use the force but he wanted to do everything possible to make it appear to be a Cuban operation. . . the objective being to make it more plausible for US denial of association with the operation."¹⁴⁰ On April 15, Kennedy, with the airstrikes less than a day away, directed Bissell to reduce the number of aircraft in the first strike from sixteen to eight, further undermining any enduring chance of success.¹⁴¹

D-Day

On the morning of April 15, eight Douglas



B-26 bombers, their American markings removed and replaced with Cuban insignia,¹⁴² attacked three Cuban airfields.¹⁴³ Upon returning from the air strikes, the pilots claimed to have destroyed a sizeable percentage of Castro's air force.¹⁴⁴ After no air strikes were conducted on April 16 and the remainder were planned for the morning of the invasion, Kennedy called Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, and told him, "I'm not signed on to this."¹⁴⁵ These six fateful words assured the failure of the Bay of Pigs Invasion. Without another round of airstrikes, Castro's airfields would remain intact, and the amphibious counter-revolutionary force would be easily crushed.

Since assuming the presidency, Kennedy had endeavored to disguise American involvement by diminishing the noise of the operation. By the night of April 16, the first few airstrikes had alarmed Cuba, the USSR, and the United Nations, and across the globe, protesters were already gathering outside United States Embassies.¹⁴⁶ Another round of airstrikes would further exacerbate this festering clamor, and minimizing the damage appeared to Kennedy to be the most auspicious option left. On midnight, April 17, four transport ships entered the Bay of Pigs, and one of the worst disasters in United States military history ensued.¹⁴⁷ Members of the brigade, after swiftly advancing and capturing a beachhead, were slowly repulsed and cut down by a substantially larger agglomeration of Cuban soldiers and militiamen.¹⁴⁸ Pentagon and CIA officials, repeatedly entreating Kennedy to offer some U.S. military support, were all met with a resolute, "No."¹⁴⁹ By April 21, 114 members of Brigade 2506 had been killed,¹⁵⁰ and the remaining 1100 were thrown into prison.¹⁵¹

Conclusion

Unwillingly furnished with the Cuban Invasion Plan by his predecessor, John F. Kennedy quickly became entrapped in a double bind. Bellicose rhetoric during his 1960 presidential campaign, coupled with intensifying threats from Cuba and a lack of a solution to the dissolution of the Cuban exiles, impelled Kennedy to carry out the plan. Nonetheless, an unprovoked invasion of Cuba was certain to foment adverse responses in Latin America, Europe, and the United Nations. Split between the CIA's growing worries about Castro and the State Department's warnings of wide-ranging international repercussions, Kennedy attempted to compromise with a quieter and less effective invasion plan. Having aspired to topple Castro while simultaneously retaining plausible deniability, Kennedy accomplished neither goal. The consequence of his failed compromise was a prodigiously embarrassing international disaster. Not since the botched invasion of Canada in the War of 1812, confided Air Force General Lauris Norstad, had the United States endured such a humiliating military defeat.¹⁵²

Although the Bay of Pigs Invasion is unequiv-

ocally derided as a military disaster, the operation's failure may have been auspicious in comparison to a successful invasion. If the counter-revolutionary force, aided overtly by American forces, had occupied Cuba, the United States would have incontrovertibly faced backlash from Latin American countries, as well as potential retaliation from the USSR. The United States would have been disparaged as avaricious and imperialistic by the rest of the world, and Brigade 2506, without popular support, would have been incapable of retaining its hold on the country for long. When juxtaposed with the imminent aftermath of a successful invasion, international humiliation appears benign. After suffering such a humbling catastrophe, Kennedy assumed the blame, reorganized his advisers, and vowed never to repeat the same mistake.¹⁵³ Eighteen months later, when faced with the Cuban Missile Crisis, a more seasoned and judicious Kennedy navigated America through the danger and averted a full-scale nuclear war.¹⁵⁴

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Islamophobia at BH

Author-Robert Warming '17
Section-Data Analysis

Polling Conducted
April 2016

Like the previous surveys conducted by The Podium, our survey utilized 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 Islam. The Podium staff would like to thank the entire Belmont Hill community for participating in our survey.

With Diversity Day just weeks behind us, the school still seems to be buzzing with discussion of sexual, ethnic, religious, or economic differences, and how each individual fits into the broader Belmont Hill collage of a community. With the still-fresh attacks on Paris, the exodus of refugees from Syria, and Trump now the presumptive Republican nominee, there is much discussion about Islam and its fit, or lack thereof, into American life. Are these people simply the victims of a vicious misunderstanding of their faith? Should we truly fear this religion just recently thrust onto the world stage and under the scrutinous microscope of other faiths? These questions can often be hard to even ask, and the best way, as we learned on Diversity Day, to confront such touchy questions is to confront them with committed and respectful dialogue. That is what this poll looked to achieve. In this analysis, we will present only the facts, only the true views held by the community, according to the survey. By doing so, we hope to spark a dialogue leading towards understanding on both sides of the aisle.

First, the very basic facts of Islam must be established. In the world, there are an estimated 1.7 billion Muslims in the world, making up 23.4% of the world population as the second-largest religion, just behind Christianity. Though we often think of the "Muslim World" as simply the Middle East, Islam is, in fact, very much an international religion. It has significant majorities in countries in Northern Africa and Southeast Asia as well as a growing minority in Europe. Islam is a monotheistic, Abrahamic religion that sprouted from late 500s to early 600s AD Arabia under the teachings of their Prophet Muhammad. Being an Abrahamic religion, Islam shares common roots to both Christianity and Judaism. In essence, all three religions worship the same God of Abraham, yet each follow different creeds from different books. Judaism, the original Abrahamic religion, has the Torah or Old Testament, Christianity has the New

Testament, and Islam has the Qur'an. This explanation is elementary, delivered only to provide basic background on the religion.

Running from May 4th to May 8th, 2016, the poll itself consisted of fourteen statements, which the respondent would rate 1 through 5, with 1 being "Strongly Disagree," 2 being "Disagree," 3 being "No Opinion," 4 being "Agree," and 5 being "Strongly Agree." In the poll, there were seven "Pro-Muslim" statements and seven "Anti-Muslim" statements. The subjects did not know which statement was Anti- or Pro-Muslim, but the statement order was Pro-, Anti-, Pro-, Anti-, etc. The subjects themselves, consisting of students and faculty, were solely from the Belmont Hill community. A subject could only respond to the poll once. Of the 122 responses, 14 faculty, 4 I Form, 16 II Form, 21 III Form, 26 IV Form, 25 V Form, and 16 VI Form responses were recorded.

We at *The Podium* then sought to calculate a crude "Islamophobic metric" for the school. Using all recorded responses, we'd find the raw average (1-5) of each statement. We then took all the "anti" statements and subtracted their raw averages from 5, yielding an adjusted average. Finally, we took the average of all the adjusted averages to find the Islamophobia metric. The number we came up with, on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being Very Islamophobic, 0 being No Opinion, and 5 being Very Non-Islamophobic, was 2.87. This number tells us that the school community, though very slightly leaning on the Islamophobic side of things, is largely neutral in this debate.

This number, however, is a crude, big picture measurement. When looking at individual responses, the school would agree with both Anti- and Pro-Muslim statements en masse. For instance, the statement "Islam is a peaceful religion" is slightly left skewed (Figure A), showing Pro-muslim sentiment. The school also drastically disagreed with the Anti-muslim statement, "We need to stop the flow of any Muslim immigration



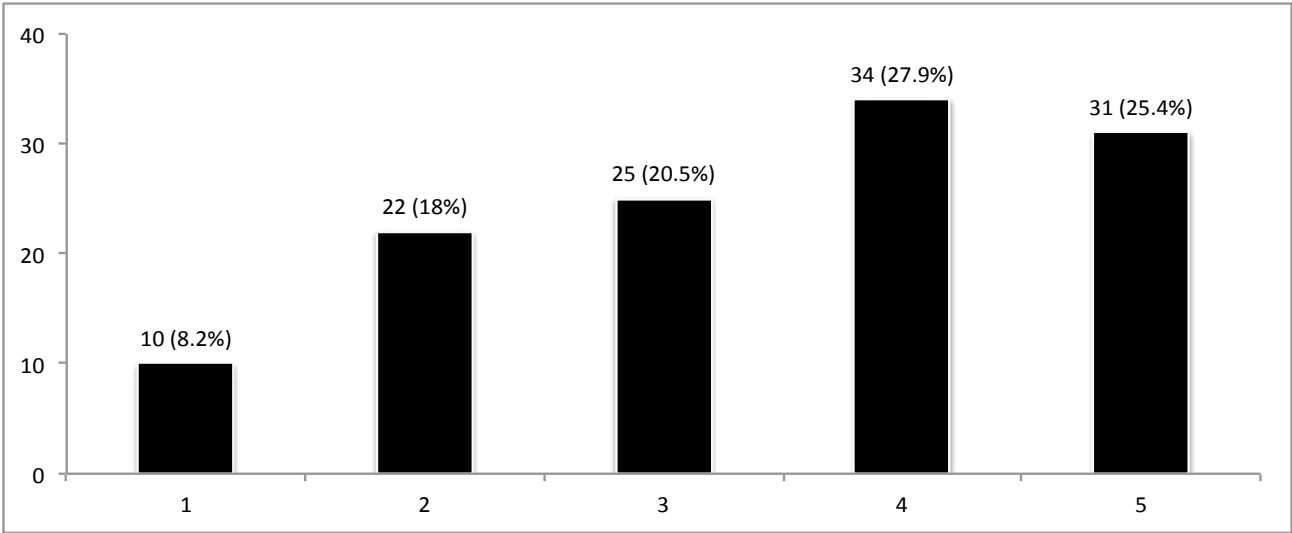
so we can figure out what’s going on within Islam” (Figure B). However, these results were somewhat balanced out by the community’s general agreeing with Anti-muslim statements like “Certain parts of the Quran can be radicalized” (Figure C) and “Pro-filing in airports can, in dangerous times, be necessary” (Figure D). These extremely different responses would, in essence, balance each other out, bringing the Islamophobia metric to center. The community also largely had no opinion with the statement “There should be a powerful, recognized Palestinian state,” having an average response of 3.07 (Figure E). This further drew the metric to the center of the scale.

We at *The Podium* hope that this will only foster more discussion on the topic of Islamophobia. We understand that this can be an incredibly sensitive and controversial topic, stirring up strong emotions on both sides. For now, at least, we have an idea of where the community stands on the subject of Islam. With respectful, school-wide dialogue, Belmont Hill will undoubtedly become a healthier community, respecting differences in religious and political views.

Data

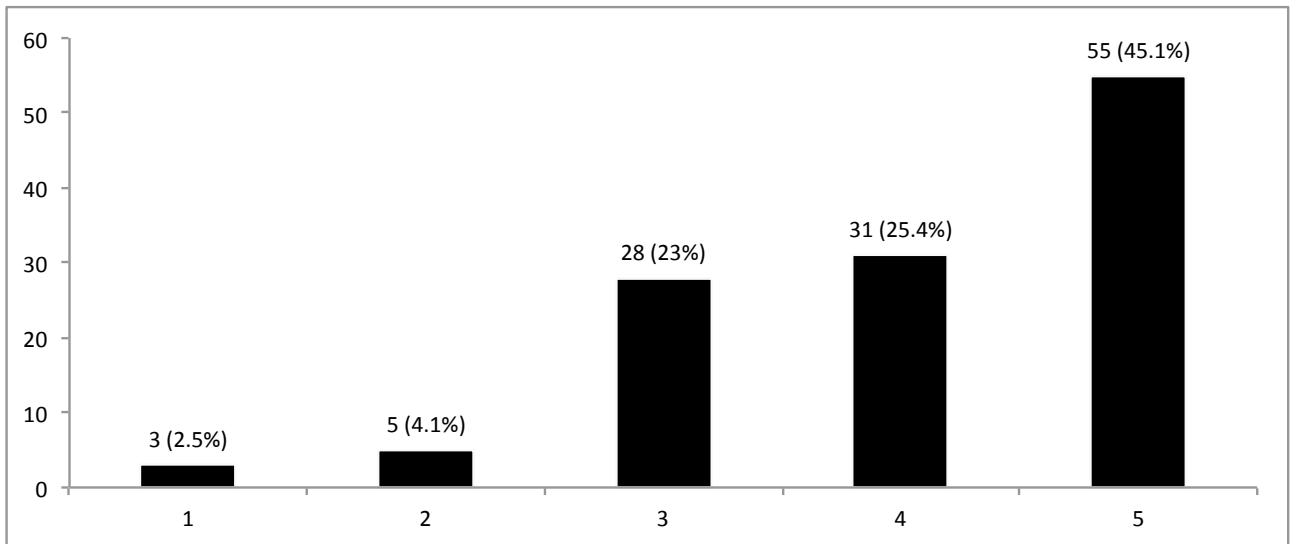
For all figures, on the x-axis, 1 stands for “Strongly Disagree,” 2 stands for “Disagree,” 3 stands for “No Opinion,” 4 stands for “Agree,” and 5 stands for “Strongly Agree.” On the y-axis, the values represent the number of respondents who agreed with the given category.

A Islam is a peaceful religion.

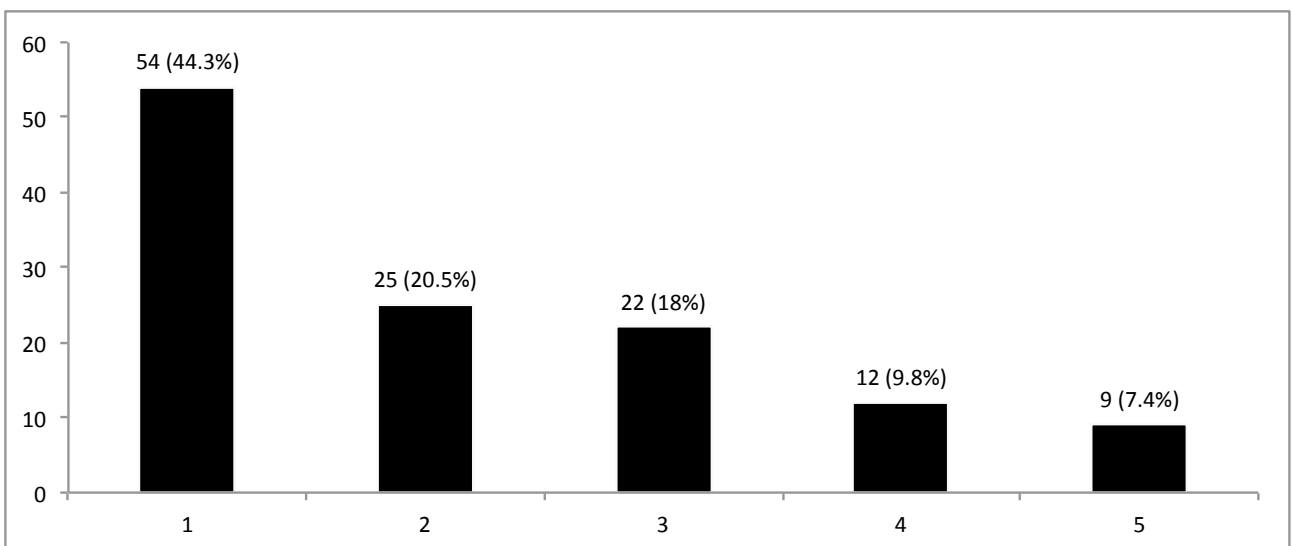




B Certain parts of the Quran can be radicalized.



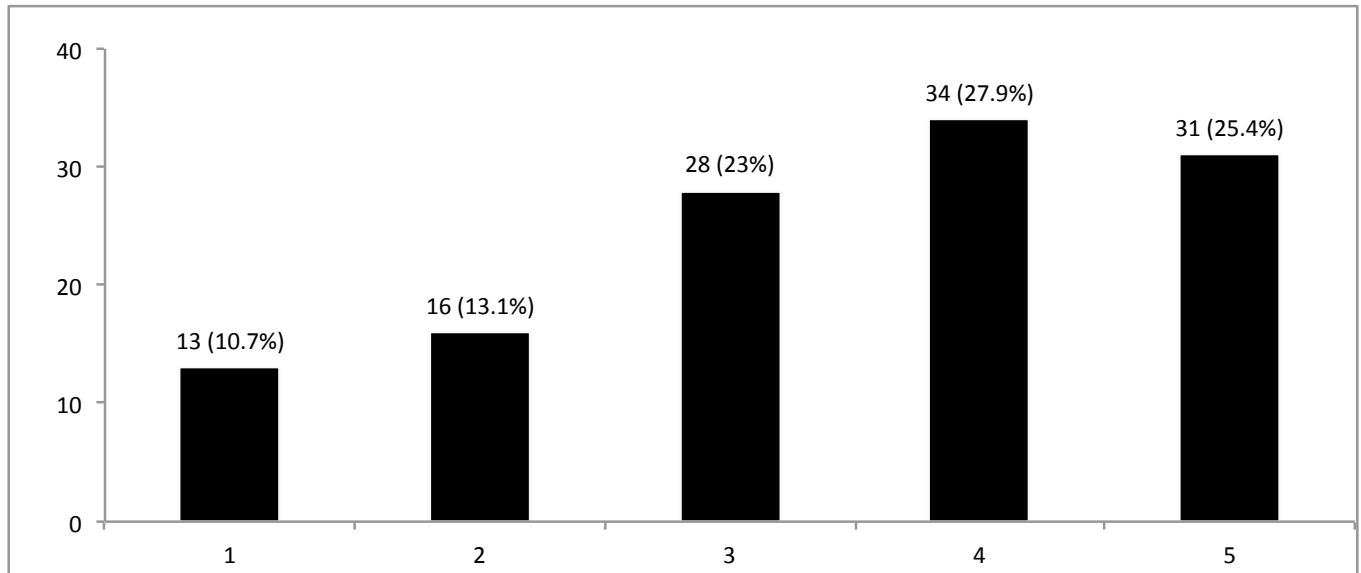
C We need to stop the flow of any Muslim immigration so we can figure out what's going on within Islam.





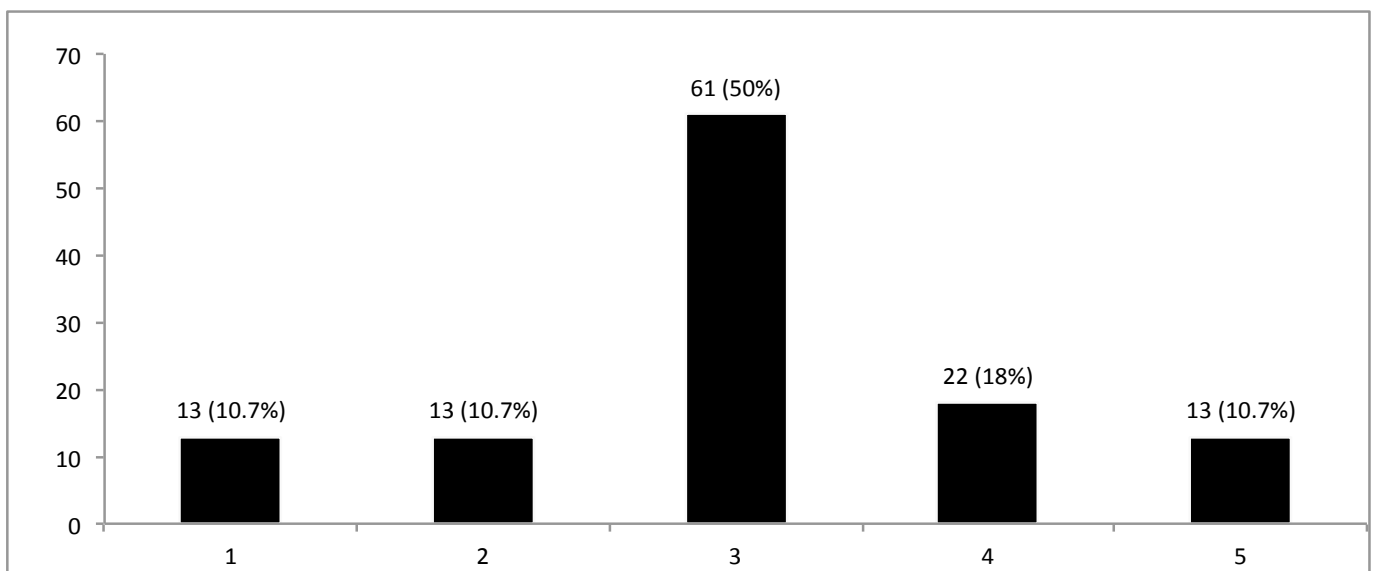
D

Profiling in airports can, in dangerous times, be necessary.



E

There should be a powerful, recognized Palestinian state.



LGBT Issues at BH

Author-Coleman Walsh '18, Patrick Connor '18, and Jacob Carter '18

Section-Data Analysis

A little less than a year following the *Obergefell v. Hodges* decision, in which the United States Supreme Court affirmed equal marriage rights for same-sex couples, the political climate concerning the rights and liberties of the LGBT community continues to remain tense. Two of the most recent clashes between the state legislature and the LGBT community occurred in the conservative-controlled states of Mississippi and North Carolina. In late March of 2016, Governor Pat McCrory of North Carolina signed House Bill 2, the Public Facilities and Securities Act (more commonly known as “the Bathroom Bill”), into law. Superseding all local, city, or town policies, HB2 designates the use of single-sex multiple-occupancy facilities to only those of the corresponding biological sex. Additionally, in early April, Governor Phil Bryant of Mississippi signed a law allowing churches, religious charities, and privately-held businesses to refuse service or employment to people based on personal religious views regarding marriage or gender. Governor Nathan Deal of Georgia received similar legislation; however, unlike Gov. Bryant and Gov. McCrory, Gov. Deal vetoed the bill.

The anonymous poll sent out to the Belmont Hill community consisted of five questions; however, the fifth question concerning LGBT and religious issues was discarded due to data discrepancies as a result of potentially poor phrasing. The first question, highlighted in Figure A, asked the students and faculty whether or not they agreed with last year’s decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that federally legalized same-sex marriage. The results from the poll clearly indicate that a large majority of students support the decision with 82.4% of the body in favor and 13.7% against the decision; 3.9% of the community answered with no opinion.

The second question, which concerned the aforementioned law passed in Mississippi, received the following responses: 75% of individuals answered stating their disapproval of the law; 18.1% stated their approval of the law; and 6.9% decided to respond with no opinion. The results of the responses to Questions 1 and 2 clearly indicate that a majority of the Belmont Hill community supports LGBT rights.

The third question, as seen in Figure C, asked whether or not businesses should relocate their operations in North Carolina following the passing of HB2. The responses for this question were far more varied than those for the prior two: 49% responded in opposition to relocation; 22.5% responded in support; and 28.4% responded with no opinion. The larger portion of respondents that selected no opinion indicates a greater amount of indecision in the Belmont Hill community concerning this issue, as opposed to the previous two questions. Additionally, it is possible that the survey did

not provide a sufficient range of opinions that a matter like this requires.

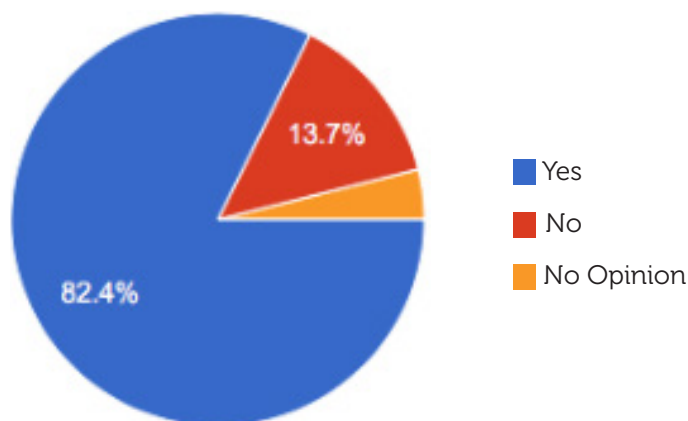
The fourth and final question concerned the rights of transgender individuals with regards to public restroom usage: 47.5% responded that one’s sex, either biological or surgically reassigned, indicates which restroom they should legally be allowed to use. Though 30.9% believed that people should use the bathroom corresponding to the gender with which they identify, 10.8% responded that the sex reported on one’s birth certificate (regardless of a sex-reassignment procedure) should be the indicator for usage. An additional 10.8% indicated no opinion.

In summation, the data from questions one and two, in which 82.4% of respondents supported same-sex marriage and 75% opposed the Mississippi law, respectively, appears to demonstrate an overwhelmingly liberal community concerning social issues, specifically the rights of homosexual Americans. However, with regards to the rights of transgender Americans, the general views of the Belmont Hill community are comparatively more varied, as ideas regarding the complexities of gender identity have only recently become a mainstream topic of discussion in both media and conversation. Despite this reality, 78.4% of responses to question four were in favor of restroom access being allowed legally to transgender individuals based on either their sexually reassigned gender or the gender by which they identify. Although question three demonstrates indecision concerning what methods ought to be used to oppose legislation that potentially infringes upon LGBT freedoms, the collected data indicates a largely supportive community regarding the rights and liberties of the LGBT community.

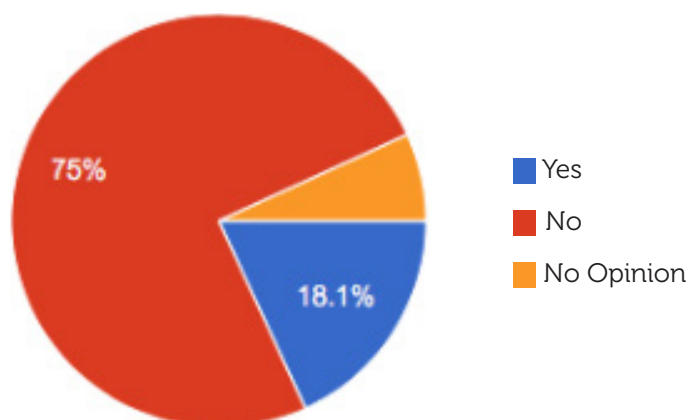
Polling Conducted
April 2016



A Do you agree with the ruling last year in *Obergefell vs. Hodges* that requires all states to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples?

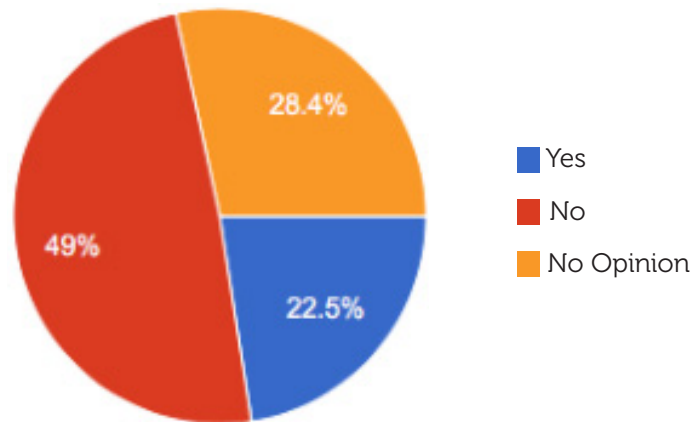


B Do you agree with the law passed in Mississippi that allows all businesses to deny service to gay and transgender peoples?

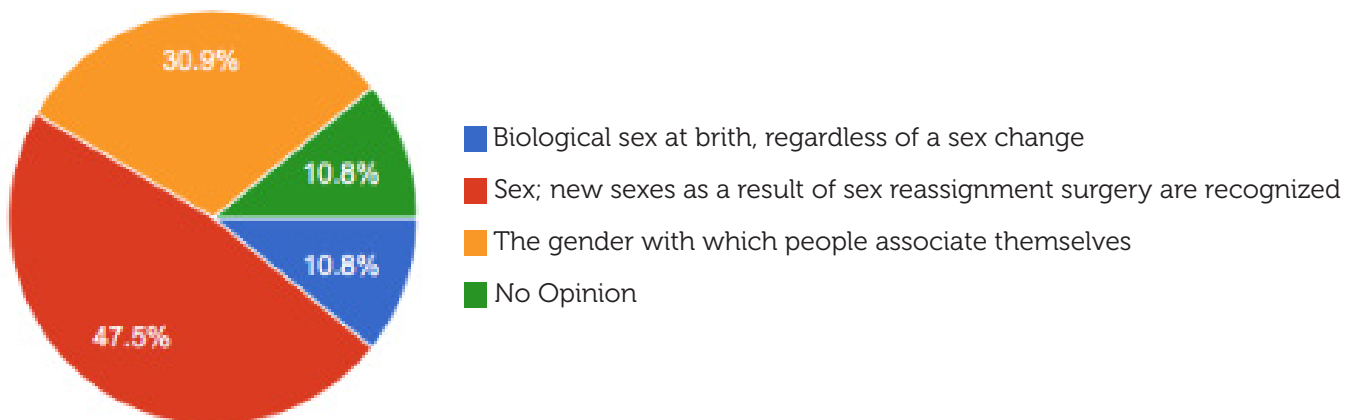




C Should businesses relocate offices and work from North Carolina because of the new “bathroom bill” requiring transgender people to use the bathroom according to the sex assigned on their birth certificate?



D How should bathroom usage be regulated?



Boston Red Sox Rebuttal

Author-Timothy Brownell '16

Section-Data Analysis

Below is a letter written by Timothy Brownell '16, a student in Mr. Feldman's Statistical Revolution in Sports class. In the letter, Brownell writes to Mr. Skillin, the author of a blog post from "Over the Monster." Using baseball statistics, Brownell refutes Skillin's claim that the Red Sox should keep third baseman Pablo Sandoval.

Dear Mr. Skillin,

While I wholeheartedly agree that Hanley Ramirez and Pablo Sandoval were two of the MLB's worst position players in 2015, I am strongly opposed to the idea of trading Ramirez while holding onto the Panda. Several of the arguments for Sandoval presented in your Over the Monster article I heavily disagree with, and after exploring the Red Sox's options on my own, I've come to a different conclusion. In my opinion, Hanley Ramirez has significantly more value to the Red Sox organization than Pablo Sandoval, and if one of these two pricey contracts were to be moved in a reasonable situation in the near future, sending the Panda out of Boston would be the most beneficial to the Sox for the 2016 season and beyond.

I first began to question the validity of your argument after you asserted that there is a lack of depth behind Sandoval at third, therefore increasing his value to the team. To be honest, I couldn't disagree more. To start, Travis Shaw has shown that he has an above average bat at the MLB level (.293 BA .355 OBP 19 HR in 369 AB). He's produced at a clip of 30 home runs and 101 RBI per 162 games, with a career .989 fielding percentage to go along with his hitting prowess. I realize that this article was written before Shaw won the starting job at 3B at the start of the 2016 season, but even after the 2015 season Travis Shaw had a large enough sample size to be considered a competent third baseman. In addition to Shaw, the Sox also have super-utility player Brock Holt to man the hot corner. Holt has a proven track record there (713.2 innings played and 12 errors committed, .945 fielding percentage) and is a competent major league hitter as well (.338 OBP and All Star in 2015). These two players serve as viable replacements, potentially even upgrades, at third base. Even in a worst case scenario where both Shaw and Holt suffer injuries, the Red Sox have top infield prospect Yoan Moncada in the farm system as a talented player potentially capable of handling third base at the MLB level. These are all options for the Red Sox before even considering discussions about a trade deal for a third baseman. The players mentioned above are why I disagree strongly with your argument about depth.

The second core argument you presented was that Sandoval is more durable than Hanley and therefore less of a health risk in the future; I disagree here as well. Out of Pablo's seven full major league seasons

(discounting 2016) Sandoval has played more than 150 games only 3 times. In 2011 and 2012 he had 426 and 396 at-bats respectively; not exactly the kind of playing time one would expect from a "durable" starting player. On the other hand, Hanley had over 500 AB's in 6 out of 7 seasons from 2006 to 2012, and over 600 AB's 3 times (2006, 2007, 2012). Irregardless of how much better he is with those AB's, strictly from a health standpoint it is not viable to suggest that Pablo Sandoval is significantly more durable. This is not to say that Hanley is a work-horse and is going to start 162 games this year for the Sox, but rather that his durability issues are not significant enough to act as a detracting factor in comparison to Pablo Sandoval, who's not exactly Cal Ripken Jr. Another interesting factor to consider this season with respect to durability is Hanley's position change. In previous years as a shortstop, Hanley had to cover a lot of ground and he was under high levels of physical stress as a result. As for his brief stint in the outfield with the Sox, in early 2015 his whole season derailed after he crashed into the wall in left field. Moving forward this season, Hanley will have a decreased risk of injury at first base; the position is just flat out more forgiving physically than left field or shortstop at this point in his career. All of these factors point to Hanley having an edge in terms of durability, and this is all before even mentioning Sandoval's shoulder injury that will sideline him for all of 2016. He seems to be joining Troy Tulowitzki and Clay Buchholz in the club of shiny and expensive players always on the shelf.

While I feel that you gave an overly glamorous account of Pablo Sandoval's worth as a starting third baseman for the Red Sox, I also feel that you drastically understated Hanley's value to the ballclub. One horrific season at an unfamiliar position does not completely erase the other eleven successful seasons of Hanley's decorated career. If Ramirez can return even marginally closer to his career offensive averages in 2016 and beyond, he clearly would have more value to the Red Sox offense than Sandoval: he leads him in almost every statistical category. Hanley sports a higher career batting average (.296), on-base percentage (.366), slugging percentage (.493), runs batted in (87), stolen bases (32) and home runs (25) per 162 games, and has 2 batting titles to his name to boot. Not only does he produce more at the plate than Sandoval; Hanley's offensive production capabilities could be essential to the Red Sox



in 2017 following the departure of perennial slugger David Ortiz. The Sox could potentially place Hanley into the gaping hole at the DH position, shifting Travis Shaw over to first base and Brock Holt to third (this is all under the assumption that the Sox have dealt Sandoval). With this manipulation of their current players, the Red Sox could avoid another expensive, risky contract with a free agent power hitter (possibly someone like Edwin Encarnación from the Toronto Blue Jays). Essentially, Hanley could save the Red Sox millions of dollars that they could then use for other holes in our lineup not so easily filled (starting pitching, starting pitching, starting pitching). The Red Sox in the end may still sign a highly-touted power hitter to fill Big Papi's shoes, but having all of the options that Hanley provides if all else fails in the free agency market is certainly an asset to the club that cannot be quantified on paper. From my point of view, Hanley is too valuable to the organization's future to give up.

Now, having considered the possibilities of what the lineup would look like with Hanley and no Sandoval in 2017, let's think about it the other way around. Without Hanley, the Sox almost certainly would have to turn to free agency for a power hitter to replace Ortiz, which is a huge hit or miss scenario with big bucks involved. Meanwhile at third, it is questionable if a fully healthy Pablo Sandoval (the player you have argued should remain in Boston) could even outcompete Travis Shaw or Brock Holt for the job at third base, much less fill the gaping hole that David Ortiz will leave in the lineup. The Sox would have to hit the lottery in the offseason to strengthen the offensive lineup, and as we all know there are no guarantees that a megamillions contract will bring more wins to the team (remember Carl Crawford?). This is not to say the Sox would be doomed- they could have a great 2017 if they tackle free agency well and Sandoval returns to the form that he had with the Giants (not size, production!). But those are big ifs, and I think Red Sox nation would feel a lot better about the team's future with Hanley Ramirez in the lineup and Pablo Sandoval packing his bags for San Diego, or whoever will take him in exchange for absolutely nothing. I hope the Panda finds himself again in the major leagues, but if he remains on the Sox we put our fate up to chance in the market, and the last thing that this team needs is another big contract that ends with no production and a slew of injuries. Kind of like another Pablo Sandoval.



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